The Jewish Revolutionary Spirit

The Jewish Revolutionary Spirit

and its Impact on World History

Volume II

by

E. Michael Jones



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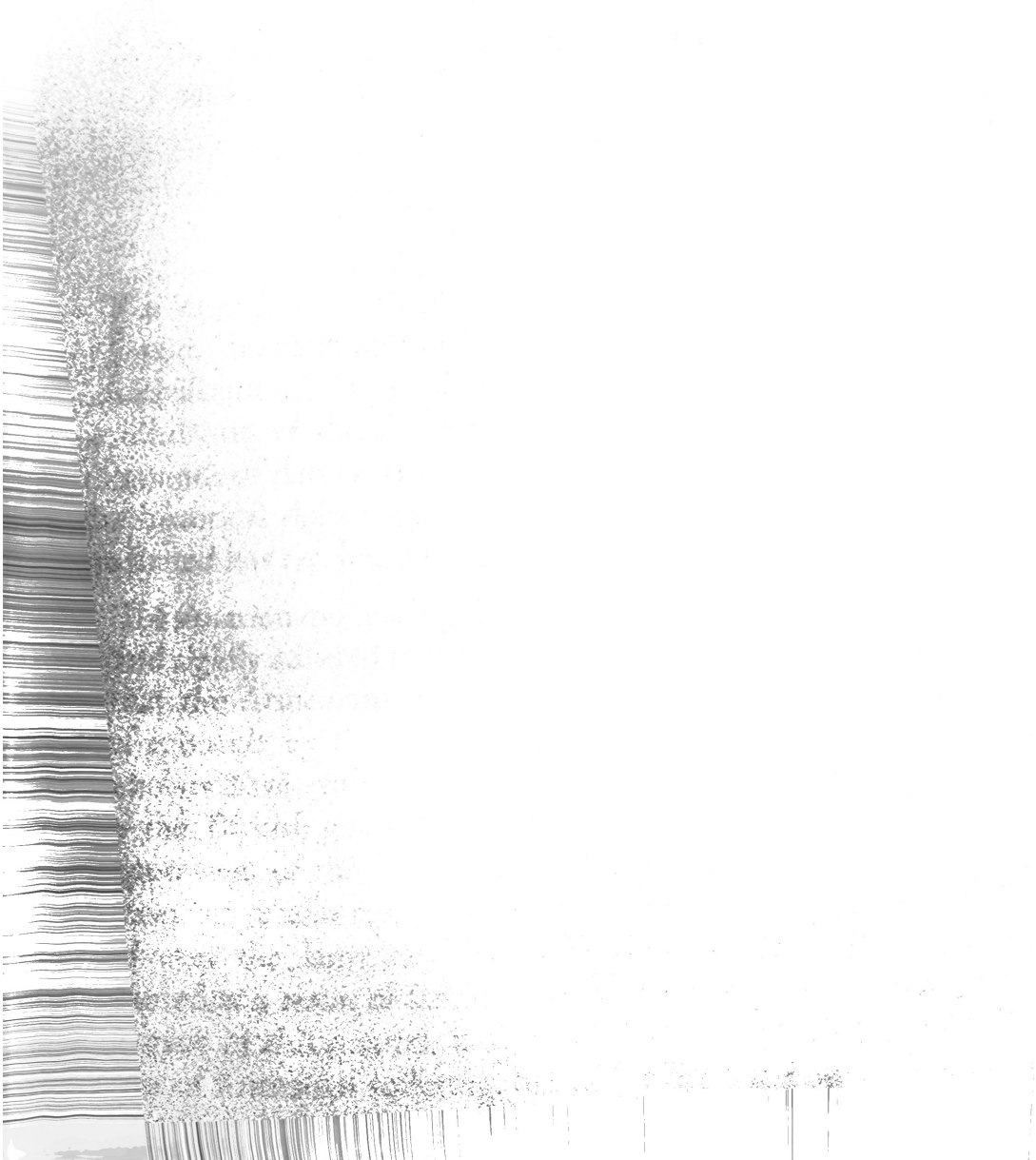
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VOLUME II



Chapter One

Who killed the Armenians?

> Ter Haigasun's eyes were sightless with ecstasy as he stammered in Armenian, "The evil only happened . . . to enable God to show us His goodness."
>
> – Franz Werfel
> *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*

> "*Die Trotskis machen die Revolution aber dei Bronsteins muessen dafuer bezahlen.*"
>
> – Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein
> *Juedischer Bolschewismus*

In August 1939, shortly before Germany invaded Poland, Adolf Hitler said, "It is a matter of indifference to me what a weak western European civilization will say about me. . . . Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"[1] More than a century since hundreds of thousands of Armenians died on their death march into the deserts of Syria, the historical debate over what happened and to what extent it was premeditated has reached a stalemate:

> The situation today is highly polarized and is characterized by two distinct and rigidly adhered to historiographies. The Armenian version maintains that the Armenians were the innocent victims of an unprovoked act of genocide by the Ottoman government. Large numbers of Western scholars have embraced this position. The Turkish version, put forth by the Turkish government and a few historians, argues that the mass deportation of the Armenians was a necessary response to a full-scale Armenian rebellion, carried out with the support of Russia and Britain, and that the large number of deaths—the "so-called massacres"—occurred as a result of famine and disease or as a consequence . . . . The key issue in this quarrel, it should be stressed at the outset, is not the extent of Armenian suffering, but rather the question of premeditation:

> that is, whether the Young Turk regime during the First World War intentionally organized the massacres that took place.[2]

This standoff has been complicated because the Armenian genocide story has been absorbed into the Holocaust narrative. Like the Jews, the Armenians have attempted to make their genocide "a closed issue similar to the Jewish holocaust" and any denial of it is hate speech punishable by law. Three years before France officially recognized what happened to the Armenians as genocide on May 29, 1998,[3] Bernard Lewis was found guilty of violating that country's hate speech laws by taking the Turkish position. Lewis was sentenced on June 2, 1995, but a token fine was imposed as punishment, thereby making a dead letter of the law and keeping the controversy alive.[4] One pro-Armenian author "has suggested that denial of the Armenian genocide represents hate-speech and therefore should be illegal in the United States,"[5] but Lewis remained undeterred in his determination to dissociate the two events.

On March 25, 2002, Lewis "once again reaffirmed his belief that the Armenian massacres in Ottoman Turkey were linked to the massive Armenian rebellion and, therefore, were not comparable to the treatment of the Jews under the Nazis."[6] Guenter Lewy has adopted Lewis's view, affirming that: "The Armenian community in Turkey was not simply 'an unarmed Christian minority,' and it is not acceptable to discuss the events of 1915-16 without mentioning the fifth-column role of the Armenian revolutionaries."[7] According to this reading, the Armenians have no right to claim Holocaust victim status because their armed rebellion was different in kind from the behavior of unarmed Jews who fell victim to the Nazis.

Israeli historian Yair Auron, however, takes a different tack by linking Germany to the Turks and claiming that Germany "was involved directly and indirectly in the Armenian genocide."[8] Auron's claim has no basis in fact. Evidence suggests that the charge stems from allied propaganda during the war years. There is overwhelming archival evidence that the German government, while accepting the military necessity of the relocations, "repeatedly intervened with the Sublime Porte in order to achieve a more humane implementation."[9]

The claim that the Germans "bear some of the responsibility and even some of the guilt for the mass murder of the Armenians in World War I"[10] would seem to rehabilitate the Armenians' status as victims. Unfortunately, even a link to (albeit, pre-Nazi) Germany fails to create an equivalence between Armenian and Jewish suffering in the eyes of Israeli historians like Auron. Like most Israeli historians, who "seek to emphasize the singularity of the Holocaust,"[11] Yehuda Bauer claims that Jewish suffering is unique, even while keeping the Armenian story in play by adding that "The Armenian massacres are indeed the closest parallel to the Holocaust."[12]

In the famous "*Historikerstreit*" of 1989, however, German historian Ernst Nolte referred to the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust itself as "normal twentieth-century barbarity."[13] Unlike Auron, who says the Turks were aided by the Germans, Nolte says the Nazis were imitating the Turks. Unlike Israeli historians, who tend to emphasize its unique nature, Germans like Nolte, Hillgruber, and Fest have been accused of a tendency "to blur the distinctions and to ignore the uniqueness of the Holocaust."[14] Eventually Auron tries to resolve this conflict by psychologizing the issue, claiming that "the murder of the Armenians was the result of real political confrontations," i.e., revolutionary activity against the government, while emphasizing that the suffering of the Jews was "the fruit of an obsessive and paranoid fantasy."[15] This makes the Holocaust a "singular event in human history" and "the only example of true Genocide—a systematic attempt to kill all the members of a group—in history."[16]

AT THE HEART OF REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

The time has come to break free from competing ethnocentric narratives and move toward a coherent explanation of what happened to the Armenians in the context of world history in general, the development of world revolution at that time, and the unique role Jews played in both.[17] Many Armenian revolutionaries imbibed what I have called the Jewish revolutionary spirit, making the connection between the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust more complicated than is usually admitted. Kevorkian talks about "the troubling resemblance between the Armenian and Young Turk elites, both of whom saw themselves as the bearers of a 'sacred' mission – saving the 'nation,'"[18] but fails to explain that the vehicle which bore that sacred mission was the spirit which they imbibed from Jewish terrorist organizations like *Narodnaya Volya*.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Jewish revolutionary spirit pervaded all revolutionary groups, including those in the Ottoman Empire, and it became the common denominator that united the activity which began with uprisings against the Sultan, continued in the plan to deport the Armenians, and reached its culmination in the attacks of the predominantly Jewish Cheka on Slavic Christians during the early days of the Soviet Union. The homicidal excesses of the Cheka, not "the fruit of an obsessive and paranoid fantasy,"[19] brought Hitler to power. If anyone was in the throes of "obsessive and paranoid fantasy," it was Lenin and Trotsky, who were determined to do whatever was necessary to maintain control over the Russian Christians who were the main victims of Bolshevik terror.

When we expand the historical period under examination backward and forward, a different picture begins to emerge. The story of the Armenian genocide begins in 1879 when *Semlya I Volnya*, the original Russian

revolutionary movement, disintegrated into two predominantly Jewish groups, *Narodnaya Volya*, which embraced terrorism, and *Chernyi Peredel*, which did not. The Jewish embrace of terrorism found its culmination two years after the Armenian genocide when the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917 and, more importantly, created the Cheka one month later as the instrument of revolutionary terror to subjugate the overwhelmingly Christian population of Russia. The Bolsheviks, the Dönmeh who made up the leadership of the Young Turks, and Armenian revolutionary groups like the Dashnaks and the Hunchaks, all shared a common ancestry derived from the Jewish revolutionary movements which sprang up in the Pale of the Settlement and, more importantly, Russian universities during the latter half of the 19th century.

The Young Turk elites absorbed the Jewish revolutionary spirit naturally because they came from the families of Dönmeh, the spiritual descendants of Shabbetai Zevi,[20] the Jewish Messiah who converted to Islam, but the Turks' revolutionary movement was also based on Russian, which is to say, Jewish models:

> The "Depi Yerkir" or "To the Fatherland" movement came into being, reminiscent of the "To the People" (*v Narod*) movement in Russia. People were encouraged to go to the Turkish provinces, where they might contribute their energies for the benefit of the nation. Politically minded Armenians in Russia had heretofore concentrated their efforts on bettering conditions there. Many had been members of Russian organizations such as the *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom) and the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will), but the 'eighties brought about a change of direction for a number of these people.[21]

By better understanding the role that the Jewish revolutionary spirit played in the events of 1915, we can come to what Wayne Madsen calls a "new reality," according to which Turkish and Armenian revolutionaries were "the common foe" of non-revolutionary Turks and Armenians. According to Madsen's reading:

> Knowledge that it was Dönmeh, in a natural alliance with the Zionists of Europe, who were responsible for the deaths of Armenian and Assyrian Christians, expulsion from Turkey of Greek Orthodox Christians, and the cultural and religious eradication of Turkish Islamic traditions, would issue forth in the region a new reality. Rather than Greek and Turkish Cypriots living on a divided island, Armenians holding a vendetta against the Turks, and Greeks and Turks feuding over territory, all the peoples attacked by the Dönmeh would realize that they had a common foe that was their actual persecutor.[22]

That "common foe" was the Jewish revolutionary spirit, which infected all of the actors in the Armenian genocide, including the Armenians themselves, in

the person of the revolutionary terrorists who brought disaster down on the heads of non-revolutionary Armenians. Something similar happened to the Jews. The behavior of the Jewish Bolsheviks who constituted the majority of the staff of the Cheka was so appalling and so widely known that it brought about a reaction in which innocent Jews suffered because of their murderous excess, in much the same way that innocent Armenians suffered because of the murderous excess of Armenian revolutionaries. The best explanation of Hitler's actions against the Jews can be found in the Young Turks' attitude toward the Armenians. Both countries' leaders were faced with the actions of a group that was perceived as a fifth column in time of war. After World War I, Bolshevism was seen in Germany as a Jewish revolutionary movement, largely because of the Soviet republics established in Munich and Berlin. Hitler's attempt to segregate the Jews was exactly analogous to the Committee of Union and Progress's attempt to remove the Armenians from the eastern provinces of Anatolia to prevent their collaboration with the invading Russian Army. Innocent Armenians died during World War I and innocent Jews died during World War II because their ethnic groups had become associated with revolutionary subversion.

What happened in Armenia in 1915 resulted from the collaboration of three revolutionary groups: the Young Turks, who seized power in Constantinople in 1908, the Bolsheviks, who eventually seized power in Russia in 1917, and the Dashnaks and Hunchaks, Armenian revolutionary groups who associated with both the Young Turks and the Bolsheviks and derived their ideas of revolutionary terrorism from direct contact with *Narodnaya Volya*, which Richard Pipes describes as "the first political terrorist organization in history and the model of all subsequent organizations of this kind in Russia and elsewhere."[23]

The relationship between the Armenian revolutionaries and the Armenian population they purported to represent was often hostile and never without conflict, but the fear that they had support among the Armenian population meant that they posed a serious threat to the Sublime Porte because the Armenians were determined to act when the Ottoman Empire was at its most vulnerable, which is to say when it was at war with Russia, home of many Armenians who were willing to fight at the side of their compatriots living in the Ottoman Empire:

> Showing the impact of the Russian *Narodnaya Volya* revolutionaries, committed to direct action, the Hunchaks embraced political terror as a means of eliminating opponents, spies, and informers. Article 6 of the program of the Hunchak party stated: "The time for the general revolution [in Armenia] will be when a foreign power attacks Turkey externally. The party shall revolt internally." In due time this program of course became known to the Turkish government, and during World

War I the Young Turks used the clause to justify the deportation of the Armenians.[24]

The man who facilitated the collaboration of the three revolutionary groups was Russian-born Jew, Alexander Helphand, otherwise known as Parvus, who arrived in Constantinople in 1910. Disillusioned with the failed Russian revolution of 1905 and the sudden rise of the Social Democrats in Germany, Parvus turned his eyes toward the Ottoman Empire, now under the rule of the Committee for Unity and Progress, which had taken power in Constantinople in 1908. Parvus embodied the Jewish revolutionary spirit which united these three groups, and the explication of that spirit alone provides a coherent explanation of the events leading up to the Armenian genocide of 1915, the genocide itself, and its sequelae, including Hitler's actions against the Jews during World War II.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN NATION

The Armenians are one of oldest extant ethnic groups on the face of the earth, comparable to groups like the Jews and the Persians, and they have always viewed the Turks as parvenus and one of the many Asiatic tribes which swept through the Caucasus on the invasion route which extended from the Eurasian steppes to the Danube valley. Because the Armenians in the year 301 AD were the first nation to adopt Christianity as their official religion, their unique apostolic faith has always played a major role in establishing their ethnic identity, resisting first the Arabs and then, more importantly, the Turks, who established the Ottoman Empire when Osman I conquered Constantinople in 1453. The Armenians enjoyed religious, cultural, and social autonomy under the millet system inaugurated by Sultan Mohammed II, who ruled form 1451 to 1481.[25] In spite of their subservient political status, Armenians prospered under this system until "well into the nineteenth century," and their loyalty to it earned the Armenians the title "the loyal community."[26] Up to 1848, "The church remained at the head of the nation; Armenians with commercial and industrial skills were able to climb to the very pinnacle of the Ottoman economic order; and a variety of educational, charitable, and social institutions were permitted to flourish," and Armenians lived in a "benign symbiosis"[27] with their Muslim Turkish neighbors. That situation changed when the revolutionary spirit which had sparked the Revolution of 1848 arrived in Anatolia.

Devoid of ideas, the Ottoman Empire created an intellectual vacuum which got filled when the children of the Ottoman elites went to study at European universities. It was there that they first imbibed the revolutionary spirit which had emerged politically with the French Revolution and reignited periodically thereafter, in 1830 and more importantly 1848. During that year in which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote their *Communist Manifesto*,

the Armenians of Constantinople held a demonstration in the district of Kum Kapu protesting the resignation of their patriarch, who refused to endorse their fight for self-determination. According to Nalbandian:

> The demonstration was remarkable in the history of the Armenians in Turkey. For the first time in centuries, the masses, recognizing their rights as individuals, had come together to voice their protest and thus accomplished what was in effect the Armenian counterpart of the European revolutions of 1848. Although small by comparison, this outburst in Constantinople was a giant step toward democracy. It indicated that the Armenians were ready to resort to revolutionary methods in order to achieve political freedom.[28]

European universities provided the vector which transmitted the revolutionary spirit to Armenia. The pampered Armenian offspring of the prosperous Armenian merchant class in the Ottoman Empire enrolled as students in European capitals like Paris, where they "lived in an atmosphere filled with echoes of the French Revolution and the ideas of Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, De Musset, Auguste Comte, Michelet, Guizot, and Quinet. Some students witnessed the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and almost all returned to Constantinople with an ardent love for freedom."[29]

The sultan responded to the spirit of revolution by accepting the Armenian National Constitution, which was adopted on May 24, 1860, and ratified three years later.[30] At this point the "illuminati" gained the upper hand over the traditionally religious Armenian oligarchy,[31] and paved the way for the liberal Turkish constitution of 1876.[32]

After gaining a European education, the Armenian intelligentsia patronized the burgeoning Armenian language press, which also paved the way to revolution. After the passage of the liberal constitution, Armenian journalists like Khirimian Hairig began arguing for "rebellion against oppression."[33] Hairig was "the Armenian Bossuet, Pius IX and Garibaldi all in one," who "helped educate a generation of young men who wanted to participate in the nation's struggle for freedom—which eventually led to uprisings and the formation of the political parties."[34]

After picking up the revolutionary bacillus while studying at the universities of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Zurich and Geneva, Grigor Ardzruni (1845-1892) founded the journal *Mushak*, which was "filled with revolutionary propaganda," which promoted the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the very moment that Turkey was involved in a war with Russia, as well as an alliance with the Russians, whose armies were advancing toward Constantinople.[35]

In the mid-19th century Russian Armenians like Mikael Nalbandian (1829-1866) made contact with Russian revolutionaries like Mikhail Bakunin. Because of his friendship with Herzen, Bakunin, Ogariev, Turgeniev, and Dobrolyubov and his admiration for the ideas of his contemporary Russian

revolutionaries, Nalbandian "became a link between the revolutionary movement in Russia and that of Armenia."[36] Nalbandian's contacts with Russian revolutionaries aroused the suspicion of the Tsarist authorities, and he was arrested upon his return to Russia in 1862, imprisoned at the Fortress of Petropavlovskaya and then exiled to Kamyshin, where he died of tuberculosis on March 31, 1866.[37] Perhaps because of his contacts with Russian revolutionaries, Nalbandian was one of the first Armenian patriots to advocate armed insurrection. This decision would have fateful consequences because "the influence of Mikael Nalbandian was keenly felt by the people of his day and helped to motivate future revolutionaries."[38]

Rafael Patkanian (1830-1892) was one of those revolutionaries. Patkanian, "another nationalistic poet who encouraged rebellion through his writings,"[39] used fiction to promote a Young Armenia movement based on European models like Young Germany and Young Russia.

Raffi, born as Hakob Melik-Hakobian (1835-1888), was an Armenian novelist whose writings "served as a guide for revolutionary action"[40] after appearing in serial form in the pages of *Mushak*. Because of the popularity of literature "that encouraged the use of armed force against the Ottoman government," Armenians "began treading the sanguinary road toward revolution."[41] The success of the three writers Mikael Nalbandian, Rafael Patkanian ("Kamar Katiba"), and "Raffi" (Hakob Melik-Hakobian) indicated the popularity of literature that encouraged the use of armed force against the Ottoman government as a necessary condition for national liberation.

This volatile combination of revolution and nationalism created a "fighting spirit" which found political expression in the Zeitun Revolution of 1862. Fearing that Zeitun would become "a source of inspiration for future Armenian uprisings against the Turks," the Sublime Porte dispatched a military force on June 8, 1860, to compel the people there to pay higher taxes, but the move backfired, sparking successful armed resistance on the part of the Armenians. Report of that success spread throughout the Armenian population and stiffened resistance. When an even larger Turkish force laid siege to Zeitun on August 2, 1862, a small fighting force of about 5,000 armed men was able to break the siege and repulse the attack with the aid of loyal Zeitunli Muslims. That unexpected victory had "an electrifying effect among Armenians everywhere and inspired them in their struggle for liberation."[42]

"During the 1850s, Zeitun had attained a semi-independent status in the Ottoman Empire, and as such it became a center for revolutionary activity, attracting Armenian intellectuals from Constantinople in the west and Russian Transcaucasia in the east."[43] Secret revolutionary societies like The Union of Salvation and the Black Cross Society sprang up within a decade of the Zeitun rebellion of 1862, as predominantly Armenian cities like Zeitun, Van and Erzerum became "centers of revolutionary activity in Turkish Armenia."[44] An underground society called Protectors of the Fatherland was

established at Erzerum in 1881. The society was short-lived, and its leaders were placed on trial by the government, but revolutionary activities in Turkish Armenia during the 19th century eventually found their culmination in the establishment of the first political party, the Armenakan Party, in 1885.[45] After the uprising in Zeitun, the revolutionary spirit ceased being a congeries of local disturbances and became instead a national movement.[46]

Zeitun, as a result, became a paradigm of Armenian armed resistance, and the Zeitun Rebellion of 1862 became the first of a series of insurrections inspired by the revolutionary ideas which had swept through the Armenian world. The Zeitunli insurgents had had direct contacts with certain Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople who had been influenced by Mikael Nalbandian's contacts with Bakunin and other Russian revolutionaries.

Ten years later, the same revolutionary spirit arrived in the largely Armenian city of Van when 46 Armenians "met and took a pledge to dedicate themselves to winning freedom for their people."[47] Two months after taking that pledge, they approached the Russian government and asked it to assist "fellow Christians" against their Muslim oppressors in Turkey.[48] This collaboration would continue off and on for the next 40 years, providing the Turks with the excuse to deport all Armenians from the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire when Van rose again during a crucial period in World War I.

In 1878, the Armenians of Van created "the small, secret revolutionary Black Cross Society (*Sev Khatch Kazmakerputhiun*)" which aimed to "put an end to the looting, violence, and extortion of tribute to which the Armenians were subjected by the armed Turks and Kurds. This society was organized to combat such injustices by the use of armed force. Its members were sworn to secrecy and those who broke their oath were marked with a 'Black Cross' and immediately put to death."[49]

Because they were a small Christian nation surrounded by Muslims, Armenians naturally sought protection from the nominally Christian powers of Europe, which made promises that they never kept. When they failed to force the Sublime Porte to carry out the conditions it had agreed to under the Treaty of Berlin following the Ottoman Empire's disastrous defeat in in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, Armenians felt that they had no choice but to take matters into their own hands, which meant a need "to resort to revolutionary activity."[50]

In the early 1880s, the revolutionary spirit spread from Zeitun to Erzerum, which became the focal point of protest against Ottoman misgovernment after a "secret revolutionary society," known as "Protectors of the Fatherland (*Pashtpan Haireniats*)" came into existence there in 1881 and began distributing guns and ammunition to ensure "defense against any future attacks by Turks, Kurds, and Circassians."[51]

In November 1881 and August of 1882, Karapet Nishikian travelled to Russia to solicit financial aid from Russian Armenians. Eventually, word

of his activities reached Turkish authorities, who arrested 400 conspirators and put 76 of them on trial in Erzerum in June 1883.[52] Forty Armenians were found guilty, but the sentences were commuted through the efforts of Patriarch Nerses and Bishop Ormanian and because the Porte wanted to placate hostile opinion in Europe. Nalbandian feels that it was on those fund-raising trips to Russia that Armenian nationalists made their first contact with the revolutionary movement there:

> The trial of the members of the Protectors of the Fatherland was the first of its kind among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Never before had so large a group of men, coming from various ranks of the Armenian population, been placed on trial for political reasons. Those tried were predominantly young men. The secret organization that they founded in Erzerum sent its agents to Russian Transcaucasia to effect coöperation with Armenian leaders there. Undoubtedly, these agents also made connections with Russian revolutionaries, who were organized in Transcaucasia in the early 'eighties.[53]

Buoyed by the news of Russia's defeat of the Ottomans, Mekertitch Portugalian left Constantinople in the fall of 1878 and arrived in Van, where he opened a Normal School for Armenian students. After it became apparent that Portugalian "was promoting revolutionary ideas under the guise of education,"[54] Turkish officials closed the school and Portugalian was forced to return to Constantinople. When the gymnasium which Portugalian later founded served the same revolutionary purpose, Portugalian's operation got shut down once again, and his students were dispersed. This time, however, Portugalian left Turkey never to return and set up revolutionary shop in Marseilles, which became a magnet for Armenian emigres. In Marseilles Portugalian began publishing the newspaper *Armenia* during the summer of 1885, and out of the magazine the Armenakan Party came into existence.

Portugalian left Turkey for France in 1885, never to return to his beloved Armenia, but the example of his life and his work in the provinces was enduring. He blew a breath of freedom over all of Van. Without pronouncing the word revolution . . . he prepared a revolutionary generation."[55]

During the autumn of 1885 a group of graduates from Portugalian's Central Gymnasium founded the Armenakan Party, "the first Armenian revolutionary political party in the 19th century,"[56] whose first goal was to "win for the Armenian the right to rule over themselves through revolution." The Armenakan Party "was to restrict itself to the Armenian people, regardless of denomination. To include non-Armenians in the movement would only serve to dissipate energy and impede the progress of the Armenian Revolution."[57]

Revolutionary thought went hand in hand with Armenian nationalism in the pages of the often short-lived journals which were established in the

wake of the Armenian constitution. The same was true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the revolutionary movement in Russia, where nationality also played a crucial role in the emergence of revolutionary terror. Jews and Armenians shared a common grudge against the cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic empires in which they found themselves living. As a result of the Jews' access to western technology through the Pale of the Settlement, Armenian nationalists began to imitate Jewish revolutionary tactics, including the adoption of terrorism. "Russia," according to Haberer, was "ripe for political extremism," and "Jews constituted an important, if not crucial, national element in turning the region into a hotbed of terrorist violence."[58] Historians have long recognized that "the virus of terror spread first in the south" of Russia, but only recently have scholars like Andreas Kappeler concluded that terrorism flourished there not because of the climate, but because of revolutionary nationalism in which Jews played a major role. Clearly, Haberer points out, "nationality emerges as an explanatory factor in the genesis of southern terrorism."[59]

The same was true in Armenia, where both the nationalists and the revolutionaries hoped for the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The Russo-Turkish War concluded early in 1878 with a decisive victory for the Russians. Disappointed that the Congress of Berlin did nothing to fulfill the promises it had made for Armenian self-determination, Archbishop Khirimian gave his famous "iron spoons" speech in which he made "an indirect appeal for the use of arms," the means which had already been "successfully adopted by Balkan revolutionaries."[60] Armenian rejoicing over the Ottoman Empire's defeat after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878[61] confirmed the Turks' suspicions that Armenians constituted a dangerous fifth column eager to collaborate with foreign powers who sought the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Those suspicions in turn "led the Turks to seek vengeance on the Armenians" after the conclusion of the war. "When the Russian troops were driven back, the Turks found it opportune to allow hordes of Kurds and Circassians to pillage Armenian villages."[62]

The disastrous conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War in 1878 combined with the threat of armed insurrection on the part of the Armenians led Sultan Abdülhamid II to suspend the Turkish constitution, thereby depriving the Armenian people of the gains they had achieved through the constitutional reforms of 1860 and ushering in "a period of autocratic rule that was to last 30 years."[63]

As a result, the "situation of the Armenians went from bad to worse, accelerating the growth of Armenian national consciousness and the spread of revolutionary ideas."[64] "Turkish officials and intellectuals began to look upon Armenians as unruly, subversive, alien elements who consorted with foreign powers."[65] Russia, which had seized Turkish territory during the war of 1877-8 and was home to a large Armenian population, was seen as a particular threat because she "was encouraging the Armenian agitation in order to annex the

remaining Armenian provinces in eastern Anatolia." This further increased animosity between Turks and Armenians.[66]

OKHRANA

Tsarist officials made the fateful decision to support revolutionary activity in Turkey while attempting to suppress it in Russia, seemingly unaware that the Jewish revolutionary spirit was the common denominator in both situations. Russian officials at the Okhrana, the Tsar's secret police, were well aware of the Jewish roots of revolutionary activity in Russia, because they knew:

> it would be misleading . . . to describe the Jewish role in *Narodnaia Volia* merely in terms of "secondary functions," and to claim moreover, as Tscherikower has done, that this role was a modest one (*a besheydene*) since Jews were "located basically between the leaders of the party and the direct perpetrators of terrorist acts." "The strength of the Jewish revolutionary," he argues, "lay altogether in different spheres: he was a pioneer of party-building, a great practitioner and technician of revolution." Much of this is true of course. But, as such, his role was neither "modest" nor always "secondary. . . . As intermediaries between the party's Executive Committee and its rank and file, the Jewish Narodovoltsy occupied an important position in the propagation and organization of political terrorism.[67]

The tsarist government "obviously had a case in blaming 'Jewish nihilists' for the wave of terrorism that had rocked the ship of state since 1878-79 and even claimed its captain in 1881." In fact, government officials "had a more accurate appreciation of the role of Jews in the terrorist movement than the revolutionaries themselves or historians who joined them in downplaying the Jewish contribution."[68] The suspicions of those officials were confirmed when "another Jew, Ippolit Osipovich Mlodetskii (1856-80), was apprehended in St. Petersburg for attempting to assassinate Count Loris-Melikov, the newly appointed 'crisis manager' of the empire." After Mlodetskii's execution on February 22, 1880, *Novoe vremia* opined that "these Jews, being from time immemorial the representatives of the revolutionary spirit, stand now at the head of Russian Nihilists."

Mlodestskii's execution came at the beginning of the fateful period in Russian history which began in 1879 when *Semlia I Volia* gave birth to *Narodnaya Volya* and *Chernyi Peredel*. Jews were prominently active on all levels of revolutionary work in both groups:

> *Narodnaia Volia* kept alive the populist-liberal tradition which a decade later entered into the making of the Party of Constitutional Democrats (Kaders) and the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (PSR). Divesting itself of orthodox Populism in the mid-1880s, *Chernyi Peredel* entered

> the mainstream of European Marxist socialism and became the point of departure for Russian Marxism and the formation of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP). Jewish Narodovoltsy and Chernoperedeltsy pioneered these new developments, which matured at the turn of the century and blossomed during the revolution of 1905.[69]

"Jews," Erich Haberer tells us, "were to be found in both factions and played a substantial role in the formation and activity of both organizations."[70] Jews had not succeeded in mobilizing the Russian peasants because Jews were always viewed with suspicion as an alien element in Russian society. As a result, the Jews gravitated toward "disorganization," their word for terrorism, because it provided a better outlet for their natural abilities. Pipes concurs with Haberer's explanation of why Jews turned to terrorism but without referring to the specifically Jewish circumstances which pushed them in that direction. "Resort to terror," according to Pipes,

> was an admission of isolation: as one of the leaders of the People's Will would later concede, terror requires neither the support nor the sympathy of the country. It is enough to have one's convictions, to feel one's despair, to be determined to perish. The less a country wants revolution, the more naturally will they turn to terror who want, no matter what, to remain revolutionaries, to cling to their cult of revolutionary destruction.[71]

Haberer agrees, but puts more emphasis on "Jewish participation." "Despite the obvious presence of Jews in *Chernyi Peredel*, it has been argued that Jews *qua* Jews were more attracted to *Narodnaia Volia* because political terrorism was more congenial to Jewish participation than the theory and practice of traditional Populism."[72] Unlike Populism which required persuasion and a meeting between the Jewish and Russian Christian mind:

> urban-centred terrorist activity significantly "broadened the range of possibilities for Jewish revolutionaries – both psychologically and factually." Factually, it provided Jews with the unprecedented opportunity to be active in an urban environment that was much more conducive to their natural abilities and national characteristics: instead of acting as propagandists in the name of an alien ideology in an alien peasant environment, they now were able to partake in activities where their Jewishness was less of a liability than previously. Without feeling a sense of inferiority, without necessarily divesting themselves of their Jewish traits, as Narodovoltsy they could participate fully and effectively in the sort of work for which they were ideally suited as Jews. In short, their characteristically Jewish abilities of "underground organization" and "technical know-how" were a real asset readily appreciated and sought after by their Russian comrades. Psychologically, *Narodnaia Volia* provided Jews with a political rationale for revolutionary action that was

> much more in tune with their experience of Jewish rightlessness than Populist abstractions of social revolution.[73]

As with the Armenians, ethnic grievance was a driving force. Haberer identifies "the real psychological force" which drove so many Jews to embrace revolutionary terrorism as "*di yidishe rekhtlozikeyt*," which motivated Jews in the Pale of the Settlement in the late 19th century much as terms like anti-Semitism motivate them today. Like Armenians, Jews "were motivated by the suffering and emancipatory strivings of their own people."[74] Aron Zundelevich, "the most Jewish Jew among Jewish revolutionaries," according to Tscherikower, chose the party name "Moishe," because he saw himself as leading his people out of bondage to the Pharaoh/Tsar through revolutionary activity. In Sergei Kravchinskii's portrayal of Zundelevich in his *roman a clef The Career of a Nihilist*, the Zundelevich character tries to reconcile revolutionary internationalism and Jewish self-interest:

> "No, I am not attracted to your people," he said at last, with a slow sad voice. 'Why should I be? We Jews, we love our race, which is all we have on the earth. I love it deeply and warmly. Why should I love your peasants, who hate and ill treat my people with, blind barbarity? who tomorrow will perhaps loot the house of my father, an honourable working-man, and brutally assault him, as they have done to thousands of other poor hard-working Jews? I can pity your peasants for what but contempt can one feel for such wholesale cowards? No, there is nothing in your Russia worth caring for. But I knew the Nihilists, and I loved them even more than my own race. I joined and fraternized with them, and that is the only tie which binds me to your country. As soon as we have done with Your Tsar's despotism, I shall expatriate myself forever, and settle somewhere in Germany . . . Germany is the only land where we are not total strangers."[75]

Leon Trotsky would universalize Jewish ethnocentrism under the name of Communism. Theodor Herzl would canonize it in the name of Zionism, and during the 1880s the revolutionary movement in Russia became more violent and more Jewish as it moved south and deeper into Jewish territory:

> Working in a familiar terrain that in towns like Minsk and Taganrog which was still poorly policed, these individuals were for some time relatively free to propagate socialism and organize circles which were often predominantly Jewish in composition. Their Jewishness, as well as their ability to operate in native surroundings, made for easy contacts with Jewish *inrelligentsy* and workers. The net effect of all this was that although the centralized party was destroyed in 1881-2, new provincial centres of revolutionary subversion were constantly and autochthonously recreated by Jewish Narodovoltsy in 1883-87.[76]

The turn toward terrorism which began in 1879 with the creation of *Narodnaya Volya* initiated a string of violent atrocities which culminated in the assassination of Alexander II in 1881.[77] The murder of the Czar brought no political benefits. The "people" did not rise up in support of the revolutionaries in charge of the "People's Will" who spoke in their name. As a result of the horror which was the most common public reaction to the Czar's death, "the radical cause lost a great deal of popular support," and the government "responded with a variety of repressive measures and counter-intelligence operations which made it increasingly difficult for the revolutionaries to function,"[78] in recognition that Jewish revolutionaries played a crucial role in that assassination. If "Moishe" Zundelevich had not perfected the use of dynamite as a terrorist weapon, it could not have been used to kill the Tsar. According to Haberer:

> The role of Zundelevich in utilizing dynamite for revolutionary purposes has been confirmed by several of his contemporaries. Grigorii Gurevich states that he and his comrades in the Berlin circle "knew that Arkadii had bought dynamite from somewhere and had brought it to St. Petersburg." This, he claims, "was the first dynamite which the revolutionaries received in Russia." Lev Deich goes so far as to attribute to Zundelevich alone the idea of using the newly invented explosive for terrorist objectives. "To Zundelevich," he writes, "belongs the initiative to replace knives and revolvers with dynamite and bombs which, due to his efforts began to be produced by home-made methods in Russia." . . . It was Sergei Kravchinskii who, upon his request, conducted experiments in the Swiss mountains to test the efficacy of dynamite and other explosives. Communicating his findings, Kravchinskii confirmed Zundelevich's own preference for dynamite which, he told him, "corresponds best with the targets singled out for terrorist acts." Reassured that dynamite was the "right stuff," Zundelevich used his contacts in Switzerland to secure samples for the terrorists' "laboratory" in St. Petersburg. Thus, aside from promoting the introduction of dynamite into the revolutionary struggle, Zundelevich also helped to initiate the actual home-made production of the "elegant and slender bombs."[79]

But even the officials[80] failed to see the magnitude of the revolutionary forces arrayed against them because they "did not yet attribute any political significance to the presence of 'Jewish Nihilists' in the Russian revolutionary movement."[81] These officials were unable to identify the enemy and, therefore, destined to fight a losing battle against something they could not understand. This situation changed in 1880, when "the mania of pervasive Jewish revolutionary conspiracy gained a foothold in Russian society and began to influence social policy against Jews, or more specifically against Jewish revolutionaries. . . . In May 1880 Isaak Gurvich, a Minsk Chernoperedelets imprisoned in St. Petersburg, was told by a penitentiary official that he

should not expect to be released because Jews were considered particularly subversive."[82]

The high proportion of Jews in the South-Russian Organization was not without ideological significance. It gave the group a much more radical political orientation than might have been otherwise. This was clearly evident at one of their early meetings, where disagreements over terrorism caused a split between Jewish and gentile delegates, "with the latter opposing terrorism as injurious to the cause of socialist propaganda, and the former arguing for 'the systematic and uninterrupted repetition of terrorist acts' as the only means to destroy tsarism."[83] Orzhikh and Shternberg were the most outspoken exponents of the Jewish position, which rested on the revolutionary Jews' general commitment to political rather than socialist objectives.

On 24 July 1878 a momentous event took place in Odessa which in the annals of Russian revolutionary history is called the "first armed demonstration." Jews played a major role in organizing it:

> Solomon Efremovich Lion (1857-19?), leader of the Odessa circle of Lavrovists, and Solomon Iakovlevich Vittenberg (1852-79), leader of the Nikolaev circle, were among the principal organizers of the demonstration. In the forefront of the demonstrators were six Jewesses – Viktoriia Gukovskaia, Fanny Moreinis, Khristina Grinberg, Sofia Orzhikh, and the sisters Anastasia and Sofia Shekhter. Except for Gukovskaia, all of them were either members of Lion's circle or had been tied with the defunct Kovalskii circle.[84]

Solomon Lion converted to terrorism while in prison for the role he played in the Kovalskii demonstration. Eschewing "peaceful propaganda," Lion "admonished his erstwhile Lavrovist friends to remain dedicated to the revolutionary cause which now demanded 'terror and tsaricide.'" His colleague Vittenberg, who "had already made his debut as a terrorist during the Kovalskii protest, when he fired at advancing soldiers and thus turned this event into an armed demonstration," was then involved in plans to blow up the Czar's train as it passed through Nikolaev. "Except for Vittenberg's 'right hand,' the Ukrainian sailor Logovenko, all those who applied themselves 'with great enthusiasm to the task' were Jewish youths of the Nikolaev radical community."[85] Togther with their support staff "Vittenberg and Logovenko worked ceaselessly to construct the mine which they intended to plant beneath the road along which Alexander II was expected to travel on his way through Nikolaev." Those plans went awry when Solomon Vittenberg was arrested on August 16, 1878 after the police had discovered his address on a person who had been sent from Odessa to assist in the assassination. Vittenberg, was hanged on 10 August 1879 in the same town where he hoped to kill the Tsar.

When General N. I. Shebeko issued his comprehensive report on revolutionary subversion in Russia during 1878 through 1887:

> he warned that during the same period "the profession of destructive ideas has generally, little by little, become the property of the Jewish element, which very often figured [prominently] in revolutionary circles." To make his case stick, he added in parentheses that "approximately 80 per cent of known socialists in the South [of Russia] in 1886-1887 were Jews."[86]

Shebeko's study showed "that the tsarist government had good reasons indeed to be wary of Jewish socialists and to be convinced that 'Jews were the most dangerous component of the revolutionary movement.'" Jewish control of subsequent scholarship has obscured "the factual basis underlying the phobia in official and reactionary circles that the Jew was poised to destroy Holy Tsarist Russia."[87]

THE ROLE OF NATIONALITY

Disappointed by the Great Powers' failure to implement the provision for Armenian self-determination contained in the Treaty of Berlin, a group of Armenian students in Geneva, Switzerland organized the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party in August 1887[88] after falling under the influence of Mekertitch Portugalian, whose journal *Armenia* promoted a combination of socialism and nationalism. The Hunchakian Revolutionary Party was the brainchild of a young couple: Avetis Nazarbekian, who had written some of the most revolutionary articles in *Armenia,* and his fiancée Mariam Vardanian, otherwise known as Maro. Nazarbekian was the handsome nephew of a wealthy Armenian capitalist from Tiflis who was financing his education. Maro was another Russian Armenian from Tiflis. After graduating from the gymnasium there, Maro enrolled as a student of the social sciences at the university in St. Petersburg, where she became "a member of a secret Russian revolutionary band."[89] Maro and Nazarbekian fell under the spell of *Narodnaya Volya* during their time at the university, which Narbandian finds unsurprising because all of the Armenian students who founded the Hunchak Revolutionary Party

> were either born in Russia or educated there, and all were well acquainted with Russian revolutionary ideology. Mariam Vardanian (Maro), a member of the committee that wrote the plans for the revolutionary organization, had worked with the Russian revolutionaries in St. Petersburg and, according to the late Mushegh Seropian, hers was the ruling intellect of the group. . . . The Geneva students also associated and were on good terms with the Russian Social Democrats G. V. Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich, who were then in Geneva. Both had been former members of the secret Russian revolutionary societies *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom) and *Cherny Peredyel* (Black-Earth Distribution),

> and at the time of the founding of the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party, Plekhanov was known as the leading Russian exponent of Marxism.[90]

Nationality played a crucial role in the emergence of revolutionary terror, both in Russia and Armenia. In Russia, the Jews were the ethnic group which dominated the spread of "the virus of terror" from the south into cultural and political capitals in the north like St. Petersburg. Ethnic Russians made up only 31 percent of the revolutionary groups, indicating that "nationality emerges as an explanatory factor in the genesis of southern terrorism"[91] and that "Jews constituted an important, if not crucial, national element in turning the region into a hotbed of terrorist violence."[92]

The Jews and the Armenians adopted revolutionary ethno-centrism, whose main enemies—the Russian and Ottoman Empires respectively—preached a transnationalism based on language and religion. The choice between Zionist nationalism and Communist internationalism was latent at this point and would only become apparent with the emergence of Herzl, who took the Jewish revolutionary spirit in the former direction and Trotsky, who took it in the latter direction.

Among Jews, "the Zeitgeist dictated that a choice had to be made between 'Jewish national' or 'Russian revolutionary' loyalty. The process of taking sides was extremely tortuous and many wavered before deciding whether their loyalty belonged to the Jewish people or, ultimately, to the Russian revolutionary movement," but for Armenian revolutionary groups like the Hunchaks and the Dashnaks, there seemed to be no contradiction at all, and so revolutionary activity proceeded apace during the 1890s in Armenia in a way that it did not in Russia. Unlike their Russian Jewish counterparts, the Hunchaks saw no contradiction between national aspirations and universal socialism.[93] For the Hunchaks, "nationalism and socialism were mutually compatible and could be harmoniously developed together,"[94] with nationalism as the driving force behind revolutionary terrorism and socialism the basis for governance once the revolution succeeded.

Contact with the cutting edge of revolutionary socialism at European universities left Maro and Nazarbakian feeling dissatisfied with Portugalian's leadership. When they failed to get his cooperation, they struck out on their own, convinced that "the present state of affairs had to be destroyed by means of a revolution" so that a new order might emerge from the ashes of the old based upon "economic truths" and "socialistic justice."[95] The Hunchaks focused on the situation in Turkish Armenia, and terror was seen as an integral part of their new program and necessary to "elevate the spirit of the people."[96] Among the delusions which the Armenian students picked up during their discussions at the university, the Hunchaks felt that terror could be used "as a method of protecting the people and winning their confidence in the Hunchak program"[97] when the opposite was the case. The majority of the Armenian

people never sympathized with terrorism, which invariably brought about a reaction from the Ottoman government which punished those who were most accessible, most visible, most vulnerable and least responsible for the actions of the terrorists. Undeterred by reservations of this sort, the Hunchaks

> aimed at terrorizing the Ottoman government, thus contributing toward lowering the prestige of that regime and working toward its complete disintegration. The government itself was not to be the only focus of terroristic tactics. The Hunchaks wanted to annihilate the most dangerous of the Armenian and Turkish individuals who were then working for the government, as well as to destroy all spies and informers. To assist them in carrying out all of these terroristic acts, the party was to organize an exclusive branch, specifically devoted to performing acts of terrorism.[98]

Peasants and workers, according the Hunchakian plan, would form roving guerilla bands which would spread terror in anticipation of taking the reins of government and ruling according to democratic principles, with details to be worked out at a later date.[99] "The immediate objective was the independence of Turkish Armenia; the future objective was Socialism."[100] The combination of socialism and nationalism as goals "reflected the influence of Russian revolutionary thought" in general, but the emphasis on terrorism as its method reflected the influence of *Narodnaya Volya* in particular.[101] The most opportune time to institute the general rebellion was when Turkey was engaged in war. [102]

Five years after the creation of the Hunchaks, another group of revolutionaries, the Dashnaks, created the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Tiflis in 1892. Their goal was "to bring about by rebellion the political and economic emancipation of Turkish Armenia."[103] Both groups were inspired by *Narodnaya Volya.*

Like their Jewish counterparts in *Narodnaya Volya*, the Hunchaks and the Dashnaks were committed to "the use of terror"[104] in achieving their goals, often against their own people.[105] The revolutionary strategy was to commit acts of terror and thereby provoke retaliation from the Ottoman government, which would then radicalize the general Armenian population, making them more likely to cast their lot with the terrorists. The Hunchaks also hoped "to provoke the Turks to commit excesses that would draw the attention of the Christian world and bring about European intervention."[106] At this point we can see the dim outlines of the role which the Hunchaks and Dashnaks played in the Armenian genocide. The exploits of the Armenian guerrilla bands inspired a "hero worship," which "continues to the present day,"[107] but it obscured the fact that:

> "the revolutionaries were not only opposed by the bulk of the Armenian population and of its ecclesiastical leadership, but in fact comprised a very small segment of that population." Hence they were often driven

> to resort to terror against their own people. British consular reports mention several attempts to assassinate Armenian patriarchs and many instances of Armenians killed for failure to contribute to the costs of the revolutionary struggle or accused of being traitors or spies.[108]

Undeterred by the toll their activity was taking on their own people, Armenian revolutionary groups proliferated in exile during the 1880s. Armenian refugees and emigres from Turkey formed a revolutionary cell in Tiflis in the early 1880s. Many of the Armenian students who studied at Russian universities "became assimilated into Russian life and lost interest in their own people,"[109] but many more became radicalized by the same experience, joined revolutionary groups like *Narodnaya Volya*, and then brought the revolutionary virus back to Armenia, where it festered underground waiting for the right moment to emerge. In 1884 one of underground cells was taken over by Christopher Mikaelian, "a member of the *Narodnaya Volya,* who later became one of the founders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation or Dashnaktsuthiun."[110] Armenian language journals like the *Herald of Freedom*, which came into existence one year before Portugalian's *Armenia*, published articles which "showed the influence of both European and Russian revolutionary thought and socialistic ideas" and promoted "the same methods advocated by the *Narodnaya Volya*—propaganda, agitation, organized bands, and terror."[111]

The students who left the universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg and moved into Transcauscasia to form revolutionary circles in places like Tiflis began crossing the Russo-Turkish border while Armenakan agitators were crossing the same border from the opposite direction bringing news of revolutionary activity from predominantly the Armenian region around Van.[112] Close collaboration with Russian revolutionaries led their Armenian colleagues to believe that "an organized revolution in Turkey was close at hand."[113] The success Greek and Bulgarian revolutionaries had had in breaking away from the Ottoman Empire convinced the Armenians that their nation too could be liberated through concerted activity. As a result, the Armenian revolutionaries took what they learned from their Jewish mentors and began to form their own ethnic revolutionary movement:

> Many of the intelligentsia and young students who had been working for reforms in Russia through secret Russian societies (*Zemlya i Volya*, *Narodnaya Volya*, and *Chernyi Peredel*) started forming groups that became primarily concerned with Armenian politics. The influence and ideas obtained by Armenians who worked in Russian revolutionary circles were also transferred into Armenian affairs. The strength of Russian revolutionary theories greatly contributed to making Armenians more eager for revolutionary action. This ideological influence was conspicuous among the Armenian revolutionary organizations formed after the Russo-Turkish War. Nearly all these Armenian organizations in

> Russia were led by persons who were members or close associates of the Russian Narodniks. They included followers of the sociological theories of Mikailovsky and Lavrov as well as members and adherents of Russian revolutionary societies, particularly the *Narodnaya Volya*.[114]

After a lull caused by the general revulsion which the majority felt at the assassination of the Czar Alexander in 1881, revolutionary activity increased in the 1890s in Turkey and Russia. In 1887, the year in which Maro and Nazarbekian founded the Hunchaks, Alexander Ulianov was arrested while carrying a bomb which was to be used to assassinate the new Czar. Ulianov, whose younger brother Vladimir, later known as Lenin, would go on to fame as the man who toppled the Russian Empire, joined *Narodnaya Volya* during the 1880s when he, like Maro, was a student at the university in St. Petersburg. Alexander's trial and execution was the turning point in Lenin's life. Exiled from the respectable bourgeoisie by his brother's action, Lenin vowed to destroy the society which had rejected him.

> During this period Lenin did a great deal of reading. He plowed through the "progressive" journals and books of the 1860s and 1870s, especially the writings of Nicholas Chernyshevskii, which, according to his own testimony, had on him a decisive influence. During this trying time, the Ulianovs were ostracized by Simbirsk society: people shunned association with relatives of an executed terrorist from fear of attracting the attention of the police. This was a bitter experience which seems to have played no small part in Lenin's radicalization.[115]

By the fall of 1888, when he moved with his mother to Kazan, Lenin was a full-fledged radical, filled with boundless hatred for those who had cut short his promising career and rejected his family, namely, the tsarist establishment and the "bourgeoisie." In contrast to typical Russian revolutionaries, such as his late brother, who were driven by idealism, Lenin's dominant political impulse was and remained hatred. Lenin, who was born in 1870, graduated from the Gymnasium in the same year that his brother was executed.

By the summer of 1894, Hunchak revolutionaries were active in every province of Turkey, and their actions were provoking Turkish authorities to retaliate. Those activities led to an armed insurrection in the Armenian village of Sassun, when the local Armenian population, "under the prodding of Armenian revolutionaries, refused to pay the customary tribute to Kurdish chiefs."[116] When the Armenians with the help of the Hunchaks took up arms, the Kurds were "unable to subdue their former underlings" and "appealed for help to the Ottoman government." Help came in the form of Turkish troops and Hamidaye regiments, the Turkish equivalent of Russian Cossacks and the Black and Tans unleashed on Ireland a few years later, who "massacred those who had surrendered and many others, including women and children."[117]

After the dust settled, a report issued by a Turkish committee of inquiry "blamed the entire episode on Armenian provocation."[118] The murderous retaliation fit well into Hunchak plans. George Hepworth, an American observer who was considered a friend of the Armenians, claimed that "the revolutionists are doing what they can to make fresh outrages possible. That is their avowed purpose. They reason that if they can induce the Turks to kill more of the Armenians, themselves excepted, Europe will be forced to intervene."[119]

Following the creation of the "Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, commonly referred to as the "Dashnaktsuthiun" in 1890, Dashnak terrorism exacerbated an already tense situation by fueling ethnic hatred. The most striking characteristic of the 1890s, according to Pipes, was "the prevalence and intensity of hatred: ideological, ethnic, social."[120] One group Pipes singled out as caught up in that maelstrom of hatred was the Armenians:

> The monarchists despised the liberals and socialists. The radicals hated the "bourgeoisie." The peasants loathed those who had left the commune to set up private farms. Ukrainians hated Jews, Muslims hated Armenians, the Kazakh nomads hated and wanted to expel the Russians who had settled in their midst under Stolypin. Latvians were ready to pounce on their German landlords. All these passions were held in check only by the forces of order – the army, the gendarmerie, the police – who themselves were under constant assault from the left. Since political institutions and processes capable of peacefully resolving these conflicts had failed to emerge, the chances were that sooner or later resort would again be had to violence, to the physical extermination of those who happened to stand in the way of each of the contending groups. It was common in those days to speak of Russia living on a "volcano."[121]

Pipes describes Lenin's hatred as a classic example of the hatred of the 1890s. Pipes sees "something repulsive and terrible in it; for being rooted in the concrete, I should say even animal, emotions and repulsions, it was at the same time abstract and cold like Lenin's whole being."[122] Lenin later adopted Marxism as the vehicle of this hatred, but from 1887 through 1891, "Lenin was not and could not have been a Marxist in the Social-Democratic sense, because this variant of Marxism was still unknown in Russia."[123] Lenin first learned how to mobilize his hatred politically from the "Jewish epigones of *Narodnaia Volia*," who "sustained the movement in its darkest hour and preserved its tradition for the new parties of opposition which arose in the 1890s."[124] *Narodnaya Volya* had a profound effect on Lenin's thought and during the crucial period, Lenin "was a typical follower of the People's Will."[125]

The arrests which followed the assassination of the Tsar in 1881 and the arrests in the late 1880s, when Lenin's older brother was captured and executed, "netted a disproportionally large number of Jews" which "was an accurate

reflection of their historic importance" in the revolutionary movement of that time."[126] This also confirmed tsarist officials in their suspicions that:

> that the Jews were a particularly hardy and volatile element accounting for much of the political unrest of the two decades between 1870 and 1890. What the police official of the Third Department, M. M. Merkulov, had already voiced with grave concern in 1877 – namely, that the Jewish Youth was an important potential source of recruits for the revolutionary movement – had become a stark reality ten years later.[127]

Jews were drawn to terrorism for specifically Jewish reasons. Their attempts to educate and then radicalize the Russian peasants failed because the peasants did not trust them. Marx admired *Narodnaya Volya's* commitment to terrorism because it showed that in Russia, revolution could be made by "a handful of people." Revolution did not have to flow from "the inevitable social consequences of mature capitalism" as it would in England and Germany. Rather it could be brought about by "terror and *coup d'etat*" in pre-industrial societies like Russia by terrorist groups like *Narodnaya Volya.*[128]

After Lenin became familiar with Marx, he tried to unite Marxism's philosophical and economic concepts with the understanding of "a tightly disciplined, conspiratorial, and professional revolutionary party,"[129] which he derived from *Narodnaya Volya.* After witnessing the success of the social democrats in Germany, Lenin incorporated parts of their program, but he never departed from the People's Will as the model for his political organization. Years after the Russian Revolution, Lenin explained to Karl Radek that the Bolshevik strategy involved an attempt "to reconcile Marx with *Narodnaya Volya.*"[130] In Kazan and Samara, Lenin learned from first hand contact with ex-Narodvoltsy, that the People's Will "was structured hierarchically and operated in a quasi-military manner. Unlike Land and Freedom, its parent organization, it rejected the principle of equality of members, replacing it with a command structure."[131] Pipes makes it clear that:

> Lenin took over these organizational principles and practices *in toto.* Discipline, professionalism, and hierarchical organization were all a legacy from the People's Will which he sought to inject into the Social-Democratic Party and, when the effort failed, imposed on his own Bolshevik faction. In 1904 he asserted that "the organizational principle of revolutionary Social-Democracy strives to proceed from the top downward" and requires the parts or branches to subordinate themselves to the party's central organ—language which could have come from the statues of the People's Will.

Lenin, however, departed from the practices of the People's Will in two important respects. The *Narodnaya Volya,* although hierarchically organized, did not allow for personal leadership: its Executive Committee functioned collegially. This was also the theoretical basis of the Bolshevik Central

Committee (which had no formal chairman), but in practice Lenin completely dominated proceedings and it rarely took major decisions without his approval. Second, the People's Will did not intend to become the government of a Russia liberated from tsarism: its mission was to end with the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. For Lenin, by contrast, the overthrow of autocracy was only a prelude to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," managed by his party.[132]

Lenin popularized his views in *What Is to Be Done?,* published in March 1902 as his attempt to cloak the ideas of the People's Will in Social-Democratic vocabulary. In his manifesto, Lenin called for the creation of a disciplined, centralized party composed of full-time, professional revolutionaries dedicated to the overthrow of the tsarist regime. The program which Lenin formulated in 1902 "made an immense impression on Russian socialist intellectuals among whom the older traditions of the People's Will remained alive and who were growing impatient with the dilatory tactics advocated by Plekhanov, Akselrod, and Martov" because it "spelled out in plain language and translated into programs of action the ideas which his socialist rivals, lacking the courage of their convictions, hedged with countless qualifications."[133]

A TRAITOROUS FIFTH COLUMN

Lenin's application of the principles of *Narodnaya Volya* limped far behind the Hunchaks and Dashnaks, who had put *Narodnaya Volya*'s principles into action years before Lenin wrote "What is to be done?" Two years after the Turks put down the rebellion in Sassun, the Armenian terrorists staged another abortive uprising in Van in June 1896. Nalbandian credits action by "members of the Hunchak and Dashnak organizations" as "instrumental in diverting the strength of the invading forces and saving the inhabitants of the city from wholesale massacre."[134] The terrorists may have prevented a massacre, but the fact that they came out of hiding and gathered in Van allowed the Turks to kill a number of them and force their surviving members to flee to Persian territory, leaving "the Van region, for a time, without organized leadership."[135] The pyrrhic victory in Van also moved Mekertitch Portugalian to break with the Hunchak revolutionaries because of their imprudence, further dividing Armenian nationalist forces.[136]

During the 1890s, the Armenian revolutionaries initiated a series of armed uprisings that issued in repeated failure and, what is worse, provoked profound suspicion among the Turkish majority that the Armenians were a traitorous fifth column who were collaborating with Turkey's enemies to bring about the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, a suspicion which would have terrible consequences in 1915. On September 30, 1895, the Hunchaks organized a demonstration in Constantinople during which they attempted to present a petition in support of reform proposals to the grand vizier. When

the armed demonstrators found their progress blocked several hundred yards from government offices, shots rang out and in the ensuing melee 60 Armenians and 15 Turkish gendarmes were killed. The Turkish majority in the city retaliated by swarming into the Armenian quarter and slaughtering anyone they could find. The Turks later claimed that: "the Armenians had brought the calamity on themselves by their ambition for autonomy,"[137] but the "inexpressly cruel" mode of retaliation of the Turks that "punished the innocent as well as the guilty" was out of all proportion to the demonstration which engendered it. The massacre had evidently been planned beforehand, for, according to Consul Graves, "before it began hundreds of Turkish women flocked into town carrying sacks in which to remove the loot of the Armenian quarter."[138]

Less than two weeks later, the Hunchaks struck again by fomenting another uprising in Zeitun on October 12, 1895. That uprising lasted for four months until February 1, 1896, and it ended only because of the intervention of the European powers.[139]

Bringing about the intervention of European powers on the side of the Armenians had been one of the main goals of the Hunchak party. Considered from this point of view, the uprising could have been considered a success, but it also pointed out the failure of the Armenian revolutionary program as well, because it showed that they could not bring about a revolution on their own. Demoralized by their success, The Hunchakian Revolutionary Party ended its political activity,[140] opening the door for the Dashnaks, who were more determined than ever to use terrorism to bring about their political goals.

On August 26, 1896, the Dashnaks tried their hand at armed insurrection when "a group of revolutionaries, armed with firearms and dynamite, seized the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople and threatened to blow up the bank if their demands for the introduction of reforms in Armenia were not granted."[141] The events of a year repeated themselves and Turkish mobs once again looted the Armenian quarter killing between five and ten thousand innocent people.[142] Once again, intervention from the Christian nations of Europe failed to arrive.

> The revolutionaries, led by men safely ensconced in the capitals of Europe, had issued irresponsible threats of violence, wrote the British official Ardern Hulme-Beaman. They had pursued "their infamous and futile programme of attempting to force the hand of Europe by outrages on innocent people, Christians like themselves." The responsibility for the ruthless massacres therefore "rests divided between the cowardly Committees abroad and the braggart and ineffectual intervention of Europe." England, in particular, argued Hepworth, had promised protection for the persecuted Christians, "but her protection is a sham and a shame. She can talk eloquently about oppression, and she can play

> the simple and easy game of bluff; but when deeds are to be done she retires from the field."[143]

In late July of 1897, one year after the ill-fated raid upon the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, a force of 250 Dashnaks left their base on the Persian border and attacked the encampment of the Mazrik Kurdish tribe in the plain of Khanasor near the city of Van, where they "killed or barbarously mutilated men, women and children." The barbarism of the Khanasor raid had "a major effect on the Armenians," who "experienced a sense of encouragement, and hope grew that they would [be] able to attain their political freedom by themselves rather than having to rely on impotent European promises."[144] Unfortunately, it also confirmed the Dashnaks in their commitment to terrorism, which antagonized their Turkish and Kurdish neighbors and encouraged them to act in the same barbarous manner in retaliation. Each time the Armenian revolutionaries committed an atrocity, they paved the way for the retaliation which came in 1915, when the Kurds and Turks could settle scores created 20 years earlier.

WHO ARE THE DÖNMEH?

The Armenians didn't have a monopoly on cowardly committees abroad. The Young Turks went to the same European universities, where they imbibed the same revolutionary ideas. In February 1902, the first congress of the Ottoman opposition held its convention in Paris bringing together the disaffected groups which had imbibed the revolutionary virus from their exposure to 19th century European thought. Those groups included "Ottoman liberals, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) or *Ittihad ve Terraki,* known as the Young Turks, and an Armenian delegation in which the Dashnaks played an important role."[145]

Young Turk revolutionary activity centered on Salonika, in what is now Greece but was then part of the Ottoman Empire. Salonika was a city which had a large population of Dönmeh, the converso Jews who had become Muslims by following the example of Shabbetai Zevi, who apostasized on October 16, 1666 when Ottoman Sultan offered the man who had been recognized as the Jewish Messiah by every synagogue in Europe the choice of conversion to Islam or death at the hands of the sultan's archers. After his conversion in the New Pavilion of the Royal Palace in Edirne in eastern Thrace,[146] Shabbetai Zevi informed his followers at secret gatherings that he was still a Jew working undercover for the conversion of Turkish Muslims. This turned the Dönmeh into a fifth column, which lay dormant in Turkish society for centuries but sprang to life when the Dönmeh made contact with the Jewish revolutionary spirit in the late 19th century, when their children returned from European universities with their minds full of revolutionary ideas. The Dönmeh, according to Baer:

> played a significant role in turn-of-the-century Ottoman politics and an important founding and supporting role in the revolutionary movement. In 1899, the Dönme Mazlum Hakkı and the Jew Albert Fua, an important early CUP ideologue, began to publish a political journal in Paris. According to Nahum Slousch, writing in 1908, the Dönme religion and exceptional social position allowed them to become important intermediaries of the revolution. Soon after the revolution, the *Journal de Salonique* published the names of renowned individuals and businesses in Salonika that had provided financial assistance to the CUP. Perhaps surprisingly, the banker, textile merchant, director of one of the largest banking and commercial houses in the city, and head of the Chamber of Commerce Mehmet Kapancı used his wealth to fund the organization.[147]

Like wealthy Jews in Europe and America, like James Rothschild and Jacob Schiff, wealthy Dönmeh merchants such like Mehmet Kapancı "supported the revolution because they were Freemasons and believed that the sultan was stifling society with his despotism."[148] The progressive Terakki school which Kapancı and other Dönmeh founded was "one of the centers of the revolution," where "secret journals and manifestos were secretly distributed" to the student *avant garde* of the Turkish revolutionary movement.

> Some Dönme became so committed to political ideas discussed behind closed doors at the city's ubiquitous French, Italian, and Ottoman Masonic lodges in clandestine CUP meetings that they were considered the revolutionary vanguard. *Meşveret* noted how crucial the Dönme role was when it proclaimed that the Dönme, whom it labeled one of the most "modern" groups in the empire, were "the only group working in the movement" in the city. Slousch concurred with the view that Dönme intellectuals and civil servants were playing a crucial role. He noted that their history and religion caused them to evolve more and more into an association of freethinkers, separate from Muslims and Jews, placed in position to be an evolutionary and progressive factor in the city.[149]

Ottoman Salonika was "neither Turkish nor Greek, but Jewish."[150] Because of the Dönmeh influence in Salonika, Muslims who lived there were considered crypto-Jews. Because Salonika was "the only Jewish city in Europe (aside from Warsaw),"[151] it became the main locus of revolutionary activity in the Ottoman Empire. Salonika was "the cradle of the Young Turk movement" as well as "the center of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and socialist organizations."[152] Salonika's crypto-Jewish population, combined with its many unions, Masonic lodges, universities, and associations of radical civil servants, turned it into "the heart of the revolution of 1908."[153]

As in Russia and in Armenia, students made up the *avant garde* of the Islamo-Turkish revolutionary movement in the Ottoman Empire:

> The revolution was spearheaded by the CUP, first organized in 1889 by students at the Royal Medical Academy in Istanbul, who were heavily influenced by biological materialist ideology, and later spread to Paris and Cairo, and then to cities throughout the Ottoman Empire, including Salonika. Until 1902, the CUP was an umbrella organization for most groups aiming to assassinate Sultan Abdülhamid II or dethrone him in a *coup d'état*. One of the first to join was Dr. Nâzim, the director of the municipal hospital in Salonika (a building designed by Hamdi Bey's municipal architect Poselli) and scion of a leading Kapanci Dönme tobacco merchant family. Dr. Nâzim was one of the few to continue in the CUP from its founding to the revolution of 1908, at which time he had become one of the organization's two main ideologues.[154]

If Dr. Nâzım was the Dönmeh Trotsky, Baer claims that he was also "about as representative of the Dönmeh as Leon Trotsky was of Russian Jews,"[155] as his way of distinguishing between the ethnic group and the revolutionary *avant garde* which purported to speak in its name. Be that as it may, the dialectical conflict between ethnos and revolutionary ideology which Trotsky embodied played a significant role among all three groups: Turkish Dönmeh, Russian Jews, and "Christian" Armenians. Like the revolutionary cells which sprang up at universities, Salonika's Masonic Lodges could provide a secret space where Turks, Jews, and Armenians could talk as equals while sharing the illusion that revolutionary ideology had abolished ethnicity. That illusion was abetted by the rise of scientific racism, which lent ideological meaning to ethnic identity. Baer claims that in the period leading up to the coup of 1908, the Young Turks

> were marked by a materialist, positivist (replacing religion with science), social Darwinist (survival of the fittest), and anti-religious political theory, which opened Young Turks to accusation of atheism. Reflecting positivist leanings, the CUP's Paris-based official publication, *Meşveret* (Consultation), was dated according to the positivist French revolutionary calendar, which began on January 1, 1789, and not according to the Muslim calendar. At the same time, the CUP used Islamic rhetoric and references in their writing, calling Abdülhamid II an atheist. Although they seemed to promote Islam in public, in private they disparaged it, and they hoped it would eventually play no public role.[156]

Twenty years after the first bloody fighting in the region of Sassun, a new battle broke out there in the spring of 1904. The Dashnaks had been distributing weapons and organizing fighting units for some time; according to a chronicler of the struggle, this was done "with a view to a general uprising in the future." During the summer of 1905, the Dashnaks pursued their goal of "national liberation through armed struggle"[157] by launching large scale guerilla operations in the Mush district west of Van which took 5,000 lives.

Dashnak revolutionary activity reached its culmination on Friday, July 21, 1905 when a bomb exploded near the sultan's carriage, which was sitting outside a mosque in Constantinople, killing 26 people and wounding 58. Fortunately for the Sultan, he had lingered in the mosque saying his prayers and was not among that day's casualties.

Seven months earlier, on July 22, 1905 Gregory Capon had led a group of Russian peasants to the Tsar's winter palace in St. Petersburg hoping to hand a petition calling for land reform to Tsar Nicholas II. Instead of receiving the petition, Russian troops opened fire on the gathering, setting off the Russian Revolution of 1905. In 1903 Vyacheslav von Plehve, Russia's minister of the interior, had recognized the agrarian problem as one of the most serious issues plaguing Russia. But he also recognized that Russia had problems with the Jews, the universities and the workers as well. What von Plehve failed to see is that the Jewish revolutionary spirit united all of these problems:

> The attempted "Russian Revolution" of 1905 was widely known to have been the work of Jews, and many Jews took great pride in that fact. *The Maccabean* of London wrote in a November, 1905, article, "A Jewish Revolution," on page 250, "The revolution in Russia is a Jewish revolution, a crisis in Jewish history. It is a Jewish revolution because Russia is the home of about half the Jews of the world, and an overturning of its despotic government must have a very important influence on the destinies of the millions living there and on the many thousands who have recently emigrated to other countries. But the revolution in Russia is a Jewish revolution also because Jews are the most active revolutionists in the Tsar's empire."[158]

One of most significant figures in that revolution was the Russian Jew Alexander Parvus, who was born as Israel Lazarevich Gelfhand (or Helphand) on September 8, 1867 in the shtetl of Berzino in what is now Belarus. Like so many of his contemporaries, Parvus picked up the revolutionary virus at the university—in his instance the University of Basel—where he was first exposed to the writings of Alexander Herzen and other revolutionary thinkers. Parvus graduated from the university with a doctorate in political economy in 1891. Turning his back on an academic career and his native Russia, Parvus moved to Germany where he met Rosa Luxembourg and, in 1900, Vladimir Lenin, who, unlike Trotsky and Parvus, did not participate in the Russian revolution of 1905, preferring instead to watch events unroll from the safety of Switzerland. In January 1905 Parvus arrived in St. Petersburg, where he orchestrated a run on the state bank as his contribution to the overthrow of the government. He also wrote an influential article on the financial situation in Russia, but Lenin was most impressed with

> Parvus's theory of "uninterrupted" (or "permanent") revolution [which] provided a happy compromise between the orthodox Russian Social-

> Democratic doctrine of a two-phase revolution in which a distinct phase of "bourgeois" rule preceded socialism, and the anarchist theory of "direct assault," which Lenin preferred temperamentally but was unable to reconcile with Marxism. Parvus allowed for a "bourgeois" phase, but insisted on no interval separating it from the socialist phase, which would get underway concurrently.[159]

Parvus's plan made a deep impression on Lenin because it coincided perfectly with what Lenin had learned from his involvement with *Narodnaya Volya* during his student years in St. Petersburg. Parvus's plan spoke to people who felt that a small group could influence the course of history through concerted action without waiting for economic developments which could take decades. Instead, "the thesis was advanced" for the first time in the Russian revolutionary movement "that the proletariat should at once grasp for political power and . . . form a provisional government."[160] By September 1905, Lenin was arguing for an immediate transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution via revolutionary terror. "We favor an uninterrupted [*nepreryvnaia*] revolution. We will not stop haflway."[161] According to Parvus, there could be no alternative to armed insurrection, by which he meant the strategy and tactic of urban guerrilla warfare. In October 1905, Lenin told his followers in Russia to form, "'Detatchments of the Revolutionary Army,' whose members should equip themselves with a gun, revolver, bomb, knife, brass knuckles, stick, rag soaked in kerosene to start fires, rope or rope ladder, shovel to build barricades, slab of guncotton, barbed wire, nails."[162]

In the meantime, the same revolutionary spirit spread through Turkey's university students and Freemasons, who "let the CUP use their lodges after 1906."[163] By 1906, Turkish nationalism based on the pseudoscientific race theories of Europe had become the guiding ideology of the CUP. These would be the traits of the official ideology of the early Turkish Republic, and carrying "Jewish" rather than "Turkish blood" would ultimately be used against the Dönmeh.[164]

TURKISH MUTINY AND THE DÖNMEH

In June 1908 King Edward VII of England and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia met in the Estonian city of Tallinn to discuss the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 which attempted to regularize the borders of Persia and Afghanistan in order to solidify their control over the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire. Fearing that this meeting was a prelude to the partition of Macedonia, Turkish army units mutinied against Sultan Abdülhamid II and demanded that he restore the constitution which he had abrogated in 1876.[165] The revolt began on July 3, when the army followed the example of Major Ahmed Niyazi and refused to follow the orders of the sultan, who restored the constitution on July 24. Dönmeh journalists played an important role in the events of

July 1908. Fazlı Necip, a member of the Véritas lodge, became a leading CUP activist and publicist and during the revolution was put in charge of organizing and coordinating all the movement's propaganda activities in Salonika. "We journalists," he wrote:

> decided to take open action . . . to electrify the public. We staged a small revolution of our own in Istanbul. Famous writers in disfavor with the Sultan were all invited to write patriotic poems and articles welcoming the new liberty. We held the first street demonstrations, called a meeting of all sorts of writers, and organized a press association. Decisions were made immediately to communicate to the public excitement of the new era.[166]

Because it was a creation of the Whig Oligarchs who took over the Grand Lodge in London in 1721 and weaponized it to take down the House of Bourbon, Freemasonry was, with notable exceptions like the anti-Masonic party in America in the 1830s, never seen as a threat to the state in English speaking countries. However, outside of the Anglosphere it was always perceived as a revolutionary organization, which is exactly what it was during the first decade of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire, where:

> All the founding members, but one, of the Ottoman Freedom Society in Salonika (which became the internal headquarters when it merged with the Paris-based CUP, which served as external headquarters) were Freemasons or became Freemasons, and were members of either the Italian Obedience of Macedonia Risorta or the French Obedience of Véritas.[167]

Before the revolution of 1908, the CUP was "based in Salonikan Masonic lodges," which Young Turks could employ as "safe houses" when they needed to operate undetected by the police. After the revolution of 1908, Freemasons, who benefited from it as "the main force" behind the 1908 revolution, "supported the CUP in power, and thrived after Abdülhamid II was deposed."[168] Baer puts the relationships between the revolutionary groups in perspective when he writes, "Just as Marxists praised the Jewish role in promoting progress culminating in the Bolshevik Revolution, CUP members praised the Dönme role in 1908."[169]

Parvus brought these revolutionary groups together with the German government and arranged for Lenin's return to Russia:

> Aware of Lenin's war program, the Germans were eager to use him for their own purposes: after all, Lenin's call for the defeat of the tsarist armies was tantamount to an endorsement of a German victory. Their main intermediary was Parvus, one of the leaders of the St. Petersburg Soviet in 1905, the originator of the theory of "uninterrupted revolution," and more recently a collaborator with the Union for the Liberation of the

> Ukraine. Parvus had one of the most impressive intellects in the Russian revolutionary movement as well as one of the most corrupt personalities. After the failure of the 1905 Revolution, he concluded that a successful revolution in Russia required the assistance of German armies: they alone were capable of destroying tsarism. He placed himself at the disposal of the German Government, using his political connections to amass a sizable fortune.[170]

Baer claims that all of the Bolshevik leaders closest to Lenin were "of Jewish origin," while claiming simultaneously that "none of these prominent communists *wanted* to be Jewish."[171] Once again this paradox can be resolved by the Jewish revolutionary spirit, which became the common denominator of all of the revolutionary groups in Turkey at that time, including the nominally Muslim Young Turks and the nominally Christian Dashnaks and Hunchaks. Parvus was able to unite and manipulate these groups because he had an especially acute understanding of how this particular *Geist* worked in the minds of this political allies and how it could be mobilized for concrete political action. Trotsky may have declared his nationality to be "Social Democratic," and Dr. Nâzım could be considered the CUP's Trotsky only because they both shared the same Jewish revolutionary *Geist* which Parvus shared and knew how to manipulate. The same claim can be made of the Dönmeh, who also converted commercial and educational networks "of people, books, money, and information," along with practices of "mobility and secrecy, into revolutionary ones."[172] "The Dönme," according to Baer, "entered a new phase in their history when Salonika fell to Greece, ending nearly five centuries of Ottoman rule."[173] The fall of Salonika to Greek troops in 1912 precipitated a mass migration to Constantinople which transmitted a new infusion of the Jewish revolutionary spirit to the Ottoman Empire.

HERZL MEETS THE SULTAN

In May 1901 Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, asked his close Polish friend Phillip Newlinsky to deliver a letter to Sultan Abdülhamid II. In that letter, Herzl volunteered to pay off the Ottoman Empire's foreign debts and provide favorable press which would rehabilitate the tarnished reputation of the Ottomans in the eyes of Europeans if the sultan would allow Jewish settlement in Palestine and an eventual transfer of governance to the Jews living there. The sultan declined with the famous saying: "I won't sell anything, not even an inch of this territory because this country does not belong to me but to all Ottomans. My people won these lands with their blood. We give what we have the way we got it in the first place." Herzl repeated his offer once again the following year, but the answer was the same.[174]

During his negotiations with the sultan, Herzl promised to "give him political support on the Armenian issue," while at the same time trying to

convince the leaders of the Armenian revolt that if they surrendered to the Sultan, he would comply with some of their demands.[175] Herzl's conniving outraged Bernard Lazare, a French Jewish intellectual, leftist, well-known journalist and literary critic, who had fought prominently against the Dreyfus trial, and was a supporter of the Armenian cause. Lazare, who was "so incensed by Herzl's activity that he resigned from the Zionist Committee and abandoned the movement altogether in 1899," published an open letter to Herzl in which he asked: How can those who purport to represent the ancient people whose history is written in blood extend a welcoming hand to murderers, and no delegate to the Zionist Congress rises up in protest?"[176]

When the Sultan refused to give up Palestine voluntarily in exchange for favorable press in Jewish controlled papers, Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, threw his support to the Young Turks, thereby paving the way for the revolution which led to the ethnic cleansing of the Armenians.[177] The Young Turks drove the Sultan from his throne in 1908. After taking power, the Young Turks imprisoned the dethroned Sultan in the house of a Jewish banker living in Salonika, the now Greek city where the Young Turk movement first arose among its Dönmeh. To repay the Jews for their support, the Young Turks nationalized the territory formerly owned by the Sultan and threw Palestine open to Jewish settlements. The Young Turks outraged Islamic Ottomans by this move, which also exposed the behind the scenes conniving with Jews which helped the Young Turks seize power.

In a letter from Sultan Abdülhamid II to Shadhili Sheikh Abu'Shamat Mahmud, dated September 22, 1913, Sultan Abdülhamid said: "I quit being caliph because of the oppression and threats by the Young Turks. This group insisted that I approve the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. I rejected this proposition. They finally offered 150 million British gold pieces. I rejected this as well and I told them: 'I would never agree with you even if you offer not 150 million British gold but all the gold in the entire world. I served the Muslim community for more than 30 years. I did not let my forefathers down.' Following my final response, they agreed on my dethronement and sent me to Thessaloniki. I pray to Allah, I did not accept to establish a new state on Palestinian lands on the Ottoman State and the Islamic community."[178]

One of the Young Turks most avid supporters was the Jewish banker and freemason Emmanuel Carasso, "a friend of Grand Vizier Talat Pasha and a member of the delegation that declared to Sultan Abdülhamid II his dethronement. Thessaloniki deputy Carasso was the most powerful person of his time and also the organizer of Jewish migration to Palestine. The Young Turks paid their debt via helping Carasso multiply his fortune and allowing him to carry out a black food market during the Great War."

Carasso was also the link between Bolshevist and Zionist terrorist organizations through his newspaper *Young Turk*, which employed the Bolshevik Parvus as its economics editor and the Zionist terrorist Vladimir

Jabotinsky as its editor in chief.[179] Carasso subcontracted his involvement in the black market food operation to Parvus, who became the world's richest communist revolutionary as a result.

Disillusioned with the failure of the Russian Revolution in 1905 and the rise of the Social Democrats in Germany, Parvus turned his eyes southward and discerned something much closer to a revolutionary situation in the Ottoman Empire. Determined to exploit that situation and make money in the process, Parvus arrived in Constantinople in November 1910 under the false name of Albrecht Dvorak and with a false identity as a correspondent for the popular Kiev newspaper *Kiewskaya Mysl.*[180] Parvus was far from unknown in revolutionary circles in Constantinople. His popularity at the time far exceeded that of Marx, Engels and Bebel.[181] In May 1911 Parvus made his first, and largely unsuccesul foray into local politics by organizing a strike among that city's longshoremen.[182] His efforts, however, did not go unnoticed, and one year later the Young Turks hired him as economics editor of the daily newspaper *Turku Yurdu*, where he became one of the most sought after financial advisors for the Sublime Porte,[183] and from brokering deals from this position, Parvus became arguably the world's richest communist revolutionary. His did so well that after bringing about the Russian Revolution of 1917, Parvus would retire to Berlin, where he bought Peacock Island complete with castle in the middle of the Hawel River not far from the Wannsee.[184]

After his arrival in Constantinople in 1910, Parvus played a crucial role in bringing Turkish, Russian and Armenian revolutionaries together in an alliance to destroy Russia by collaborating with the Jewish Zionist Emmanuel Carasso, who was simultaneously Grand Master of the Macedonia Risorta Masonic Lodge and a member of the Young Turks' Committee of Union and Progress.[185] Carasso was a crucial figure in Salonika, whose connections to the Freemasons and Young Turks helped Parvus profiteer from the "Young Turk Revolution" in the grain and arms trade.

Two years before Parvus's arrival in Constantinople, the Berlin Executive office of the World Zionist Organization sent another Russian revolutionary, Vladimir Jabotinsky, to Constantinople, where he became editor-in-chief of *Jeune Turc*, a new pro-Young Turk newspaper founded with Zionist money provided by WZO president David Wolffsohn and his representative in Constantinople Victor Jacobson. As some indication of the close link between Zionism and Communism at the time, Parvus got hired as *Jeune Turc's* economic correspondent,[186] not long after his arrival in Constantinople. Both Parvus and Jabotinsky worked as propagandists for World Jewry in the Ottoman Empire, after the Jewish takeover.[187]

In 1917, the British Empire got behind the now deceased Herzl's Zionist plan for a Jewish homeland in Palestine when British Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour declared that His Majesty looked with favor on Jewish settlements in the lands which General Allenby eventually occupied in 1918. Since occupying

forces are not allowed to take action against private property, only the lands owned by Sultan Abdülhamid and seized by the Young Turks were taken over by the British, who in turn allowed them to be bought by Jews, to the disadvantage of the native Arab population.

After his discharge from the British Army in September 1919, Jabotinsky moved to Palestine, where he would implement the same terrorist tactics that *Narodnaya Volya* had implemented in Russia by training Jews in warfare and the use of small arms.[188] On April 6, 1920, Jabotinsky was arrested for his role in the 1920 Palestine riot and given a 15 year prison term, but released in July of the same year as part of a general pardon granted to Jews and Arabs convicted in the rioting. A subsequent committee of inquiry placed blame for the riots on the Zionists, alleging that they provoked the Arabs, and "Bolshevism," claiming, contrary to what most observers believed, that it "flowed in Zionism's inner heart."[189] The fact that Jabotinsky was "fiercely anti-socialist"[190] indicates that Jewish terrorism of the sort practiced by *Narodnaya Volya*, rather than socialism, was the common ground that Parvus and Jabotinsky shared. It also indicates that the Armenian Genocide was part of a larger plan whose ultimate goal was the creation of a homeland for the Jewish people. To achieve that goal, the Zionists had to bring about the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire by creating a conflict between Muslims and Christians. Parvus played a crucial role in fomenting that conflict because, in addition to aiding Trotsky, Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their attempt to destroy Russia, he worked with the Zionist Jabotinsky at a newspaper funded by the Salonikan Jew Emmanual Carasso, who made "Parvus immensely wealthy through corruption of the grain and arms trades while simultaneously scapegoating the Turkish people for the genocide of the Armenians, which the Jews engineered, financed, and perpetrated" through their Dönmeh proxies on the Committee for Unity and Progress.[191]

PARVUS'S BIG CHANCE

In 1914 Parvus got the biggest chance of his already charmed life when Gavrilo Princeps assassinated Archduke Ferdinand, who was on a state visit to Sarajevo, plunging Europe into a war which Parvus saw as the main opportunity for revolutionary activity. The *Sozialistische Partei Deutchlands* (SPD) approach to the *Arbeiterfrage* took a hit after the proletarians throughout Europe abandoned class consciousness and signed up to fight in national armies. Their willingness to shoot at fellow workers in neighboring lands showed that their ulitmate allegiance lay with the nation and not the international working class. But whatever prestige the Social Democrats lost soon found a home in terrorism. Like Karl Marx, Parvus was convinced that war was the locomotive pulling world history in its train.[192]

In far off Constantinople, Parvus understood in a flash that the best way to bring about the fall of the Russian Empire was to get Turkey to enter the war on the side of Germany, which he saw as the embodiment of progress because of the advanced stage of development which the workers' movement had attained there.[193] If the Entente Powers—England, France, and especially Russia—were to win the war, their victory would usher in a "new era of unlimited capitalistic exploitation."[194] To prevent this, the workers of the world had to unite against Russia, and that meant supporting the German war effort. "Democracy is threatened by Zarism," Parvus told the German high command, "therefore, we need to fight Zarism."[195] Parvus's Russophobia drove him into the arms of the German high command because he understood that the proximate goal of the war had to be, not the socialist revolution, but the fall of Russia, which would then bring about that revolution as its inevitable consequence. Defeat would lead to revolution, as it almost had in 1905 after Russia's defeat at the hands of Japan. Revolution in Germany had to take a backseat to the defeat of Russia and the revolution in St. Petersburg. To accomplish this, Turkey had to ally itself with Germany, but before that could happen Parvus had to arrange for certain developments in infrastructure, something he offered to do immediately along with strengthening the economy through his ties with Germany. Concretely, that meant making sure that Constantinople had sufficient grain supplies as well as modernizing Turkey's railroads.[196]

The strategy involved supporting national liberation movements among the ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. Russia's centralized government would have to be replaced by "an independent union of all of the nations making up the Russian empire."[197] Those national independence movements in Russia were the natural allies of the socialist parties. Nationalist and socialist revolutionaries should work side by side to put a final end to Russia's reactionary capitalist despotism. Following his plan consistently, Parvus promised full support to the Ukrainian, Georgian, and Armenian national liberation movements. Their leaders were told in no uncertain terms that their struggle was now to take place inside of Russia led by bands of local revolutionaries. Constantinople was to serve as the base of operations for an expedition of Ukrainian irregulars who were to spread revolution to the Russian heartland.

The plot to send Ukrainians and Circassians into the Russian heartland to link up with revolutionary Chechens and Don Cossacks failed miserably when the Russian emigre press published an article exposing the Ukrainian plot. The Ukrainian expedition also failed because the only people Parvus could interest in the project were a motley crew of adventurers, speculators, and political crooks, whose braggadocio and lust for vengeance betrayed the entire operation.[198]

But the cause of the failure was more than just accidental. In including the Armenians in his plot, Parvus showed himself completely ignorant of the

ethnic realities behind the Armenian nationality question in Turkey, where groups like the Dashnaks were using Russian Armenians to spread revolution in Ottoman Turkey and not vice versa. Furthermore, Parvus proposed his plot precisely when collaboration between revolutionaries from the various nationalities could not paper over deep-seated ethnic differences. The Islamic fundamentalist counter-coup of 1909 had been one instance of this phenomenon.

At their fifth congress (held in the fall of 1909) the Dashnaks affirmed their policy of cooperation with the Young Turks and their decision to discontinue their underground activities.[199] During the parliamentary election of 1912 the Dashnaks and the CUP still agreed on a common platform, but by early 1913 relations had become strained. Two years later the situation had changed completely. The flood of revolutionary solidarity which had buoyed up hope for fruitful collaboration had receded revealing the rocky shore of ethnic reality in its wake. Faced with the rise of an increasingly chauvinistic outlook among the Young Turks of the CUP, the Hunchaks came out of retirement and returned to terrorism.

> A Hunchak congress held in Constanza (Rumania) in September 1913 decided to move from legal to illegal activity, which included a plot to assassinate Talaat, the minister of the interior. In January 1913 he had been one of a group of nationalistic CUP leaders who had overthrown the cabinet and effectively enthroned themselves as dictators. The attempt to assassinate Talaat was not carried out, but it reflected the new more radical mood among many Armenian revolutionaries.[200]

When Russia invaded Turkey in 1915, revolutionary solidarity came to an abrupt end. Nationalism returned with a vengeance:

> Hence when many Armenians manifested open sympathy in 1915 for the Russian invaders of the eastern provinces, the Young Turks became convinced that only a radical measure such as the wholesale displacement of the Armenian population would provide a permanent solution to the recurring treasonous conduct of the Armenian minority. The Armenians had regarded the reform agreement as a kind of down-payment on the eventual complete liberation from Turkish rule. They did not realize that the Turks would do anything in their power, no matter how ruthless, in order to prevent the loss of what they regarded as the heartland of Turkish Anatolia. The strong desire to be free from the shackles imposed by the Armenian reform agreement may have been one of the reasons that led the Young Turks to sign the secret military alliance with Germany on August 2, 1914, and eventually to enter the war on the side of Germany several months later.[201]

Parvus was the main intermediary between the revolutionary movement and the German government. By getting Turkey to enter the war on the side

of Germany, Parvus sealed the fate of hundreds of thousands Armenians, whether the actions of the CUP were pre-meditated or not. The Armenian revolutionaries contributed to the fate of their countrymen in the eastern provinces by rising up in insurrection and linking up with the invading Russian army.

On March 18, 1915 an allied fleet of 18 battleships supported by numerous cruisers, destroyers and submarines attempted to force its way through the Dardanelles to capture Istanbul and thereby end the war on the eastern front. When the naval assault failed, the allies regrouped and decided on a land invasion to knock out the Turkish artillery which had prevented passage of the fleet. Because of a combination of botched logistics and bad weather, the land attack by Australian and New Zealand troops had to be postponed to April, giving the Turkish defenders and their German advisors four weeks to strengthen their defenses. That defense demanded the mobilization of all of Turkey's military resources, and at this point Russia attacked from the east, and the Armenian revolutionaries staged an uprising in Van, on the eastern frontier with Russia.

THE UPRISING IN VAN

In March of 1915, as Turkey was engaged in a life and death struggle with the most powerful navies on earth, Armenian revolutionaries, "using Russian weapons,"[202] cut telegraph lines, attacked the local constabulary, and engaged in the wholesale slaughter of local Muslims in the historic Armenian stronghold of Van, at the very moment when Russian troops were advancing into eastern Anatolia. The uprising in Van was calculated to take advantage of Turkey's most vulnerable moment. Its success was predicated on foreign intervention. After provoking retaliation by a superior Turkish force, which drained resources from the western front, the Armenian revolutionaries were saved by the advancing Russian army, with the support of Russian-Armenian units, which entered Van on May 20. The collaboration of Armenian and Russian forces in the capture of Van would prove one of the most pyrrhic victories in human history because it was used to justify the ethnic cleansing of all Armenians from the border region near Russia. The Sublime Porte took that Armenian-Russian collaboration as "final proof that the Armenians were in league with Turkey's enemies; they were traitors against whom any retribution would be fully justified."[203] The Armenian revolutionaries in Van made a bad situation worse by engaging in the wholesale slaughter of the Turks who had not fled when the Turkish garrison withdrew:

> After the departure of the Turks, writes the American missionary Clarence Ussher, the Armenians searched the city. "The men they put to death; the women and children they spared." Despite their protests, Dr. Ussher writes, this went on for two to three days. "They burned and

> murdered; the spirit of loot took possession of them, driving out every other thought." The American mission compound, which earlier had sheltered five thousand Armenian refugees, now took in one thousand Turkish women and children. "These thousand fugitives," wrote Mrs. Ussher in a letter, "would all have been killed had we not opened our doors to them." Another German missionary noted years later that the three days of Armenian revenge that she had witnessed in Van were difficult to forget. "The memory of these entirely helpless Turkish women, defeated and at the mercy of the victor, belongs to the saddest recollections from that time."[204]

The Armenian hegemony over Van lasted as long as the Armenian revolutionaries could count on Russian support. Once the allied assault on the Dardanelles failed, the Porte could re-deploy troops to the East. After Russian forces withdrew from Van under the blows of the Turkish counterattack in August 1915, "some 55,000 Armenians in the outlying villages of Van were mercilessly hunted down and killed,"[205] and the stage was set for the deportation of the entire Armenian population, which would cause the deaths of additional hundreds of thousands of Armenians.

After losing the war, the CUP was held accountable for those deaths by the Turkish press, which hoped to shift the blame from the Turkish people and lay it at the feet of the regime. To this day:

> The Turkish government denies that the Young Turk regime during World War I ordered the annihilation of the Armenian community and therefore was guilty of genocide. Until very recently, all Turkish historians took the same position. Their writings were heavily influenced by nationalism and, with few exceptions, were notable for extreme partisanship and a lack of critical self-reflection. The relocation of the Armenians, it is argued in this literature, was an emergency measure made necessary by the treasonable activities of the Armenian revolutionaries who organized a full-scale rebellion behind the Turkish lines. Unable to tell who was and who was not in league with the enemy, the Ottoman government had no choice but to remove the entire Armenian community to a new location in the interior of the country.[206]

Turkish authors have strenuously denied the charge of genocide, if by that we mean the planned extermination of a group of people, and have sought to justify the measures taken by the government as necessary in time of war. In April 1915, at the height of the Dardanelles campaign, the Ottoman generals "were forced to withdraw whole divisions from the front to combat the rebels."[207] The collaboration between Armenian revolutionaries in Van and the Russian troops advancing through eastern Anatolia convinced the CUP "that a general Armenian uprising was underway," and that that rebellion "endangered the very existence of the Ottoman state" and that only the

removal of the entire Armenian population would solve the problem.[208] As proof of Armenian intentions, the Turks needed to do nothing more than cite the writings of the Armenian revolutionaries themselves. In Article 6 of their revolutionary program, the Hunchaks claimed that the "most opportune time to institute the general rebellion for carrying out the immediate objective was when Turkey was engaged in war."[209]

Even if they had no intention of engaging in the systematic extermination of the Armenian people, the Turks were in no position to carry out the evacuation of the entire nation under wartime conditions through a region devoid of food and water and which was notorious for the brigands who pillaged travelers at will. Enver Pasha, who has been accused of being the mastermind behind the Armenian genocide, was so incompetent logistically that 78,000 of the troops of his Third Army "were killed, captured, died of hunger and disease, or froze to death" by the end of his disastrous Russian campaign in January 1915.[210] Enver's use of the treacherous activities of the Armenians as an excuse for his own incompetence as a general does not mean that the activities of the Armenian revolutionaries were not objectively treacherous or treasonous.

The passions of those Muslim Kurdish and Circassian thugs, whose hatred of the Armenians had been passed down from one generation to the next, had been inflamed by the recent behavior of a group of "Christian" revolutionaries who had thrown all moral restraint to the winds when they had the upper hand. The responsibility for that behavior needs to be laid at the feet of those responsible, and not at the feet of the Armenian people who were its victims. The responsibility for the genocide lies with the revolutionaries who corrupted the morals of their respective ethnic groups and led them to commit atrocities which were morally indefensible. Lewy cites Dyer's claim that "Turkish allegations of wholesale disloyalty, treason, and revolt by the Ottoman Armenians" are "wholly true as far as Armenian sentiment went, only partly true in terms of overt acts, and totally insufficient as a justification for what was done [to the Armenians]."[211] But this judgment, no matter how fair, misses the point. Both Armenians and Turks committed atrocities because both groups had been encouraged to do this by the revolutionaries who had organized the uprising and the authorities who were determined to put it down. In considering themselves revolutionaries, the Dashnaks and the Hunchaks had abandoned their nation's millennia-long commitment to Christianity and the moral behavior it demanded, and had become prisoners of the Jewish revolutionary spirit which they had imbibed from *Narodnaya Volya* as students at the university. The Young Turks, who had a natural affinity to the Jewish revolutionary spirit insofar as they came from Dönmeh families, underwent a similar transformation, as their morals were eroded by the same revolutionary ideology, compounded by western materialism.

More than one non-Turkish observer, unaware of the corrosive effect of revolutionary ideology, has claimed that the Armenians brought their

troubles down on their own heads. Lewy cites the Englishman C. F. Dixon-Johnson, who wrote in the immediate aftermath of the genocide that there were "good and sufficient reasons for believing that the Armenians themselves commenced the troubles by rising in rebellion."[212] More perceptive observers, however, saw that revolutionaries were the source of the problem:

> A critic of the Dashnaks asserts that the Turkish Dashnaks did not keep their promises of loyalty to the Turkish cause and thus created a very dangerous situation for the Turkish Armenians. The "fate of two millions of their co-nationals in Turkey might not have proved so disastrous, if more prudence had been used by the Dashnak leaders during the war." According to Yalman, the Turkish government "warned the Armenian leaders in Constantinople that the whole Armenian community would be held responsible, in case Armenian revolutionary organizations took any hostile action.[213]

The Armenian revolutionaries ignored these warnings, and their people paid a high price for their intransigence. Garegin Pasdermadjian, a Dashnak revolutionary who had participated in the disastrous seizure of the Ottoman Bank in 1896, offered his services to the Russians, who reciprocated by providing "a large sum of money for the provision of arms and training for Turkish Armenians."[214] Pasdermadjian organized the Armenian uprising at Erzurum although he had been warned that his service with the Russians "could have negative effects for the Armenians in Turkey." According to Lewy, "Many Turkish Dashnaks are said to have expressed serious fears of a large-scale massacre," but it did not deter them from their revolutionary activity.[215] The result was wholesale slaughter on both sides. One Muslim from the village of Göllü gave this first person account:

> The Armenians revolted when the army in Van retreated toward Erzurum. Our mothers and fathers were all slain by Armenians. My father, a gendarme, was among those killed. The villagers in Mollkasim, Amik, Sihayne, Göllü, Hidir, Kurtsatan, and Köprüköy were also murdered. Part of our village hid in Zeve and were later killed, but we were able to escape. Armenians tortured and inflicted all types of cruelties on the people they kidnapped. They cut up pregnant women and removed the unborn children with bayonets. They raided and burned all of the Muslim villages, murdering men, women, young and old.[216]

After reviewing the evidence, the Turkish historian Salahi Sonyel concluded that, "the Dashnaktsutiun as a party bears a major portion responsibility, for it was often the leading force in perpetrating these massacres."[217] A high-ranking South American officer in the Turkish army reported that when the Dashnak leader Pasdermadjian went over to the Russians he took with him "almost all the Armenian troops of the Third Army," only to return with them

soon after, "burning hamlets and mercilessly putting to the knife all of the peaceful Musulman villagers that fell into their hands."[218]

Turks were having the same sort of misgivings about their own revolutionary leaders in the CUP. Disgust at the western degradation of Islamic morals was one of the main topics discussed on the pages of *Volkan*, the Islamic paper whose articles brought about the counter-coup of 1909, which came into being as part of a nationalist reaction of Turks who claimed that Islam was an ineradicable part of Turkish identity and that Western university culture was eroding the moral fiber of the nation. Dönmeh, according to Baer,

> headed the list of men with repugnant morals. When he became the head of the Committee of Muslim Unity at the beginning of 1909, Vahdetî began to claim that the Salonikan Dönme were behind the spread of Freemasonry and thus of atheism in the empire and that this was a Jewish plot. In order to connect the dots in this argument, Vahdetî had to prove that the Dönme were secret Jews.[219]

According to Vahdetî, the Turkish army was under the control of "four drunkards who were Westernized in Europe and then returned, believing in their claims of patriotism."[220] When Vahdetî was named as the main inciter of the countercoup of March 31, 1909 he fled Istanbul pursued by army units organized by the CUP's Masonic lodge and "a unit of Jewish volunteers," who eventually captured him in Izmir, where he was hanged for treason on July 19, 1909. According to Baer, "In 1913, Hakkı Efendi, son of Hasan, one of the participants of an attempted countercoup against the CUP, claimed during his trial that its aim had been to regain power from the Jews and Freemasons."[221]

What was true of the largely Jewish Bolsheviks was also true of the Dönmeh: both groups were hotbeds of revolutionary activity. Baer sees a connection between Jews and Dönmeh:

> Jews did in fact participate in the Russian revolutionary movement in numbers proportionately greater than their share in the overall population, and their role in it was prominent. Jews, who were well represented among party leaders, theoreticians, and journalists, were considered "the most revolutionary national group in the Russian Empire," like the Dönme in the Ottoman Empire. Nearly two-thirds of those who returned from Switzerland through Germany with Lenin by sealed train in 1917 were Jews.[222]

The 1909 counter-revolution happened because Muslim fundamentalists blamed the demise of the Ottoman Empire on moral corruption coming from the West, with Jews and Dönmeh acting as its emissaries. That moral corruption derived from "adopting western European values, desiring western European goods, atheism, and the emancipation of women,"[223] and it was promulgated through institutions like the CUP and the Masonic lodges,

"which caused Muslims who joined to lose their religion."[224] Vahdetî's greatest concern lay with the corrupted morals of irreligious or atheist Muslims. When they arrived in Europe, the once pious Muslims "proudly declare their atheism. This goes together with many of their women practically going around naked in public. Men spend their time gambling, drinking, coveting each other's [wives] . . . it can't be denied however since we made contact with Europe, obscene European customs have caused more harm to us than cholera. In short, let's be religious!"

Volkan also attacked the CUP, as being in league with immoral atheists and Freemasons: "because Freemasonry spread in Salonika and acquired strength and power, as a result, the CUP was established easily and without being noticed." The CUP was in fact an arm of the Freemasons, whose oaths and ceremonies it had adopted. Both Freemasons and CUP members, like the Dönmeh, came from Salonika. Furthermore, because it was an atheist, Masonic enterprise, the CUP refused to accept honorable members with good morals, but only brought in "men of disgusting morals."

Vahdetî emphasizes the importance of sexual morality, but morality is all of one piece and any decline in one area leads to a simultaneous decline in all areas, especially when reinforced by revolutionary materialism, which saw morality as rationalized class privilege. As the story of King David showed, sexual sin was the prelude to murder, and in 1909 Vahdetî was prescient enough to see murder just over the horizon as the inexorable consequence of the sexual degeneracy which came to Turkey from the West.

THE DEPORTATION OF THE ARMENIANS

After the defeat of Enver Pasha's Third Army on the Russian frontier, "the mountains swarmed with Armenian irregulars"[225] who had deserted to escape death from starvation. Over the early months of 1915, the Armenian irregulars joined with Pasdermadjian, who was able to use them to tie down "five Turkish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds, who therefore were not able to fight the Russians on the Caucasus front."[226]

Amabassador Morgenthau reported to Washington on July 10, 1915, that "because Armenian volunteers, many of them Russian subjects, have joined [the] Russian Army in the Caucasus and because some have been implicated in armed revolutionary movements and others have been helpful to Russians in their invasion of [the] Van district, terrible vengeance is being taken." The Turkish position is that the issue was not revenge but national survival in a situation of extreme danger.[227]

In February 1915, the decision of the Ottoman high command to withdraw all available military assets from the East so that they could be brought to bear on the defense of the Dardanelles opened the way for the Russian invasion and the concomitant uprising in Van.

The decisive factor in the deportation decision is said to have been the successful rebellion in Van, which Turkish forces had been forced to yield to Russian troops on May 17. "The idea of collectively relocating the Armenian population," write two Turkish historians, "was born out of the Van rebellion." Faced with the "imminent collapse of the empire,"[228] the Committee for Unity and Progress chose ethnic cleansing, which guaranteed casualties:

> Feelings of revenge for the part played by Russian-Armenian volunteers in the defeat of the Caucasus campaign and retaliation for the subversion carried out by Armenian revolutionaries may also have played a role. The American intelligence agent Lewis Einstein noted in his diary on July 4, 1915: "They are taking it out on peaceful people, because of Armenian volunteers with the Russian armies at Van, and in the Caucasus." Talaat, he wrote on July 15, has declared openly that "the persecution is revenge for the defeat at Srakymish, the Turkish expulsion from Azerbaidjan, and the occupation of Van, all of which he lays at the Armenian door." The Austrian military plenipotentiary Joseph Pomiankowski mentions the "boundless fury and vengefulness" of Enver and Talaat, who attributed the failure of the Caucasus offensive to the Armenian rebellion. An Armenian source reports that during the retreat of the defeated Caucasus army Enver met the Dashnak leader Murad and told him: "Be assured. You will be punished severely." A Turkish author suggests that Enver used the Armenians "as a convenient scapegoat" to cover up the extent of the disaster in the Caucasus campaign.[229]

The government which had allowed 17,000 soldiers in the Turkish Sixth army to perish from starvation was in no position to guarantee the safety and well-being of a hated minority on a forced march through the Syrian desert. Hence, Europeans who witnessed the misery in the camps in the Syrian desert "reported that the Armenians at best received a small quantity of bread at irregular intervals and gradually were reduced to eating grass roots and even dead animals."[230]

The Dashnak and Hunchak revolutionaries were the source of the problem, but the innocent Armenians got punished because of the revolutionaries' commitment to terrorism:

> Armenian assistance to the Russians had been extensive. None of this can serve to justify what the Turks did to the Armenians, but it provides the indispensable historical context for the tragedy that ensued. Given this context, the Armenians can hardly claim that they suffered for no reason at all. Ignoring warnings from many quarters, large numbers of them had fought the Turks openly or played the role of a fifth column; not surprisingly, with their backs against the wall, the Ottomans reacted resolutely, if not viciously.[231]

The genocide dates from April 24, 1915. As the allies were landing at Gallipoli, hundreds of Armenian community leaders were rounded up by Turkish authorities and taken into custody in Constantinople. The government document ordering their arrest, however, speaks of Hunchak and Dashnak revolutionaries. Talaat told Morgenthau over dinner that "the government was prepared to crush all possible attempts at revolution" by putting Armenians in the interior among Turks, "where they can do no harm."[232] On the same day, Talaat Pasha told the governors of provinces where Armenian revolutionaries were active, to "close down all Armenian revolutionary organizations and to arrest their leaders."[233] In his communique, Talaat referred specifically to "the decision of the Dashnak Committee, after the outbreak of war, immediately to incite the Armenians in Russia against us, and to have the Armenians in the Ottoman state rebel with all their force when the Ottoman army was at its weakest" as "acts of treason which would affect the life and future of the country."[234] Because these revolutionary activities constituted "a matter of life and death," Talaat ordered local CUP officials to:

> close down immediately all branches, within your province, of the Hinchak, Dashnak, and similar committees; to confiscate the files and documents found in their branch headquarters, and ensure that they are neither lost nor destroyed; to immediately arrest all the leaders and prominent members of the committees, together with such other Armenians as are known by the Government to be dangerous. . . .[235]

Talaat added the caveat that his order was not to be implemented "in such a manner as will cause mutual killings on the part of the Muslims and Armenian elements of the population,"[236] which brings up the issue of implementation. Lewy feels that the Ottoman bureaucracy was incapable of accomplishing "the momentous task of relocating several hundred thousand people in a short span of time and over a totally inadequate system of transportation."[237] An infrastructure that was primitive to begin with and now overburdened because of the dislocations caused by war all but guaranteed "the deaths of many deportees enroute."[238] Add to that a "critically flawed organizational command structure" and you have considerations which lend credence to Talaat Pasha's claim in his posthumous memoirs that the deportation was "not the result of 'a previously prepared scheme' but was made necessary by the rebellious activities of 'strong Armenian bandit forces,' armed and equipped by Russia, in the rear of the Turkish army on the Caucasus front."[239]

Implementation of the deportation order caused special problems in Erzurum because it lay at a great distance from the refugees' final destination in Syria. "Longer exposure to the depredations of Kurdish robbers as well as a vastly more difficult problem of obtaining food and other necessities of life for the long trek, most of it on foot" contributed to the death of many Armenians already weakened by the privations caused by war.[240] After Gen.

Mahmud Kamil Pasha, commander of the Turkish Third Army, ordered the deportation of all Armenians from the villages of the province in early June 1915, the German vice-consul noted that his orders were carried out in an "unnecessarily ruthless and cruel manner."[241] The rigors of the journey were sure to kill anyone who wasn't murdered on the spot because:

> Much of the journey was through the desert, uninhabitable for people or beasts, where there was no water. This was especially the case on the road to Aleppo. Since not enough wagons and horses were available, most of the people would have to travel on foot and therefore would not be able to carry enough food or water for a journey that would last at least two weeks.[242]

Thousands of women and children were left without bread in their encampment at Erzurum, but as soon as they were about 50 miles away they were attacked by Kurds and Turkish regulars. Deprived of a proper escort, three to four thousand Armenians were killed. German Consul Scheubner-Richter protested the killings to the authorities in Erzurum and demanded a humane implementation of the deportations, but the Turkish authorities in charge of the deportation were either unwilling or unable to provide security for the entire route.[243] The general lack of oversight allowed the criminal element in the CUP to take advantage of the situation. According to the same German consul, "a small number of militants in the Erzurum CUP branch were responsible for the travail of the deportees."[244] The Kurds did "most of the killing," but they could not have done this without the collaboration of CUP officials at the local level, who allowed agreements between the Kurds and the gendarmes in charge of the march according to which "the Kurds were to pay the gendarmes a certain fixed sum – a few hundred pounds, or more, depending on circumstances – and were to have for themselves whatever they found on the bodies of the Armenians in excess of that sum."[245] Kurdish brigands share part of the responsibility. They could plunder and wreak revenge with impunity because law enforcement, which had never been especially effective in the east, had collapsed completely after defeat in war, which also ensured that tens of thousands of deserters, who had turned into robber bands and were now living off the land, would add to the mayhem. The Kurds fell under the spell of the CUP, which encouraged their fierce religious fanaticism by adding a dose of revolutionary terrorist ideology and then focusing that toxic mix on the Armenian Christians. The Kurdish irregular forces known as Hamidiye units, which had been armed by Sultan Abdülhamid in 1891 to deal with the Armenians, now found an outlet for their ancestral hatred in the helpless women, children, and aged who bore the brunt of the retaliation for the deeds of the revolutionaries. According to a memo submitted to the Turkish cabinet in February 1915, the Hamidiye units were reinforced by "Kurdish criminals released from jail and by armed

Kurdish deserters" and turned into units which "were usually organized by local authorities, often under the influence of militants in the CUP clubs."[246]

The minister of the interior may have decreed that the Armenians were not to be harmed during their deportation to Syria, but those orders had to be carried out by local CUP officials who were inevitably more ruthless in their implementation of that decree. In one instance, Nail Bey, the head of the local CUP organization closed the local orphanage, giving the boys as laborers to local farmers while retaining "the best looking of the older girls" for the pleasure of the members of the local Committee of Union and Progress.[247]

As Vahdetî had predicted in the pages of *Volkan*, the CUP ideology had had a devastating effect on the morals of the secularized Muslims who made up the rank and file of that organization. Secularized Muslims who were already disposed to an ancestral hatred toward Christians now found the revolutionary justification for the cruelty they inflicted on their hapless Armenians captives. The terrorism which the CUP had inherited from *Narodnaya Volya* had removed any scruples they had in dealing with those who threatened the revolutionary junta which now controlled the Turkish government. A similar transformation had taken place in the minds of the Hunchaks and the Dashnaks, who like the crypto-Jews at the CUP had imbibed the Jewish revolutionary spirit from the early days of their contact with *Narodnaya Volya*. One German official wrote to Berlin that the atrocities committed against the Armenians could be blamed on "irresponsible local CUP leaders who failed to obey the orders of the central government and organized the excesses against the Armenians."[248] Pressured by the outrage of foreign observers, the Porte had to reprimand "three rabid members of the Union and Progress Committee of Adana" who "were expelled from that city because of the manner in which they were hounding the Armenians out of the city."[249] The situation in Adana was not an isolated incident. In late March, Djemal Pasha threatened to court martial anyone who attacked Armenians, a threat he carried out by hanging several officers responsible for massacres.[250]

Proof that the threats of officials in Istanbul were necessary came from Urfa:

> On August 10 two men in officer's uniform, Cerkez Ahmed Bey and Galatali Halil Bey, arrived in Urfa from Diarbekir. The two officers were said to be delegates of the CUP and, over the objections of the local authorities, took over the handling of the local Armenian population. They collected ransom for imprisoned notables but failed to release them and instead had them killed. Both Eckart and Künzler report that prisoners were taken out on the road to Diarbekir and killed shortly after leaving Urfa. According to Glockler, the Armenian members of parliament Krikor Zohrab and Vartkes Seringulian met their end in this way. Cerkez Ahmed and Galatali Halil were later arrested on orders

> issued by Djemal Pasha, tried for the murder of the two deputies and other atrocities against Armenians, and hanged. . . .[251]

Djemal Pasha's efforts had no effect on spontaneous outbursts of violence in which ethnic hatred had been weaponized by revolutionary ideology:

> During a search for arms on August 19 an Armenian deserter opened fire on the policemen, and two of them were killed. The American vice-consul in Aleppo, Samuel Edelman, happened to be in Urfa on that day and later described what happened next. The killing of the policemen "was the spark that inflamed the Kurdish population to fury and arming themselves with any available weapon at hand including cudgels and iron pikes, a rush was made on the Armenian quarter. All who fell into their hands were slaughtered without mercy, this was followed by the looting of Armenian shops." The total number of slain, Edelman reported, was not known, but two hundred and fifty was a conservative estimate. "Despite their intense hatred of the Armenians, the police did their duty well, but their numbers were totally out of proportion in handling the mob." By the next morning order was finally restored. Eckart and Künzler state that the two CUP delegates had given the order to massacre the unbelievers.[252]

Atrocities like this enabled revolutionaries like Mugerditch to claim that they were acting in self-defense. One month after the Sublime Porte had revoked its deportation order, Mugerditch persuaded the Armenians of Urfa to rise in armed insurrection:

> The battle for Urfa began on September 29 after a police patrol had entered the Armenian quarter to investigate shots fired during the previous night, apparently by drunks at a party. When the police attempted to enter the house from which the shots had been heard they were fired upon and had to retreat. Reinforcements were called, but they also were met with heavy fire and suffered casualties. Church bells rang to signal the start of the uprising. According to a long-existing plan, barricades were set up around the Armenian quarter. The Armenians, writes Jernazian, had "resolved to die honorably rather than to submit to being trapped and slaughtered." Led by the charismatic Mugerditch, the resistance of the Armenian fighters in the heavily fortified stone houses lasted sixteen days and was finally broken only with the help of a newly arrived contingent of six thousand Turkish troops equipped with heavy artillery. The chief of staff of the Turkish general in command of these troops was the German officer Eberhard Count Wolffskeel von Reichenberg, who several times himself commanded the attackers. He is the only German officer known personally to have participated in the killing of the Armenians.[253]

The siege of Urfa echoed the fate of the Jewish revolutionaries at Masada, when Mugerditch committed suicide. He apparently did not enjoy the support of the Armenian people in Urfa:

> several Armenian men and women committed acts of betrayal by pointing out hiding places. This was understandable, he contends, because a large majority of the Armenians had opposed the uprising but had been forced to endure the ill-fated rebellion. "Betrayal was their revenge."[254] As soon as the fighting ended, Kurds swarmed into the neighboring villages and began to loot the Armenian houses, stripping the clothes off the dead but sparing women and children and men who had not been involved in revolutionary activity.[255]

In a recent book based on access to what he claims are hitherto unavailable Ottoman documents, Taner Akcam places the blame for what happened to the Armenians squarely on the shoulders of the CUP, which had decided on the ethnic cleansing of the Armenians long before the outbreak of World War I.[256] "The wartime policies of the Ottoman government toward the Armenians," according to Akcam, "were never, as has been frequently claimed, the result of military exigencies."[257] The CUP "reasoned that the Ottoman state could retain control of its remaining territories only if most of the inhabitants were Muslim Turks."[258] Because "faith in science held a central place in CUP philosophy,"[259] the ethnic cleansing that began as "social engineering" [260]took on more violent expressions under the stress of war, as "concern for national security" made the removal of the Armenians more urgent,[261] but the intention was genocidal from the beginning and found expression in a directive written on January 10, 1916, less than a year after it began:

> Enquiries having been made, it is understood that hardly 10 percent of the Armenians subjected to the general deportations have reached the places destined for them; the rest have died from natural causes, such as hunger and sickness. We inform you that we are working to bring about the same result with regard to those who are still alive, by using severe measures.[262]

Akcam's claims and interpretations with regard to intention are disputed by others[263] but there can be no doubt that the CUP's ideology lead to great evils.

PRELUDE TO BOLSHEVISM

On February 4, 1917, Talaat Pasha was elevated to the post of grand vizier. When the new head of government affirmed the equality of all nationalities in the Ottoman state as part of a declaration before parliament days later, many took this as a tacit admission of guilt as well as an attempt by the newly chastised leadership to distance themselves from the extremist wing of the CUP and the role it played in the Armenian genocide.[264] In an attempt to repair the damage done to Turkey's image abroad, Djavid Bey, the new finance minister, told the Austrian ambassador that the "persecution of the Armenians had been a great mistake and a crime and that the new government was determined not only to abandon this policy but make up for it to the best

of its ability."[265] If the gesture was intended to bring closure to one of the most contentious events in modern history, it failed. Terror continued, however, this time at the hands of the Dashnaks, who hunted down the ministers they held responsible for the genocide in a "wave of private vengeance" which took the lives of all of the prominent figures associated with the CUP:

> In Berlin, on March 15, 1921, Soghomon Tehlirian shot and killed Talaat Pasha, the former minister of the interior and the man most involved with the deportations. On December 5, 1921, Arshavir Shirakian assassinated Said Halim Pasha in Rome. On April 17, 1922, he killed Dr. Behaeddin Sakir in Berlin. On July 25, 1922, Bedros Der Boghosian and Ardavesh Gevorgian shot Djemal Pasha in Tiflis. Finally, on August 4, 1922, Enver Pasha was killed under unclear circumstances in an ambush in Central Asia, probably by an Armenian.[266]

The Armenian genocide was the dress rehearsal for an attack on Russian Christians which took, depending on the source, ten times as many victims but which to this day has no name. Like the Armenians, Stalin's "kulaks" were simply removed, which is to say "sentenced to die from hunger and starvation"[267] on their way somewhere else. Josip Broz Tito imitated the Armenian genocide after the British turned back Yugoslavian refugees at Bleiburg by staging a death march that could be called the Croatian genocide. Hitler's treatment of Jews could be seen as a removal as well. But the man most responsible for translating the idea of terror hatched by *Narodnaya Volya* into the actuality of mass murder was Vladimir Lenin. Like a virus that was created in a laboratory for a specific purpose but then escaped by accident to infect the public at large, the terror which got released into human history when *Narodnaya Volya* adopted it as part of its plan to overthrow the Russian Empire took on a life of its own. After its implementation in Turkey against the Armenians, terror, now grown fat on the blood of innocent Armenian victims, returned to Russia in April 1917, in Winston Churchill's words, "like a plague bacillus" in a "sealed train."[268] The man who put the "plague bacillus" of revolutionary terrorism on that train was Alexander Parvus.

Having failed to enlist the Young Turks in his plan to use Constantinople as a base of operations against Russia, Parvus turned to the German high command and tried to convince them that an alliance between the central powers and the Russian revolutionary movements was necessary to win the war. At the beginning of January 1915, while still in Constantinople, Parvus met with the German ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Freiherrn von Wagenheim and explained that "the interests of the German government and the Russian revolutonaries are identical."[269] Democracy, he continued, could only emerge in Russia out of the ruins of Zarism and the dismemberment of the Russian empire.[270]

Having received approval for his plan, Parvus contacted Lenin, the man he considered "the key figure on the left,"[271] in Zurich in May 1915, as the slaughter of the Armenian population was ramping up. Lenin, however, wasn't interested in dealing with someone he considered a "traitor to the socialist cause, a renegade and 'social chauvinist.'"[272] Knowing that he was dealing with a superior intellect, Lenin feared that Parvus "would eventually acquire control of Russian socialist organizations, and, with his financial resources and his intellectual ability, be able to outmaneuver all the other party leaders,"[273] and so nothing happened.

Two years later, the situation had changed. Turkey had lost the war. Parvus was now in Copenhagen, where he ran a "spurious scientific institute"[274] as a front for revolutionary activity. Jacob Ganetskii, Parvus's business agent in Stockholm, was also a trusted friend of Lenin. Acting as the crucial broker between Lenin and the German high command, Parvus persuaded the German ambassador to Denmark, Count V. Brockdorff-Rantzau that if Lenin were smuggled into St. Petersburg, he "would spread such anarchy that after two or three months, Russia would find it impossible to remain in the war."[275] Brockdorff-Rantzau's plan "to create in Russia the greatest possible chaos"[276] won over the German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, who set the plan in motion.

Setting off from Zurich at 3:20 PM on April 9, 1917, Lenin and 31 other revolutionaries arrived two days later in Berlin, where Parvus was waiting for them. Afraid of being accused of treason, Lenin stayed on the train and delegated the meeting to Karl Radek, who was an Austrian citizen. Between the two of them, "Parvus worked out with Radek, on behalf of the German Government, the terms and procedures for financing Bolshevik activities in Russia."[277] Terror was an integral part of those activities. "Red Terror," according to Pipes, "constituted from the outset an essential element of the regime, which now intensified, now abated, but never disappeared, hanging like a permanent dark cloud over Soviet Russia."[278] The Jewish revolutionary spirit had turned Dashnaks into monsters who spread mayhem throughout Muslim areas of Turkey. The same was true of the CUP and the Young Turks, the group responsible for the Armenian genocide. The same was true of the Bolsheviks. After the creation of *Narodnaya Volya* in 1879 revolution meant terrorism, and terrorism meant the indiscriminate killing of Christians that would find its bloody culmination in the murderous activity which the Bolsheviks inflicted on Russian Christians after the revolution of 1917.

The main instrument of terror in Russia was the Cheka, an acronym for the *Chrezvy-chainaia kommissia po bor'be s kontrrevoliutsiei i sabotazhem* or "Extraordinary Commission to Fight the Counterrevolution and Sabotage."[279] The Cheka was created as the instrument of Bolshevik terror by Sovnarkom on December, 7 1917, less than a month after the putsch which brought Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power. The Bolsheviks had always seen terrorism as

an essential component of armed struggle. In August 1906, they "urged attacks on "spies, active supporters of the Black Hundreds, police, army and navy officers, and the like."[280] The Bolsheviks were committed to terrorism from the moment they seized power. What began in *Narodnaya Volya* as a tool to overthrow the Russian monarchy became institutionalized once the Bolsheviks took over the governance of Russia. Leftists have often used White counter-revolutionaries as the excuse for the excesses of the Cheka, but Pipes claims that terror as an "instrument of governance" came into existence "before any organized opposition to the Bolsheviks had had a chance to emerge and when the 'foreign interventionists' were still assiduously courting them." Lenin "regarded terror as an indispensable instrument of revolutionary government."[281]

After he had been introduced as a "plague bacillus" into Russia, Lenin almost immediately began to refer to his opponents in sub-human terms:

> Having listed the achievements and failures of this first "proletarian revolution," he indicated its cardinal weakness: the proletariat's "excessive generosity—it should have *exterminated its enemies,"* instead of trying "to exert moral influence on them." This remark must be one of the earliest instances in political literature in which the term "extermination," normally used for vermin, is applied to human beings. As we have seen, Lenin habitually described those whom he chose to designate as his regime's "class enemies" in terms borrowed from the vocabulary of pest control, calling kulaks "bloodsuckers," "spiders," and "leeches." As early as January 1918 he used inflammatory language to incite the population to carry out pogroms . . . [282]

"Do you really believe," Lenin wondered, "that we can be victorious without the very cruelest revolutionary terror?"[283] To achieve victory, Lenin abolished the rule of law in Russia, creating a regime which did away with "judiciary procedures," and replaced them with a system in which "guilt was determined by the impression gained by the judge or judges."[284] The novelist Leonid Andreev described the results:

> We live in unusual conditions, still comprehensible to a biologist who studies the life of molds and fungi, but inadmissible for the psycho-sociologist. There is no law, there is no authority, the entire social order is defenseless. . . . Who protects us? Why are we still alive, unrobbed, not evicted from our homes? The old authority is gone; a band of unknown Red Guards occupies the neighborhood railroad station, learns how to shoot . . . carries out searches for food and weapons, and issues "permits" for travel to the city. There is no telephone and no telegraph. Who protects us? What remains of reason? Chance that no one has noticed us. . . . Finally, some general human cultural experiences, sometimes simple, unconscious habits: walking on the right side of the road, saying "good

> day" on meeting someone, tipping one's own hat, not the other person's. The music has long stopped, and we, like dancers, continue rhythmically to shuffle our feet and sway to the inaudible melody of law.[285]

Lenin's assistants were no less bloodthirsty than their leader. Two weeks after launching the Red Terror, Grigori Zinoviev claimed that to protect the fledgling Soviet Union from counter-revolution 10 million Russians would have to die.[286] Zinoviev's colleague Karl Radek was equally bloodthirsty. "Referring to the guiltless victims of the terror as persons who did not participate directly in the 'White movement,'"[287] Radek then urged "local soviets of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies" to imitate the Cheka because popular participation in murder "is a more powerful act of mass terror than the execution of 500 persons by decision of the Cheka without the participation of the working masses."[288]

Like *Narodnaya Volya,* which provided the rationale for its terrorism, the Cheka was a Jewish organization. Initially, Pipes downplays Jewish involvement in the Cheka, claiming only that "a high proportion of Cheka functionaries were non-Russians. Dzerzhinskii was a Pole, and many of his closest associates were Latvians, Armenians, and Jews."[289] But he later adds that three-quarters of the Kiev Cheka "were Jews, many of them riffraff incapable of any other work, cut off from the Jewish community although careful to spare fellow Jews."[290] That order to spare Jews was countermanded in May 1919, when the Kiev Cheka received orders to "shoot some Jews" "for agitational purposes" and keep them from "top positions," as a way of disguising their influence.[291]

Other Jewish historians, however, were less reticent in discussing Jewish participation in the Cheka. Salo Baron noted that "an immensely disproportionate number of Jews" joined the Cheka and that any Russian unfortunate enough to fall into that organization's hand "would be shot by Jewish investigators." Leonard Shapiro said something similar, claiming: "Anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator."[292] In the Ukraine, "Jews made up nearly 80 percent of the rank-and-file Cheka agents," according to W. Bruce Lincoln, an American professor of Russian history.[293] Karl Nemmersdorf claims that once "the fanatical Pole Feliz Dzerzhinsky" took charge of the Cheka, he recruited a cohort of Latvians, Jews, and renegade Russians to help him devastate the Russian nation. The Cheka almost immediately launched into one of the most horrifying orgies of mass murder ever recorded, and men of Jewish blood, who like other Jewish leftists, retained their Jewish identity, played a very prominent role in it.[294]

Jews were "vastly over-represented in the ranks of the Cheka in proportion to their numbers in the population of the Soviet Union."[295] As in Turkey at the time of the Armenian genocide when Constantinople had little control over

local CUP petty officials in the provinces, Moscow had "little bureaucratic control over the provincial Chekas," which often "amounted to little more than local strong-arm groups, composed of criminals and Jews, whose motives were plunder and revenge." Igor Shafarevich claims that the Jewish "Russophobia" that prompted the Red Terror was not a unique phenomenon, but resulted from "traditional Jewish hostility toward the non-Jewish world, considered *tref* (unclean), and toward non-Jews themselves, considered subhuman and as worthy of destruction."[296]

The veneer of Communist internationalism lay on a firm, but often denied, foundation of ethnic hatred. "Jewish hatred and desire for revenge" found expression in the Armenian genocide before it found expression in the Cheka. Dzerzhinskii exploited "national and racial hatreds to advantage," by placing "Jews in seven of the Cheka's top ten positions. . . . The victims of centuries of anti-Semitic abuse, the Jews of the Ukraine now had a chance to take revenge."[297]

According to Pipes, "Lenin's decree of February 22, 1918, pushed terror to a still higher level of intensity."[298] The decree allowed the already brutal executions in Moscow to be carried out by provincial and district Chekas with a ferocious new intensity which culminated in the murder of the Russian Imperial family.[299] Two months after issuing his original ukase, Lenin instructed the authorities in Nizhnii Novgorod to "introduce *at once* mass terror, *execute* and *deport hundreds* of prostitutes, drunken soldiers, ex-officers, etc." These terribly imprecise three letters—"etc."—gave agents of the regime a free hand in selecting their victims: it was to be carnage for the sake of carnage as an expression of the indomitable "revolutionary will" of the regime, which was fast losing ground under its feet.[300]

Pipes doesn't mention the Armenian genocide, but he clearly sees a continuum which began with the Cheka, then leading to Stalin's purges and eventually culminating in the Holocaust, during which Hitler imitated, as he so often did, the Jews he intended to persecute by adopting the measures which the Jewish Cheka had inflicted on Russian Christians. Christopher Bjerknes is one of the few writers who sees the Young Turk attack on the Armenians and the Bolshevik attack on Slavic Christians carried out by the Cheka as having a common denominator in Jewish animosity against Christians:

> The Masonic Jews of Salonika perpetrated their "Young Turk Revolution" in 1908. Soon after, the crypto-Jewish descendants of the Shabbataian-Russo sect of Salonikan Jews took advantage of their control of the Turkish Empire as an opportunity to mass murder their Armenian Christian neighbors. The atrocities these Jews perpetrated against Christians were at that time the worst genocide human beings had ever committed. Soon after the Armenian genocide, crypto-Jews committed their genocide of Slavic Christians in the Bolshevik Soviet Union and in the World Wars, followed by their genocide of their own European Jewry, which was

> followed by the genocide of many other Asian peoples under the guise of a "Communist World Revolution." Jewish Communism ultimately took some 100 million lives.[301]

Slaughter on this scale was bound to cause a reaction: "The predictions of a Christian backlash against Jews were correct. Jewish Bolshevist atrocities in Russia, the Ukraine, Hungary, and elsewhere, were used to motivate the public to hate the Jews during the Nazi Holocaust."[302] Leopold Trepper, the leader of the "Rote Kapelle," the Nazi resistance group that functioned between 1933 and 1939, said it most succinctly when he explained, "I became a communist, because I am a Jew." (*"Ich wurde Kommunist, weil ich Jude bin."*)[303] According to von Bieberstein, Bolshevism was a Jewish phenomenon which created a wave of anti-Semitic reaction that swept Hitler into power in Germany.

LENIN BETRAYS THE ARMENIANS

Turkey's defeat in World War I paved the way for Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who became president in 1923 after establishing his credentials as a military hero whose "bravery and strategic prowess helped thwart the Allied invasion of the Dardanelles in 1915."[304] Ataturk came from Salonika, became a Young Turk and participated in the revolution of 1908 which deposed Sultan Abdülhamid II. He is quoted as saying, "I'm a descendant of Sabbetai Zevi—not indeed a Jew any more, but an ardent admirer of this prophet of yours. My opinion is that every Jew in this country would do well to join his camp." Similarly, Gershom Scholem wrote in his book on the Kabbalah, that Djavid Bey was descended from the false Jewish messiah Baruchyah Russo."[305]

In 1919, Ataturk demanded complete independence for Turkey. Unlike Armenia, Ataturk had the military power to back up his demands. As a result, Turkey gained her independence, and Armenia had to console herself with the empty promises of the "Christian" powers of Europe, which had more important things to do than concern themselves with Armenian independence. It turned out that the revolutionary successors of those Christian leaders were every bit as indifferent to Armenia's fate as their predecessors.

In order to gain their independence, the Armenian revolutionaries made a pact with the devil, and that pact turned out as it usually did for those short-sighted enough to make it. In order to become Jewish revolutionaries, the Dashnaks and the Hunchaks has to abandon the Christianity that had sustained the Armenian nation for 1,500 years in exchange for the devil's empty promise of independence through armed insurrection. By abandoning the moral law, the Armenian revolutionaries brought catastrophe down upon the heads of their fellow countrymen. Once the devil had their souls, the Armenian revolutionaries lost any leverage they might have had with their Jewish revolutionary masters, who promptly abandoned them to their fate. When the Armenians pointed out "the terrible condition of the Armenian

people" to Russia's new Communist masters and asked for their assistance. Lenin told them in no uncertain terms that:

> We are forced to temporarily sacrifice the interests of the Armenian workers for the sake of the interest of the world revolution. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania shared the same fate. You should know that even the disputes with our Latvian comrades didn't stop us, and some of them left the party. All we can do for Armenia now is provide them with supplies and money, as well as deploy, as much as possible, troops in the territory of Armenia in order to make Angora more accommodating. But remember comrades, we are not going to war against anyone for the sake of Armenia, and especially against Kemal.[306]

It would be comforting to assert that the Armenians learned their lesson in what Ben Franklin called the expensive school of experience, but this was not the case. The Jewish revolutionary spirit returned in the early 1970s when a new group of Armenian revolutionaries, "influenced by the militancy of Palestinian exiles," unleashed "a new wave of assassinations" which took the lives of more than 40 Turkish diplomats and other Turkish officials.[307] Failing to achieve their goal once again, the Armenian revolutionaries turned on each other, with members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia engaging in the assassination of Dashnak political leaders after denouncing them for "having betrayed the original ardor of the Armenian revolution."[308] He who lives by the sword dies by the sword. The revolution always devours its own Jews, even when those they happen to be baptized Christians whose minds have been captured by the Jewish revolutionary spirit.

Chapter Two

Ottilie Assing and the American Civil War

On February 12, 1831, Nat Turner, a slave born in Southhampton, Virginia in 1800, took a solar eclipse as the sign that he was to begin planning for a slave rebellion. When another eclipse took place on August 13, Turner, who had been receiving visions with increasing frequency, was confirmed in his belief that the Lord wanted him to lead a rebellion. One week later, on August 21, Turner freed 50 fellow slaves and urged them to "kill all whites," regardless of age or gender. By the time the Virginia militia put down the rebellion 48 hours later, 57 men, women and children had been murdered by Turner's band of revolutionaries.

Turner eluded capture for another two months, but on October 30, he was found hiding in a cave, brought to trial, and hanged on November 11. His body was then dismembered and its parts distributed as souvenirs of the crushed rebellion. His lawyer, Thomas Ruffin Gray, interviewed him in jail before his execution, and published *The Confessions of Nat Turner* after his death. In this account, Turner recounted the visions he had had throughout his life. As one has come to expect, revolutionary fervor in America had a religious cast, descending as it did from the enthusiast millennialist sects which had proliferated in England during the 17th century, many of whom emigrated to America.

Slave rebellions had occurred throughout history, probably as long as the existence of slavery itself. The rebellion of Spartacus in Rome and the story of Moses and the Exodus are examples. The history of Negro chattel slavery in the New World was no different. Slave revolts had taken place in New York City in 1712, at Stono, South Carolina in 1739, and in Southern Louisiana in 1811. Numerous conspiracies had been broken up before they could emerge as full-blown revolts. The conspiracy at Pointe Coupee, Louisiana in 1795 was one example. To that could be added the conspiracies of Gabriel Prosser in Richmond, Virginia in 1800 and of Denmark Vesey in Charleston, South Carolina in 1822.[2]

But there was a new and disquieting element to Nat Turner's rebellion. The Turner rebellion sent a new wave of fear throughout the South because

it included "the new forces that had been building since the American and French Revolutions."[3] These new forces "had secularized the cause of national-popular liberation and proclaimed the Rights of Man."[4] The slave revolt which best epitomized those "new forces" was the rebellion led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti.

Toussaint's rebellion had been set off not so much by the miserable conditions of servitude as by the arrival of French troops on that island in the wake of the revolution in France. The arrival in Saint-Domingue of French soldiers imbued with the principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality and determined to spread those principles throughout the world convinced Toussaint L'Ouverture that these revolutionary principles had a direct application to the lot of Haiti's black slaves, and he spent the rest of his career creating a new revolutionary synthesis, and playing off the factions which opposed him against each other. The slave rebellions which had occurred since time immemorial now had a new ideological foundation in the principles which leaders of the French Revolution had articulated in the wake of their successful overthrow of the *ancien regime*.

In the wake of Toussaint's rebellion in Haiti in 1798, the world was a different place. W. E. B. Du Bois argued that Toussaint changed American history, largely because

> The interlocking French and Haitian revolutions shattered the tranquility. . . of the slave holding regions everywhere in the hemisphere and generated rational fear among the slaveholders. They stirred the slaves and free Negroes to rebellion under a modern ideology that posed a new and more dangerous threat to the old regimes than anything previously encountered. The threat declined after the collapse of Toussaint's rapprochement with France and Napoleon's brutal attempt to re-enslave the island. During the 1790s, however, the interest of revolutionaries of Paris in breaking the counterrevolutionary power of England and Spain, not to mention of their own Girondists, resulted in efforts, often carried out by French-speaking blacks, to encourage slave revolts and movements for national liberation.[5]

Just as Toussaint L'Ouverture could invoke the Rights of Man, Denmark Vesey could claim that he was acting on the principles articulated in the Declaration of Independence. The appeal of slave rebellion leaders to the Declaration in this manner led Edwin Clifford Holland to describe blacks in the aftermath of the Vesey plot as "Jacobins":

> "Let it never be forgotten that our Negroes are freely the Jacobins of the country; that they are the Anarchists and the Domestic Enemy: the common enemy of civilized society, and the barbarians who would if they could become the destroyers of our race."[6]

The spectre of Toussaint in Haiti evoked fears in the South which refused to go away. Playing on those fears, William Watkins told a meeting of free Negroes in Baltimore in 1825 that Toussaint's rebellion provided "an irrefutable argument to prove that the descendants of Africa were never designed by their creator to sustain an inferiority, or even a mediocrity in the chain of being."[7] Thomas Jefferson noticed the same thing saying, "the West Indies appears to have given considerable impulse to the minds of the slaves. . . in the United States."[8]

The condition of servitude among American blacks and the ideology of revolution then sweeping through Europe constituted a binary weapon. As soon as the two elements of that weapon made contact, an explosion would occur. Toussaint's revolution in Haiti was the first indication that the two elements had made contact. "The Haitian revolution," writes Eugene Genovese, "in contradistinction to one more rising of slaves, would have been unthinkable without the French Revolution. . . . The revolutionary ideology that emerged in the 1790s was fed from both sides of the Atlantic."[9]

The revolution in Saint-Domingue propelled a revolution in black consciousness throughout the New World. Louisiana became a natural conduit for this revolutionary ideology as it spread from the islands to the mainland of North America. The French language and the fact that Louisiana was still a French colony when the revolution in Saint-Domingue took place facilitated its spread. Revolutionary songs were still sung in French in Louisiana as late as the mid-19th century, where revolutionary oratory of the following sort could also be heard:

> "Brothers! The hour strikes for us; a new sun, similar to that of 1789, should surely appear on our horizon. May the cry which resounded through France at the seizure of the Bastille resonate today in our ears. . . . Let us all be imbued with these noble sentiments which characterize all civilized people. . . . In sweet accord with our brothers, let us fill the air with these joyous cries: "*vive la liberte, vive l'union! Vive la justice pour tous les hommes.*"[10]

In Haiti, a slave revolt had become part of the revolutionary movement sweeping Europe. The great fear of the South was that that revolutionary movement would take root in America, where the soil seemed to offer the ideal conditions for any seeds the wind might blow from Europe or the Caribbean. American soil was fertile ground for revolution because that nation had been born out of revolution, and because it still denied the liberty which flowed from that revolution to the black slaves living within its borders.

The situation in America was compounded because the country was based on two documents which contradicted each other on the issue of slavery. The Constitution of the United States accepted slavery as a condition of union, but the Declaration of Independence repudiated it when it claimed that all

men were created equal and had the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Unsurprisingly, slaveholders discouraged black attendance at 4th of July celebrations. Nor was it surprising that the leaders of slave rebellions used the language of rebellion found in the Declaration of Independence against their own masters. That and the fact that Puritanism had never been repudiated in America, as it had in England, led to a strain of revolutionary thought that was a uniquely American mixture of Puritan and Enlightenment thought that in other parts of the world was considered self-contradictory. Tom Paine perfected the rhetoric of this dual vision in pamphlets like *Common Sense*. As part of the lingua franca of American life the leaders of slave rebellions in America would make use of it as well. "Each of these outstanding rebel leaders," Genovese notes, "blended religious appeals to the slaves with the accents of the Declaration of Independence and the Rights of Man. Each projected an interpretation of Christianity that stressed the God-given right to freedom as the fundamental doctrine of obligation underlying a political vision that itself reflected the new ideologies."[11] Even Denmark Vesey, who looked to Haiti for both spiritual guidance and material support for his rebellion, "combined the language of the Age of Revolution, as manifested in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, with the biblical language of the God of Wrath."[12] Neither Paul's Epistles, which counsel reconciliation and moderation in relations between masters and slaves, nor the Gospels seem on first reading congruent with the revolutionary manifestoes of the 18th century. But in America, scripture had always been refracted through the lens of 17th century Puritan judaizing, and no one could read the accounts of Gideon or of Moses and the Exodus and not think of ethnic political liberation movements, certainly not in the 19th century in America.

The South was of a different theological mind, but Southerners had not descended from the Puritans, a group which their Cavalier ancestors identified with regicide and revolution. This split between Cavaliers and Roundheads was present in America at the moment of that nation's birth. Intellectually the United States were an uneasy alliance, held together by Enlightenment premises that papered over deeper divisions that became more apparent as time went on. The South never got over its ambivalence toward the Declaration of Independence. And the North never got over its ambivalent feelings about a constitution which accepted slavery. "The southern Federalists," according to Genovese, "berated the Jeffersonians for spreading a French gospel of liberty, equality, and fraternity that the slaves would hear, interpret with deadly literalness, and rally around. Increasingly, during the 19th century, slaveholders lectured each other on the need to keep blacks away from Fourth of July celebrations. . . . Every election campaign echoed the language of the American Revolution and threatened to generate slave unrest no matter how much care was taken to control the rhetoric."[13]

The Nat Turner rebellion was a sign that those hybrid seeds were now germinating on American soil. It was also a sign of the fault lines within the revolutionary movement itself. Unlike America, which retained the rhetoric of the Bible in its own revolutionary movement, the 19th century European revolutionary was radically secular and radically anti-Christian. When the French Revolution arrived in Haiti, it was radically anti-Christian as well. The revolutionaries went out of their way to eradicate any traces of Christianity from the hearts of potential black revolutionaries. Christianity was portrayed as an alien imposition on the black soul, which needed to be extirpated if the revolution was to have any chance of success.

The atheism of the French Revolution only made matters worse. Stories circulated of how the revolutionaries in Saint-Domingue tried to get the Negro slaves to abandon Christianity. In the early stages of the revolution in Saint-Domingue, the Voodoo priest Boukman urged his followers to discard their crucifixes as the first step to waging war against their oppressors: "Throw away the Symbol of the god of the whites who has often caused us to weep and listen to the voice of liberty, which speaks in the hearts of us all."[14]

The Haitian revolutionaries' abandonment of Christianity led to revolutionary excess which exacerbated the fears of the slaveholders in the South. One of those fears was that Negro slaves in throwing off Christian morality would rise up and violate white women. Nat Turner's rebellion did nothing to allay those fears, nor did the remark of one of the Denmark Vesey rebel leaders that "the slaves would know what to do with white women,"[15] nor did the stories of the rebels of Saint-Domingue raping white women over the dead and dying bodies of their husbands.

The new fear which swept the American South in the wake of Nat Turner's rebellion was that the Haitian rebellion, which the French Revolution had inspired among black slaves there, would spread to the chattel slaves in the South. The South feared that Nat Turner was an imitation of Toussaint L'Ouverture and that what had happened in Haiti would happen across the South. The South feared further that

> the French Revolution provided the condition in which a massive revolt in Saint-Domingue could become a revolution in its own right. The brilliance with which Toussaint L'Ouverture claimed for his enslaved brothers and sisters the rights of liberty and equality—of universal human dignity—that the French were claiming for themselves constituted a turning point in the history of slave revolts and, indeed, of the human spirit.[16]

The result of this fear was a hardening of the lines. The South felt beleaguered, and any human contact between slave and master that led to a natural amelioration of the harshness of servitude were subordinated to the fear of revolution and the necessity of self-defense. Realizing that unity was the *sine qua non* of survival, the slaveholders persuaded whites of all classes to close

ranks. This coincided with the Nat Turner rebellion. After Nat Turner, "the slaves confronted a solid and overwhelming white majority until the end of the regime."[17]

The crucial link between Nat Turner and the European revolutionary movement was William Lloyd Garrison. The South was convinced that Garrison's *Liberator* was responsible for the Nat Turner rebellion. The Nat Turner rebellion of 1831 had made Garrison a household word in America. Garrison was the impoverished son of an alcoholic seaman who learned the printing trade from the bottom up and launched his own newspaper, *The Liberator*. No one in the North or the South had read anything like this before. The first issue was "unbelievably inflammatory."[18] Within eight months of the first issue, Nat Turner, who had taught himself how to read, had butchered entire white families and burned down plantations; this was seen as proof in the South that *The Liberator* had inspired the uprising. "The Georgia senate," Scott writes, "tried Garrison in absentia, found him guilty of inciting insurrection, fined him $500 and set a price of $5000 on his delivery. That was a higher sum than Garrison and circle combined could raise, and his continued liberty remained as much of a marvel as the speed with which he had entered the consciousness of the nation through words alone."[19]

But behind the outrage, a deeper more troubling thought began to emerge. Were these united states, which then were less than 50 years old, really a nation, as the United States claimed in its founding documents? Or had two nations emerged over the short period following the American Revolution? Revolutions throughout history had led to civil wars among the victors. Now, citizens of the United States were forced to confront the possibility that the same thing might occur in the wake of their revolution. Garrison's role in the Nat Turner rebellion also called racial solidarity into question. "What shocked White southerners," Scott writes, "was the realization that men of their own race, in their own country, would consign them to death at the hands of another race."[20] The fact that the North did nothing to stop Garrison's attempt to foment slave rebellion undercut whatever national solidarity the Southerners might otherwise have felt. Garrison fueled "the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family; that the same bloody deed might be acted over at any time and in any place; that the materials for it were spread through the land, and were always ready for a like explosion."[21]

The Turner rebellion and Garrison's propaganda polarized the nation less than 50 years after its inception. The question of slavery divided the North and the South, and that polarization would find its ultimate expression in a civil war which would break out in 30 years. By the time of the Civil War, the revolutionary party felt that the Declaration of Independence had rendered the Constitution morally inoperable.

The slave rebellions created a determination in the South to resist no matter what the cost, and that cost included union. At the same time, Nat Turner and

the slave rebellions in the Caribbean became an inspiration for northern white revolutionaries like John Brown, whose messianic politics, in true American fashion, partook equally of the Declaration of Independence, the Rights of Man and Cromwell's appropriation of selected passages of the Old Testament. Tom Paine had used the same volatile mix of Enlightenment science and Old Testament judaizing to enflame the colonists against King George. Now the same revolutionary spirit was reborn among the abolitionists:

> John Brown, who had taken inspiration and instruction from the experience of the Jamaican maroons, missed the point to his cost when he envisioned impregnable guerrilla bases in the Allegheny Mountains. Long before Harper's Ferry, he planned to secure these bases with the support of dissident poor mountain whites, whose racism he seems to have underestimated and whose ideology and politics he certainly misjudged.[22]

As in England during the 1790s, so in America during the first half of the 19th century: the descendents of the Puritan revolutionaries had become admirers of the French Revolution. Like Rev. Price's congregation in England, the revolutionary party in America, before the advent of the German refugees of the failed Revolution of 1848, was overwhelmingly Unitarian. Edmund Burke, who wrote his reflections on the French Revolution in response to Rev. Price's sermons, considered the Unitarians a political party, not a religion, and wanted them shut down as inherently seditious. Similarly, "The entire abolitionist movement was essentially a revolt of young clergymen and seminarians."[23]

Chief among them was Dr. William Ellery Channing, the father of American Unitarianism, an open admirer of the French Revolution who "had been influenced early by the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and other 'bearers of light.'"[24] Dr. Channing, according to Scott,

> had been deeply impressed by the English Unitarian Richard Price, whose book he said, "Probably molded my philosophy into the form it has always retained, and opened my mind into the transcendental depths. And I have always found in the accounts I have read of German philosophy in Madame de Stael . . . that it was cognate to my own."[25]

Precisely this influence of Unitarianism from England—with its denial of the divinity of Jesus and the literal truth of the Bible, its open scorn and dislike of whatever remained of Calvinism and Puritanism and Presbyterianism—made Dr. Channing anathema to the older, more orthodox clergymen of Boston. "It was precisely his approval of the higher criticism of the German scholars who were shredding traditional Christianity into mountains of footnotes, denials and arguments and icy drops of water, that made Channing so popular with the young."[26]

Channing's intellectual progeny were even more radical. George Ticknor and Edward Everett returned from Germany to spread the gospel according to Kant, Hegel, and Strauss at Harvard University, where they found Channing as one of their supporters. Ralph Waldo Emerson found himself in much the same situation. He imbibed German idealism indirectly via Coleridge and Carlyle, but when he considered studying for the ministry, he went to Channing for advice.

During the first half of the 19th century, Unitarianism begat Transcendentalism, and Transcendentalism begat Abolitionism as its political arm. Scott sees abolitionism as ultimately the revolutionary offspring of Cromwell.

> Some of these echoes were buried very deep in the American psyche, especially among the descendants of the Presbyterians and Puritans. Their movements had, after all, begun against the reigns of Mary Stuart and Charles II, when John Knox and his successors under Cromwell had argued that resistance to "ungodly" authority was a Christian duty.[27]

New England was populated with the descendants of Puritans some of whom had emigrated before Cromwell, in the reign of James I, and others descended from those who fled during the Restoration. Their family traditions were that they should not obey a Parliament—or a Congress—that violated God's law.

The Southerners were dumbfounded when the Bible, which nowhere prohibits slavery, got turned into an abolitionist tract at the hands of Northern revolutionaries:

> The Southerners' . . . ministers assured them they were not sinners in the eyes of the Lord. And what began as a political dispute took on many of the aspects of a religious one. . . . the call to apply the rules of Heaven on earth.[28]

The Southerners suspected that the version of the Christian faith preached by the radicals in Boston was the French Revolution recast in biblical language:

> To confuse physical slavery, as it existed in the United States in the 1850s, with slavery of the soul, as did the radical abolitionists, was to mount an unanswerable challenge and to revive heresies dormant in the Western world since the French Revolution.[29]

> It was then, after all, that liberty, equality, and fraternity were linked—and death threatened to all who opposed that linkage. For this and similar reasons, therefore, the eyes of European revolutionaries were irresistibly drawn to the United States and the abolitionist movement. Its combination of religious rhetoric—used even by persons unconnected with any church or creed—its calls for violence and its denial of the laws of the majority constituted a movement of great and novel potential. It

> marched under the banner of antislavery, but as it grew it became clear that many causes could be furthered by the tactics it developed.[30]

In addition to the Cromwellian version of revolution which Channing and his peers imbibed with their mothers' milk, Unitarianism had also been influenced by German idealism. Transcendentalism was the German Enlightenment adapted by the children of the Puritan divines. Transcendentalism was the confluence of two revolutionary traditions, epitomized by Cromwell, the Puritan, and Kant, the father of German idealism, respectively. This synthesis became the basis for America's revolutionary party, which focused on the abolition of slavery as its ultimate political goal.

Eventually, a small cabal of the most radical figures in the Transcendentalist/Abolitionist movement coalesced into a group known as the Secret Six, and they became the men who financed John Brown, who precipitated the crisis which led to America's second revolution, otherwise known as the Civil War.

A LIFELONG DEVOTEE OF FREE LOVE

In 1835 two German teenagers from Hamburg, Ottilie and Ludmilla Assing, made a literary pilgrimage to Paris, where they saw Heinrich Heine. We do not know if they actually spoke with the man who had become a demigod among liberated and subversive-minded Germans, but the pilgrimage was certainly religious in a literary way. Ottilie's biographer assures us that the Assing sisters also made "a special pilgrimage to worship the goddess of their literary and feminist dreams, George Sand."[31]

Ottilie Assing was born in Hamburg on February 11, 1819, the offspring of the salons of Berlin that had arisen during the late phase of the German Enlightenment and were swept away by Napoleon's invasion and the reaction against all things foreign and French which followed his defeat. Ottilie Assing was also in quite literal fashion, the offspring of the merger of Jewish and Protestant culture which the salons aspired to bring about. Ottilie's aunt was Rahel Levin Varnhagen, one of Berlin's most famous bluestocking salonnieres. Ottilie's grandparents had been enthusiastic disciples of the French Revolution. Ottilie's mother, Rosa Maria, was an ardent supporter of the Enlightenment in the political and sexual arenas. As a young woman she had an affair with the poet Justinus Koerner, who introduced her to the man she would eventually marry, David Assur, a Jewish physician from Koenigsberg, the capital of East Prussia and home of Immanuel Kant, godfather of the German Enlightenment.

Though raised in an orthodox Jewish environment, David, growing up in Kant's Koenigsberg, could not avoid being exposed to Enlightenment philosophy, and to his father's chagrin he became a disciple of the Enlightenment and its Jewish counterpart, represented by leading intellectuals like Moses Mendelssohn and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

As a result, Ottilie referred to herself for the rest of her life as a "half Jew."[32] Ottilie "grew up in an intellectual environment in which education was regarded as a secular form of individual salvation"[33] and "defiance became a family tradition."[34]

Rosa Maria, Ottilie's mother, sublimated her sexual desires into literary channels. "We drifted in an ocean of lust"[35] was the phrase she used to describe her affair with Koerner. Unlike Aunt Rahel, who continued to have affairs after her marriage, Rosa Maria confined herself to steamy short stories in which chimney sweeps and fishermen married young women above their station, and love triumphed over considerations of race and class. All of Rosa Maria's stories had the same central theme: "love and controlled passion."[36]

> The pattern of all these texts is identical: beautiful young lovers of a sensuous innocence encounter violent opposition to their relationship from their elders, who plan to marry them off to socially unsuitable partners, and they either overcome this opposition by faithful perseverance, defy convention by consummating their love against official morality, or escape into death.[37]

Ottilie's heroines were Rahel Levin and George Sand, and in the salons she frequented, she imbibed an intoxicating mixture of free love, champagne, cigars, and revolution. Goethe was another hero, particularly as the author of *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers*, which sparked a craze of wearing yellow vests and committing suicide. Ever the pedagogue, Ottilie's mother taught her that suicide, "far from being a sin, a crime, an act of escapism or a sign of weakness, can express individual autonomy, personal integrity, and strength—an act of self-liberation, a sensuous embrace."[38] It was a lesson Ottilie learned well and one which ended her life many years later.

There were other literary models as well. There was "the German George Sand,"[39] Fanny Lewald, a converted Jew from Koenigsberg who preached free love and agonized over loss of Jewish identity. And there was Clara Mundt, the pen name of Luise Muehlback, who wrote *Aphra Behn*, the story of an English bluestocking who became sexually involved with Oroonoko, the leader of a slave revolt in the New World. *Aphra Behn*, perhaps more than any other book she read, provided Assing with the template upon which she would model her life in the New World. Like Rahel Levin Varnhagen in Berlin, the Assings had their own salon in Hamburg, a salon which was always open to "violators of convention."[40] As a result of her upbringing, Ottilie Assing became a revolutionary for whom transgressing what she considered bourgeois morality became the highest form of virtue:

> Intellectually she was a daughter of the most radical segment of the German Enlightenment and of German Romanticism, and the models she chose were proud members of a small elite of exceptionally, aggressively unconventional individuals of turn-of-the-century salon

> culture in Berlin. Living with a lover was regarded as perfectly legitimate, even fashionable in the circles the Assing girls had been taught to idealize by their mother, provided that the lover was of an "exotic" background and had the right attitude.[41]

In this milieu, revolutionary virtue meant transgressing both moral and racial boundaries. Concretely, that meant having affairs in which Jews, Christians and freethinkers intermingled promiscuously:

> Rahel's famous salon had been a meeting place not only for intellectuals and artists, radicals, and noblemen, but for Jews, Christians, and freethinkers; parallel to sophisticated discussions of literature and politics, a young poet could make advances to a Jewish femme fatale, a nobleman flirt with an actress, a married woman could signal her interest in a would-be revolutionary. . . . The "business of mistresses" those violations of "race" boundaries, was central to the self-definition of these salons. Rahel Levin herself had had several passionate affairs.[42]

Jewish customs were "carefully respected"[43] in the Assing household, as long as they were congruent with the Enlightenment, something that was an on-going source of concern to David, who became more melancholy and withdrawn as time passed. David Assing believed in the Enlightenment intellectually, but was intelligent enough to see that these ideas would influence the behavior of his daughters in ways that he could not condone. The Enlightenment cut David off from his Jewish roots which meant he could not reprove either. And so he remained for the rest of his days "an outsider in his own house," frightened by the "radicalism and aggressiveness of the Young Germans," "appalled by their love affairs, their irreverence about religion [and] their challenge to marriage as an institution," and yet unable to do anything that might have saved his daughters from the destructive consequences of the ideas espoused in his own house.[44] Assing was worried about the effect of these radical ideas on his daughters, and his fears were well founded. The girls became atheists as a result of hearing texts like David Friedrich Strauss's *Life of Jesus* debated in the family salon. The girls also became life-long devotees of free love. Ottilie had a number of affairs and never married. Ludmilla married an Italian fortune hunter 20 years her junior when she was in her fifties, and that marriage ended in divorce less than a month after it began.

"The Assings' most intimate friends," Diedrich assures us, "were Jews,"[45] but Jews of a particular sort:

> Ottilie and Ludmilla knew Jewish rituals and traditions by heart. The girls spent every Monday with Johanna and Salomon Steinheim, both strict opponents of the Jewish Enlightenment, yet intimate enough with the Assings to identify themselves as their aunt and uncle. David had moved away from Orthodox Judaism, but he wanted his children to

> accept it as an important segment of their past, an essential part of their composite present identity.[46]

Judaism was considered inferior to Protestant Christianity and was considered "a dying remnant of the past,"[47] destined to merge in true Hegelian fashion with the deracinated Protestantism that was the state religion of Prussia. Together both would give birth to a new synthesis, otherwise known as German culture, which was both Protestant (as the new biblical exegetes understood the term) and Jewish (as Mendelssohn understood the term) but ultimately neither. German was the only word which could adequately describe the new synthesis, as long as one excluded Catholicism as practiced on the Rhine and in Bavaria from the mix.

Tolerance was the essence of the new religion, and tolerance had been defined for the Germans by Lessing, whose play *Nathan der Weise* had been modeled on the life of Moses Mendelssohn. The Assing girls were left to figure out on their own how Judaism and the Enlightenment fit together. Diedrich gives a postmodern reading of an identity crisis that was undeniably real:

> The Assing girls, ostracized by conservative Germans on the one hand, and orthodox Jews on the other, may have suffered severe "category" crises. They learned the painful lesson that identity was not a mater of choice but defined by those who held the power to define, yet they clung to the creed they had inherited from their parents. The ostracism to which they were exposed sharpened their eyes for all expressions of discrimination, but it also burdened them with a need to belong, at times overwhelming. The almost excessive pride they took in the elitist circles they moved in, the arrogance they displayed against the petty bourgeois and "philistine" people. . . .[48]

In the absence of coherent principle as a guide to life, the Assing girls fell back on imitating members of the older generation, and that meant that, next to their mother, Aunt Rahel was their primary role model. Eventually all of the talk about free love and the stultifying effects of convention and marriage had their effect on Ottilie. During the mid-1840s she became involved in the "theater wars" in Hamburg, and in 1846 Ottilie moved in with Jean-Baptiste Baison, one of the great actors in the German theater of his day and star of Hamburg's Municipal Theater. Baison came from Huguenot stock in France, but in her biography of Baison, Ottilie characterized him as favored "by Nature herself" and destined for the stage where "his tall slim figure had an innate grace which was ennobled by a perfect physique, and his exquisitely and regularly formed features mirrored each emotion with lightning speed."[49]

Baison's wife did not move out when Ottilie moved into their household, underscoring the unconventional nature of their relationship and their scorn for moral propriety. Because of Baison, Ottilie missed the Revolution of 1848. Baison died on January 13, 1849, and Ottilie had spent the Revolution

of 1848 taking care of his family and nursing him through his final illness. Throughout Baison's last days, Ottilie, according to Diedrich, "refused to seek solace in religion. In fact, it appears that Baison's death consolidated her atheist commitment."[50]

Johann Steinheim blamed the Baison affair for Ottilie's political ideas: "Without this unfortunate relationship to the Baison family she would never have developed such quixotic ideas."[51] But in retrospect, Steinheim has the moral cart before the horse here. If Ottilie had not been morally corrupted by a steady diet of toxic culture in the salons run by her mother and her aunt, she most probably would not have begun the affair with Baison.

Ottilie Assing had squandered her fortune on Baison. In addition, her affair with Baison had ruined her reputation in Hamburg. No one was willing to hire a fallen woman as a tutor to their children. That and the failed Revolution of 1848, which sent thousands of Germans into exile, got Assing thinking about America, and on August 16, 1852 Ottilie Assing put theory into practice once again when she sailed out of Hamburg bound for New York and the New World. Her sister Ludmilla saw the voyage to America as an admission that Ottilie had ruined her life. Unable to admit that, Ottilie chose America as an escape from the unhappiness which flowed from her own "character traits, which will always accompany her!"[52]

Ottilie, however, felt that "America spelled promise."[53] "*Amerika, du hast es besser*," was Goethe's verdict. The land without a history proved irresistible to those who wanted to escape history, personal and otherwise. In addition, America was the home of the noble savage, and in particular the home of millions of Negro slaves waiting for liberation of the sort that Ottilie had imbibed from her mother's and aunt's salons. Diedrich is more specific:

> Like all educated Germans of her day, she had read Heinrich von Kleist's "Engagement in Santo Domingo" (1811) and she shared the enthusiasm of German radicals for the Haitian revolution and its hero, Toussaint L'Ouverture.[54]

Kleist wasn't Ottilie's only source of information about the racial situation in the New World. In 1849, three years before she left for America, Ottilie read Clara Mundt's *Aphra Behn*, a book which evoked in her "visions of a black revolution, of a militant alliance transcending established boundaries of race and gender"[55] sure to make Ottilie's broken heart beat strong again. Ottilie lived in a world of literary models, and so it is hardly far-fetched to think that she saw in Kleist, and Mundt's fictions some premonition of her own future in the New World, as well as a promise that "expert radicals like her" would be able "to liberate" America "from its self-imposed bondage."[56] Diedrich finds it entirely possible that "the glorification of Toussaint L'Ouverture among German radicals roused the hope in her that another great black liberator would arise in the United States."[57] Ottilie was Aphra Benn, the bluestocking

from Europe who was to liberate the Negro slaves. But who was Oronooko? Ottilie had no idea when she left Germany, but after a short time in New York City the answer to that question would become clear to her.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SOUTH

Shortly after the Assing sisters had arrived to pay homage to their literary heroes Heinrich Heine and George Sand in Paris in the aftermath of the failed Revolution of 1830, a slave who eventually renamed himself Frederick Douglass fled North from the home of his master on Maryland's eastern shore. Douglass had been born a slave in 1818, but on September 3, 1838, with the help of Anna Murray, a woman seven years his senior, he had fled to the North, where he allied himself with the abolitionists, in particular with William Lloyd Garrison. In New York, Douglass married Anna Murray at the church of James W. C. Pennington, one of the first blacks Ottilie Assing would idolize.

Murray bore Douglass four children, but liberation meant one thing for Anna Murray and something quite different for Frederick Douglass. Murray was a deeply religious woman who felt, along with Douglass's early mentor the Rev. Lawson, that God had granted Douglass extraordinary gifts so that he could preach God's word and, like a new Moses, lead his people out of bondage.

Unlike Douglass, the self-made man who taught himself to read and write, Anna Murray remained an illiterate for her entire life. As a result Douglass associated her and her religious views with Negro backwardness, the very thing his race needed to overcome if it were to gain equality with the white race. Douglass began to view his wife as a burden. Anna Murray became "the woman left behind, a static, slowly dimming, and voiceless figure in the distance."[58] In Douglass's autobiography,

> the woman who paid for his heroic flight, who at times was the family's prime wage earner, who had given him four children and whose devotion empowered him to make his glorious career, is almost absent from the text—"an afterthought," as David Leverenz notes. A few years later, in his novel "The Heroic Slave" (1853), Douglass distanced himself even further from the kind of black womanhood he associated with slavery: in the story he kills off Susan, the wife of his slave protagonist, Madison Washington, whose support had enabled him to hide from slave catchers for five years before his heroic escape from the South.[59]

In Douglass's eyes, his wife had committed the unpardonable sin. She had not liberated herself from what he saw as intellectual bondage, and he began to treat her more like a servant than a wife, something that visitors to his house

noticed. Diedrich says that Douglass and his wife "began to live separate lives less than five years into their marriage."[60]

His career as the great liberator didn't help matters. In 1845 Frederick Douglass published the first of a number of autobiographies, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. He then traveled to England, where he made contact with Wilberforce and the antislavery movement there. While in England, Douglass noticed that he cast a sexual spell over the white women who came to hear him speak. The feeling was mutual. Douglass was attracted to white women because they symbolized not only forbidden fruit for the former slave from the South, but because they represented everything that his wife was not. They represented the higher culture that blacks needed to appropriate to raise themselves to the level of white culture. In a poem he wrote later in life, when contemplating marriage to a white woman, he described white women and the culture they represented as forbidden fruit and himself as the Adam willing to seize that fruit no matter what the consequences. Modern commentators try to pick their way through this minefield without stepping on anything that might set off an explosion of political correctness. Douglass, we are told,

> was surrounded with enamored white women of his class wherever he traveled, and his interest in them and their obvious enjoyment of his presence both fascinated and shocked his contemporaries, as it continues to occupy his biographers. The observations of the "white woman phenomenon" in Douglass's life which William S. McFeely offered in his biography of 1991 is typical. "There was, and is, much prurient speculation—not always devoid of racism—about the sexual components of Douglass's friendship with white women and lurking within are fantastic images of a not-so-noble savage turned gleaming black beast and proving fatally attractive to pale virgins anxious to yield their chastity to some imagined hugeness."[61]

For Frederick Douglass, 1847 was an *annus mirabilis* of sorts. In 1847 Douglass broke with William Lloyd Garrison and moved to Rochester, New York, where he started his own newspaper, the *North Star*. When he returned home in triumph from his speaking tour in England in the same year, Julia Griffiths, an ardent English abolitionist and the daughter of a friend of William Wilberforce, not only followed him back to America, she moved into the Douglass household and became his constant companion for the next seven years. Griffiths helped set up his press and raise the money needed to launch his magazine. She even accompanied him on the piano when he played the violin. She accompanied Douglass on his speaking tours, appearing in public with him at a time when this sort of behavior was a huge source of public scandal for the abolitionist cause and a source of comfort to the enemies of black emancipation. Diedrich tries to put Douglass's behavior in a positive

light by claiming that "Julia seemed to have everything that Anna Murray was lacking."[62] But the real message of their cohabitation was much more damaging. If Frederick Douglass was to be construed as a role model for his race, then it looked as if the first fruit of emancipation was going to be emancipation from sexual morality. Douglass did not abandon his black wife, but the fact that he took up with a white woman in the same house made the situation that much worse in the eyes of the public, who were treated to numerous "insinuating" accounts in the press over the next few years.[63]

Since the creation of the *North Star* was tantamount to a break with Garrison, Garrison lost no time in leading the attack against Douglass. It may well be that Douglass showed lack of gratitude and that Garrison was loath to have a competitor as the chief champion of abolitionism, but the political and social realities of the times made these considerations secondary. The main issue was Douglass's sexual mores. "The abolitionists," Diedrich tells us, "had been alarmed at how excitedly women lionized and besieged Douglass on his tours; they feared lest these encounters threw a negative light on their movement; did they not confirm the allegation that abolition of slavery would expose white women to the sexual lust of black men?"[64]

As Douglass's behavior became more brazen, the *Liberator* increased the vehemence of its attacks on him, wondering out loud how a man who cheated on his wife could be trusted with the responsibilities of leadership in the anti-slavery movement. The feminists agreed with Garrison. Julia Griffiths had become a source of division in the abolitionist movement because of Douglass's affair with her. In a letter to Garrison, Susan B. Anthony claimed that her friends felt that he had been right to ostracize Douglass, because, as Amy Post put it, "Julia has made Frederic hate all his old friends." Anthony continued, "I don't care anything about her being in the office—but I won't have her in my house."[65]

Ignoring the threats of his erstwhile allies, Douglass did nothing to hide his affair with Julia Griffiths. Traveling together with her and appearing with her in public were deliberate acts of provocation which called into question the strict segregation of black men and white women which Douglas had grown up under. But it also alienated support in the North for the abolitionist cause. Douglass's behavior seemed calculated to prove the Southerners right when they claimed that emancipation was the first step toward miscegenation and black men taking up with white women. Once the affair with Julia Griffiths was made public, Garrison found himself in the position of Dr. Frankenstein. The man he had promoted as the leader of the black cause was now more useful to the propagandists for slavery than he was for the abolitionists. A break was inevitable.

In spite of the break with Douglass, Garrison continued to be a major player in the psychological warfare campaign against the South, a campaign predicated on the threat of black rebellion. *The New York Tribune* under the

editorship of Horace Greeley was only slightly less strident than Garrison, and because of its high speed presses the *Tribune* reached a much wider audience in the North. The pundits from the North were careful to couch their calls for revolution in phrases that sounded as if they had come from the Bible. Those who opposed their extremism found themselves powerless to resist, much less oppose, the pull of the revolutionary tide. In a statement which Herman Melville would appropriate and put into the mouth of Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*, Daniel Webster, whose main concern was preserving the Union, noted that "There are men who . . . if their perspicacious vision enables them to detect a spot on the face of the sun, they think it good reason why the sun should be struck down from heaven."[66] President Fillmore was getting letters from Theodore Parker, a Transcendentalist and a Unitarian minister, who was one of the Secret Six. Parker was a revolutionary who "denied Protestantism, dismissed concepts of sin, denied atonement, summarized God as goodness, and 'each man as his own Christ.'"[67] "Poverty," Parker opined, "can only be eliminated when its causes are removed. The alternative is revolution."[68] In those letters, Parker informed Fillmore that it was his duty to break the law and engage in illegal activity:

> For the first time, the United States government was faced with a revolutionary movement that denied its authority and its power to exert that authority. The movement was a minority, but its leaders held high and respected positions. The number of clergymen in its ranks and their arguments—in Parker's words—that "antislavery is the Law of God," and "the constitution was not morally binding" made them difficult and embarrassing opponents.[69]

The South, like President Fillmore, was now aware that the existence of chattel slavery had been used to create a revolutionary situation in the North, which under the orchestration of figures public and private urged the destruction of the South and what it stood for. Slavery, in a sense, was only the tip of the iceberg. The real issue was that the South had remained unchanged, an essentially feudal society in the heart of what was becoming a revolutionary republic, ever since the colonies separated from England.

The South responded by sitting back and taking a beating at the hands of the northern radicals who controlled the organs of public opinion. Otto Scott describes their retreat into sullen silence:

> The South smarted under a wave of denigration that issued from hundreds of Northern presses and hundreds more lecture platforms. The South's culture and religion were denied, its classes mocked, its heritage and accomplishments ignored. Millions of Northerners regarded the South as a region of nightmare and evil. . . . Southern anger rose steadily under a Northern barrage that insisted the South revolutionize itself, dislocate its economy, and change its pattern of relations between the races—all

> to please the consciences of men in another region who would suffer no pain, loss, or change of status from such changes.[70]

Scott claims that "The reality was far different. The South was a region . . . where the Bible was revered as the base of Western civilization."[71] But the existence of slavery as the cornerstone of southern culture made a coherent defense of that culture impossible. As a result the Southerners retreated into sullen silence, and increased their vigilance over and oppression of the slaves, who seemed to be the main target of northern propaganda efforts.

> At first the South was content to seal its mailbags against Northern propaganda and to issue denials and refutations. In time, abolitionist propaganda led to a worsening of the conditions of blacks; efforts to educate slaves were halted and emancipations made more difficult. The conditions of free blacks declined remarkably. The South moved toward the condition of a garrison state in its own nation.[72]

Long after the South had lost the battle for the public mind, Richard Weaver would concede that the South had produced no one who could articulate the Southern point of view or defend the Southern way of life. Weaver called the South "the last non-materialist civilization in the Western World."[73] If so, it failed nonetheless to come up with an effective critique of the materialist revolutionaries who were determined to destroy its way of life:

> The South spoke well on a certain level, but it did not make the indispensable conquest of the imagination. From the Bible and Aristotle it might have produced its *Summa Theologia*, but none measured up to the task, and there is no evidence that the performance would have been rewarded. It needed a Burke or a Hegel; it produced lawyers and journalists. Perhaps the sin for which the South has most fully though unknowingly atoned is its failure to encourage the mind.
>
> It has had to compete against the great world with second-rate talent, and to accept the defensive where an offensive was indicated. One may understand the feeling which could boast of the South's freedom from isms, but this implies the existence of a satisfactory theology and metaphysics, which were not on hand. The lack continues . . . .[74]

The fatal flaw was chattel slavery. Pushed to the wall by the northern propaganda offensive arrayed against it, the South was hampered by its religious roots in *sola scriptura* and the political legacy of the American Revolution. The South turned to the Bible to find a justification for its way of life, and found that it was impossible to fight against the revolution armed with revolutionary assumptions. The Christian religion tolerated slavery in ancient Rome, but it did not endorse it in the way that the South found necessary.

> Against the South was arrayed the power of the North, dominated by the spirit of Puritanism, which, with all of its virtues, has ever been characterized by the pharisaism which worships itself, and is unable to perceive any goodness apart from itself, which has ever arrogantly held its ideas, its interests, and its will higher than fundamental law and covenanted obligations, which has always "lived and moved and had its being" in rebellion against constituted authority.[75]

In his warning to the South, John Calhoun raised the specter of black insurrection leading to black hegemony. The Negro would become the pawn of northern revolutionaries, whose goal was nothing short of the destruction of the South's culture:

> A shift in power [from the balance of power which had been maintained since the Missouri compromise of 1820], said Calhoun, would be accompanied by a reinterpretation of the Constitution, the emancipation of slaves, and "the overthrow of Southern whites." He warned that "in the hours of abolitionist triumph the blacks would be raised to favor, office and power. The South would then become the abode of disorder, anarchy and wretchedness." Calhoun argued that a unified South might avert this fate, and that its appearance alone might deflect the Northern drift and direction.[76]

As a result of losing the scriptural war to the proponents of German scripture scholarship, the South sought to preserve its culture by clamping down on the Negro slave. Had the South been allowed another century to work out its problems, the balm of local affinity could have come up with a *modus vivendi* which allowed for the preservation of all that was good in Southern culture, but the point of the revolutionary strategy was to deny them this time and to provoke a crisis by the systematic use of propaganda, and even terrorism if necessary.

The campaign of terrorism began in rumor. There were rumors of slave uprisings on the borders of Arkansas and Louisiana. Other slave rebellions were reported along the Kentucky-Tennessee border as well as in the Cumberland Valley, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi.

When Douglass broke with Garrison in 1847 to form his own newspaper, one of his backers was Gerit Smith, the richest man in New York State because of extensive property inherited from his father. Smith was also a member of the Secret Six, the cabal which backed John Brown, making the Frederick Douglass meeting with John Brown in 1847 seem like something other than coincidence. After arriving in Rochester, Brown carefully explained his plan to Douglass. Ever a man who saw the hand of God in the movements of his will and appetites, Brown explained to Douglass that he planned to create an army of abolitionist liberators in the Allegheny Mountains, which, Brown claimed, had been "placed [there] by God for the emancipation of the Negro

race."[77] Brown would sally forth from his mountain redoubt periodically and liberate ever-increasing numbers of slaves, who would then regroup at this mountain hideout until further raids could swell their numbers even further. "I know these mountains well," Brown told Douglass, "and could take a body of men into them and keep them there despite all the efforts of Virginia to dislodge them."[78] Brown was, of course, totally unfamiliar with the mountain range which stretched from Gerit Smith's home state into enemy territory in Virginia, but knowing that God had created the mountains for him to use in his war of liberation was knowledge enough for Brown. Brown felt that "Slavery was a state of war, and a slave had a right to anything necessary to his freedom."[79] That anticipated the later sermons of Theodore Parker, who would argue that slaves had a right to kill for freedom. How Douglass reacted to Brown's proposal is anyone's guess, but they would meet again in anticipation of Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry.

Four years after his initial meeting with Douglass, Brown had refined his plans for revolution based on black insurrection and the murder of whites. Brown's new organization was called the United States League of Gileadites; Brown, like his revolutionary forebears in 17th century England, was drawing on the story of Gideon as the source of his inspiration. He also made reference to contemporary national liberation movements throughout the world. If the Greeks could rise up against the Turks, and the Poles could rise up against the Russians, and the Hungarians could rise up against the Austrians, then the Negroes of the United States, whose sufferings far exceeded those of the groups mentioned, could certainly rise up against the white slave owners of the South. Brown concluded his new manifesto with instructions on how to spread "confusion and terror."[80]

JOHN BROWN THE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE

On May 19, 1856 Senator Charles Sumner took the floor of the United States Senate to give what he considered "the most philippic [speech] ever uttered in a legislative body."[81] The subject of this diatribe was "The Crime against Kansas," and it took the better part of two days for Senator Sumner to expatiate on the magnitude of this crime. Scott characterizes Sumner as "an ideologue in the Robespierre mold: austere, aloof, warm only toward those who agreed with him, cold as ice to everyone else."[82] During his speech, Sumner described the citizens of the state of Missouri as "hirelings, picked from the drunken spew and vomit of an uneasy civilization,"[83] but this was only warming up to the point where he could deliver the full force of his literary blow squarely on the head of the South in general and the state of South Carolina in particular. Stephen Douglas, who was trying to lower the temperature of debate and save the union, was appalled at what he heard. "Is it his object,' Douglas wondered

"to provoke some of us to kick him as we would a dog in the street, that he may get sympathy upon the just chastisement?"[84]

Equally amazed was South Carolina Representative Preston S. Brooks, who felt that Sumner had besmirched not only his state but his uncle, Senator Andrew P. Butler as well. On May 22, Brooks approached Sumner on the Senate floor and informed him that after reading over his speech twice carefully, he considered it a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler. Before Sumner could respond, Brooks began beating him with his gutta-percha cane. The beating continued until Brooks' cane broke into slivers and he was physically restrained from continuing. Normally, Brooks would have challenged the author of such insults to a duel, but duels were reserved for resolving disputes between gentlemen, and Brooks didn't consider Sumner a gentleman.

Three days later, on May 25, John Brown and his sons made their way to a remote farm cabin near Pottawatomie, Kansas in the middle of the night and asked the farmer who lived there for hospitality. When he opened the door to admit them, Brown and his sons slew the man with swords in the sight of his wife and children and then released the man's slave, who was now free to wander off onto the prairie by himself and starve to death. The slave insurrection which the South had feared ever since the Nat Turner rebellion had begun, even though it didn't seem that way then. Brown had begun to "carry the war into Africa,"[85] his phrase for the slave insurrection that would usher in the second American Revolution and the American version of heaven on earth.

Fifty years after Brown's death Oswald Garrison Villard, William Lloyd Garrison's grandson, and one of the founding fathers of the NAACP, claimed that "John Brown still remains the outstanding example of a life in which man's spirit and courage in the face of certain death achieved immortality for him, where his resort to murderous violence and to armed revolt against his government failed completely."[86]

Villard likened Brown "to the Hebrew prophets or to a Cromwellian roundhead,"[87] situating him squarely in the tradition of the judaizing revolutionaries who had emigrated out of England in the 17th century and went on to leave an indelible mark on the American colonies, where they sought refuge. Brown's Puritan heritage becomes clear in Villard's biographical sketch:

> John was born on May 9th, 1800 at Torrington in Litchfield County, Connecticut of poor but respectable parents: a descendant on the side of his father of one of the company of the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth in 1620. His mother was descended from a man who came at an early period to New England from Amsterdam in Holland. Both his father's and his mother's father served in the war of the revolution.[88]

On May 28, 1856, a warrant was issued against John Brown, Jr. for treason. One day later, a journalist by the name of James Redpath mysteriously appeared at Brown's camp in Kansas. Redpath, whose articles on Brown would appear in the *New York Tribune*, then embarked on a publicity campaign which created the first and subsequently indelible image of Brown in the public mind. Brown was neither a criminal, nor a terrorist, nor a revolutionary who could only function if he was supported by people wealthier and better connected than he. No, Brown was Oliver Cromwell come back from the dead: "a new Cromwell had appeared in Kansas."[89] Redpath was not alone in portraying Brown as Cromwell *redivivus*. When Julia Ward Howe, wife of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, another member of the Secret Six cabal, met Brown, she exclaimed, "He looked a Puritan of the Puritans, forceful, concentrated, and self-contained."[90] Her husband felt the same way, seeing Brown as Cromwell, as well as other

> parallels everywhere he looked, with the English Civil War. He mentally considered the antislavery forces . . . the equivalent of the Puritans and Presbyterians of that earlier conflict. These were notions derived from Sir Walter Scott rather than history; Howe did not recall what the religious principles of the Puritans might have been; in his mind antislavery had assumed the force and coherence of a religion.[91]

Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, another member of the Secret Six cabal, had similar praise for the Kansas Free Soilers, who as a result of Brown's raid were "better prepared for revolution than they had been a few months previously." They were now, in fact, "ready to add their lives for revolution."[92]

Redpath's accounts of Brown's raid fired the imagination of the Secret Six. Brown's willingness to kill unarmed farmers convinced them that he was their man. Brown's counterproposal was fairly straightforward. "He wanted $30,000 to arm a provisional force of 100 men under his leadership to 'fight for freedom' in Kansas and 'carry the war into Africa.'"[93]

On March 13, 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its infamous Dred Scott decision and transformed Brown from a criminal into a hero. Brown was "lionized in a manner later made familiar to many momentarily famous revolutionists when received by wealthy radicals."[94]

The Dred Scott decision prompted Higginson to write an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* advocating revolution as the only solution to the slavery problem. "The question of slavery is a stern and practical one. Give us the power and we can make a new Constitution . . . how is that power to be obtained? By politics? Never. By revolution and that alone."[95]

By the time Higginson used the term revolution in his *Atlantic* article, he was not referring to some antiquated movement of English ranters from the 17th century. Senator Charles Sumner knew many European revolutionaries. Sumner introduced Higginson to an adventurer by the name of Colonel Hugh

Forbes. Forbes had fought with Garibaldi during the Italian Revolution of 1848 and fancied himself an expert in mountain warfare. Since Brown had already made contact with the Secret Six, it was presumably Higginson who introduced Forbes to Brown. The two men's gifts dovetailed nicely. Since Brown's base of operations for the Gileadites of the United States was to be the Allegheny Mountains, Forbes' expertise would benefit him and the cause of Negro insurrection.

Brown met with Forbes in New York, where Forbes introduced Brown to his *magnum opus*, his *Compendio del Voluntario Patriotico,* which had been published in Naples in two volumes. The fact that Garibaldi had made Forbes a colonel and had endorsed his book seems to have impressed Brown, who agreed to pay Forbes $100 a month (plus $600 in advance) to translate his work into English and distill what it had to say into a form which would be accessible to the volunteers who would follow Brown in his efforts to carry the war into Africa. After the translation was completed, Forbes was to join Brown and his "army" in Tabor, Iowa. Forbes then met with Gerit Smith and tried to sell him the same book. Smith, who knew of Brown's dreams of mountain warfare, was delighted and gave Forbes another $150. Forbes then got $20 from Horace Greeley and an undisclosed sum from the Garibaldi-Mazzini colony in New York. Fortified with this new-found wealth, Forbes made his way to Iowa, where, on August 9, 1857, he found an "army" made up of Brown and his crippled son Owen.

Forbes realized that he, and everyone else involved with the Secret Six, had been duped into believing Brown's grandiose rhetoric. Undeterred by Forbes' skepticism, Brown began to elaborate on his plan in detail. The entire black population of the South, Brown assured Forbes, was ready to rise up in rebellion as soon as a leader like Brown arrived on the scene. Basing the rest of his plan on that dubious assumption, Brown assured Forbes that "between 200 and 500 slaves would swarm to his standard the first night."[96]

Forbes, however, remained skeptical of John Brown's plans to carry the war into Africa and pointed out the flaws to its author. The foremost consideration was whether, in fact, the slaves would rebel, even if Brown offered them weapons and commissions at the rank of lieutenant in his "army." Forbes felt that they wouldn't. He also felt that the military forces in the South would quickly defeat any military force which lacked experience, as the Negro slaves did. Southern whites had been trained in the use of firearms from childhood; Southern Negroes had no experience with any weapon other than a knife, and their experience with this weapon consisted in using it on each other in drunken brawls and fights over women. Brown's own military plans eventually took this into consideration. Brown himself had no plans to give the Negroes firearms because he knew full well that they didn't know how to use them. He planned to arm his phantom army of insurrectionists with pikes when he made his raid on Harpers Ferry. Finally, Forbes warned Brown that the New

Englanders would not support his cause unless and until he achieved total victory, and so they could not be counted on to bring that victory about.

If Forbes hoped to sober Brown with the cold judgment of a man tried in battle, he was mistaken. Nothing could cool Brown's ardor to bring the war to Africa. Brown was the classic enthusiast. He felt called by God to do what he wanted to do. In Brown, Luther's doctrine of *sola scriptura* and Muentzer's notion of the living word enlivened by visions, signs, and wonders merged and found their apotheosis in will, years before Nietzsche came to the same conclusion and ushered in the end of the Protestant age. With the Secret Six cabal willing to bankroll his schemes, Brown planned to bring on the racial apocalypse even if it meant shedding innocent blood.

"The slave," Brown concluded, rejecting all of Forbes' warnings, "will be delivered by the shedding of blood—and the signs are multiplying that this deliverance is at hand."[97]

CIVIL WAR THE LONG AWAITED REVOLUTION

Around the time that Colonel Forbes conferred with John Brown in Kansas, Ottilie Assing decided to move to Hoboken, New Jersey. By the time she arrived in Hoboken, 1,500 of the town's 7,000 inhabitants were German, and many of them were German intellectuals who were exiles from their country because of their participation in the Revolution of 1848. In Hoboken Assing first met Dr. Hans Kudlich from Lobenstein, liberator of Silesia's farmers during the Revolution of 1848. In Hoboken too she met Friedrich Kapp, a lifelong friend of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose book *The Essence of Christianity*, published in 1841, had become the Bible, if you'll pardon the expression, of Germany's atheist American Diaspora. Kapp, like Kudlich, had to flee Germany when the Revolution of 1848 collapsed. Most of the exiled '48ers viewed America as the proverbial port in the storm, and, saw themselves not so much as immigrants yearning to breathe free as apostles sent by adversity to convert the puritanical Americans to the higher religions of German atheism and free love. Few if any of them were prescient enough to see, as Assing would, that the revolutionary spark had jumped across the ocean, and that the revolutionary flame would burst forth in America before it would flame up anywhere else in the world. Their myopia was a function of their blind adherence to German culture as the highest expression of the world spirit to date. There were no Negroes in Germany, and so the average German, even one who fed on the bread of Marx and Feuerbach, had difficulty understanding race as the vehicle for revolution in America, especially when the rhetoric of revolution there got mixed so promiscuously with the language of the Bible.

Because she had been nurtured on the interracial fantasies of Kleist and Clara Mundt, Ottilie Assing had no difficulty in seeing race as the vehicle for the coming American revolution. In fact, from the beginning of her stay

in America, Assing felt that "The New World . . . was a laboratory where an abstract vision of a composite nationality could be tested and realized. . . . The ideal American society she envisioned was raceless."[98] Assing went out of her way to violate America's racial taboos, which her German accent allowed her to get away with after a fashion. On her visit to a Negro religious revival, she separated herself from the rest of the white race tourists and insisted on spending the night in one of the tents set aside for the Negro pilgrims. Assing loved to shock the sensibilities of white Americans. In fact, her biographer finds it "impossible to ignore the condescension in Assing's attitude toward her black neighbor, her self-righteousness, her love of performance, her need to shock her fellow white travelers."[99]

Since no one knew of her reputation as the fallen woman from Hamburg, Ottilie Assing could have earned a living as a tutor to the children of the German Diaspora in New York, but instead she decided to earn her living as a journalist. This was hardly the most logical choice, since the competition was fierce. There were lots of German revolutionaries in America competing for a limited number of slots in an even more limited number of German journals. Assing needed to specialize, and she decided to become Germany's Negro expert. Assing felt that her own mixed racial background as a "half Jew" rendered her uniquely qualified for this role.

It was an inspired choice in 1857, when her adopted country gagged on the Dred Scott decision and plunged headlong toward civil war. The first Negro on her agenda was the preacher James W. C. Pennington, who had penned an up-from-slavery narrative of his own. But soon thereafter, Assing, who was no stranger to literature, picked up *The Narrative of Frederick Douglass*, and it was as if in Douglass the sun rose and rendered Pennington's candle insignificant by comparison.

By the summer of 1858, Assing had gone from an admirer of his prose, to the woman who shared his bed. Douglass had always been fascinated by white women, probably from the time he had reached puberty, but certainly from the time of his triumphal English speaking tour in 1847. Now that Julia Griffiths, Douglass's first white mistress, had returned to England, there was space in Douglass's bed to share.

Perhaps Assing was drawn to Douglass because both he and she were of mixed racial descent. Ottilie's father was a Jew, and Douglass's father, although no one could be certain, was most probably the white master of the plantation he had escaped from when he fled north in 1838. Roughly ten years after her arrival in the New World, Assing reviewed a 72-page pamphlet entitled *"Miscegenation: the Theory of Blending of the Races Applied to the American white Man and Negro,"* for the January 1864 issue of the *Morgenblatt*. Assing wholeheartedly endorsed the central premise of the pamphlet, which was that if America wanted to be great, it had to promote race mixing, blending "all that is passionate and emotional in the darker races, all that is imaginative and

spiritual in the Asiatic races, and all that is intellectual and perceptive in the white race."[100] The anonymous author of this pamphlet argued that it was a well-established fact, "that the miscegenetic or mixed races are much superior mentally, physically, and morally, to those pure or unmixed."[101] In endorsing the pamphlet, Assing let her love affair with Douglass get the better of her political acumen. She failed to understand that the pamphlet was a political hoax perpetrated by the Democratic Party, which attempted to portray the Republican Party as promoters of interracial sex. As part of the same campaign, the Democrats had young women marching in parades carrying banners proclaiming, "Fathers, save us from nigger husbands."[102]

Yet it was more likely their mutual differences that attracted Assing and Douglass to each other. Unlike Douglass's Negro wife, who had been relegated to the role of domestic servant, Assing embodied European culture in what she considered its highest and most advanced form, namely, the German Enlightenment. Assing was, quite literally, a child of that Enlightenment and well versed in its literature. She could lead Douglass into the company of Goethe, who had frequented her Aunt Rahel's salon in Berlin, and Kant, who was still taking his daily walks when her father was growing up in Koenigsberg. In addition, she could accompany him on the piano when he played the violin, and could manage his affairs with a combination of Jewish financial acumen and Germanic efficiency.

What Douglass offered Assing was even easier to discern. Douglass, with his boxer's body and leonine head, embodied the idea of "Rousseauvian naturalness" which Ottilie had imbibed from her early education in the salons of Berlin and Hamburg.[103] Douglass was Ottilie's noble savage, or, better still, he was the embodiment of Oroonoko, the noble Negro revolutionary whom Assing had read about in the pages of Clara Mundt's novel, *Aphra Behn*. By uniting in an illicit adulterous relationship, Assing and Douglass could live lives that testified to the intrinsic illegitimacy of bourgeois morality:

> In a society that worshipped chastity, she gloried in her role as a black and married man's lover. She ridiculed her contemporaries' notions of piety with her belligerent atheism. Her life as a professional woman appeared like a denial of woman's true destiny—wife and motherhood. Douglass was enchanted by a rebelliousness that neither apologized nor explained.[104]

Radical Hoboken German émigrés accepted Douglass on Assing's terms and access to Douglass gave her the journalistic edge in becoming Germany's Negro expert when the racial situation was the big story in America, thus confirming Assing in her belief that her life had finally settled onto its proper path. Assing was fulfilling her destiny as the child of the German Enlightenment by bringing freedom and revolution to the slaves of America.

Her first task as the bringer of high culture to the American Negro was the education of Frederick Douglass himself. Assing introduced Douglass to the literature of European revolutionary thought, and Douglass seems to have been a willing pupil. As some indication of his personal pantheon, Douglass decorated his study with busts of Ludwig Feuerbach and David Friedrich Strauss. He also displayed portraits of the abolitionists Wendell Philips, Charles Sumner, and John Brown, as well as portraits of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Abraham Lincoln.[105]

Under Assing's tutelage, Douglass read Marx, Mazzini, Bakunin, and Lassalle. But her crowning achievement was introducing Douglass to the thought of Ludwig Feuerbach. Assing had heard about Feuerbach for years, both before and after she had moved in with the radical émigré community in Hoboken. But in the fall of 1859, she stumbled across George Eliot's translation of Feuerbach's attack on the Christian religion in a bookstore in New York City. It was an important moment in the intellectual history of their relationship, because up to that point, Assing had been unable to convert Douglass to atheism. Or as Assing put it in a letter she wrote to Feuerbach himself, 12 years later, "Personal sympathy and concordance in many central issues brought [Douglass and me] together, but there was one obstacle to a loving and lasting friendship—namely, the personal Christian God."[106] It took no less a thinker than Feuerbach, combined with the sexual wiles of the German/Jewish Delilah, to push "Dark Fred," Assing's term for Douglas, over the brink into atheism.

The sexual and intellectual seduction of Frederick Douglass was a moment of historical significance because for the next century the chief obstacle which America's largely Jewish revolutionaries would find to their goal of turning the Negro into the avant garde of the revolutionary movement in America was the Negro's faith in Christ. Now, almost eight decades before Wilhelm Reich would come up with the scientific explanation of how sexuality and German revolutionary thought could be used as a potent form of discipline and control, Ottilie Assing had used the same combination in corrupting America's black Moses, the man whom both his wife and his preacher mentor considered as marked by God to deliver his people from bondage. From Feuerbach, Douglass learned that

> God is a projection of the human imagination, of human needs and desires; the substance of religious dogma is human. Man, Feuerbach declared, created God in his own image, and then God returned the favor. This analysis abolished the opposition between the divine and the human and defined religion as a first step toward self-knowledge.[107]

Besotted by Assing's sexual charms, Douglass found himself incapable of answering Feuerbach's critique and so he succumbed, as she hoped he would, to his ideas. "The book," Assing wrote to Feuerbach referring to *The Essence*

of Christianity, "resulted in a total reversal of his attitudes."[108] The final result of their long evenings of reading and discussion, Assing continued, was that "Douglass became your enthusiastic admirer, and the result is a remarkable progress, an expansion of his horizon, of all his attitudes."[109] Part of that progress meant repudiating the prophesy of Charles Lawson, the slave from Baltimore whom Douglass had always considered his "spiritual father." It was Lawson who claimed that Douglass had been freed from the bondage of slavery and illiteracy because the Lord "had a great work for him,"[110] namely preaching the Gospel. Douglass's sense of mission and vocation disappeared when his lust-darkened mind, weakened by Assing's wiles, capitulated intellectually before a German cultural icon whose writing he could dimly decipher but was unable to refute.

Slavery intensified and justified his rebellion. As Assing well knew, the seeds of rebellion were already there. Midway through his affair with Julia Griffiths, on the 4th of July 1852, Douglass gave a speech in which he attacked the proslavery distortion of Christianity by exclaiming, "For my part I would say, welcome infidelity! Welcome atheism! Welcome anything! In preference to the gospel as preached by the Divines!" Diedrich tells us that Douglass's "belief in human perfectibility and the need for human moral action was strengthened when he encountered Theodore Parker's Transcendental Unitarianism."[111] Feuerbach finished the conversion which Theodore Parker's transcendentalism had begun, and Assing described Douglass's conversion to atheism in frankly religious terms.

> They struck him like a ray of light, and accomplished a complete revolution of his opinions. I add with great satisfaction that it was German radicalism which worked that revolution, and that to our great, venerated Feuerbach, above all others our thanks are due for having pointed out the path to intellectual liberty to the distinguished man, after he had freed himself of the fetters of slavery.[112]

Chattel slavery was only a metaphor in the mind of German radicals like Assing for the intellectual bondage which flowed from Christianity. Assing's approach conformed precisely to the reproaches which the southerners were making against the northern radicals. Slavery was a pretext, the southerners had claimed all along; the real issue was revolution. With slavery as their cover, the Secret Six were bent on exporting revolution to the South. Douglass soon introduced Assing to Gerit Smith, the financial power behind the Secret Six cabal. Assing was in complete agreement with the revolutionary goals of the Secret Six, but still found them, like virtually all Americans, disagreeably religious. "The freethinking German visitor," she wrote in one of her *Morgenblatt* articles, "is bothered only by a certain aura of religious orthodoxy that unfortunately infects even the best of men over here."[113]

In the early autumn of 1859, Frederick Douglass received a visit from John Brown, Jr., a fugitive from justice since he and his father had murdered three men in Pottawotomie, Kansas in May 1856. Brown's son had come to recruit Douglass into his father's guerilla army. Assing was staying at the Douglass household when the younger Brown arrived and, since she considered Brown a hero (even though she had never met him) she was probably favorably disposed to Brown's request. It seemed as if her Oronooko fantasy was about to become a reality. Diedrich does a good job in articulating those fantasies: "There would be an insurrection, perhaps the beginning of a revolution, and she and Douglass would be in the midst of it all—Douglass as the liberator and leader of the African American people, and she as his faithful companion. White America had created a wall of scorn around the Douglass home; history might someday celebrate it as the place where the second American revolution was launched!"[114]

Douglass, however, had his doubts, or at least this is how he portrayed his reaction after the attack on Harpers Ferry had failed. To be fair to Douglass, four years before Harpers Ferry, he had written that "I never see much use in fighting, unless there is a reasonable probability of whipping somebody,"[115] and the more he heard about Brown's plan from Brown's son the more he concluded that Brown was going to get whipped. And yet, the idea of taking the war to Africa still had an attraction to Douglass. Douglass had raised money for Brown in black churches, but when he mentioned John Brown to a black audience in Brooklyn, no one in the audience volunteered to join the American Cromwell. This was a bad omen because Brown's plan for insurrection was predicated on the idea that slaves would swarm to his banner the minute he raised it.

Unable to resolve his doubts, Douglass decided to meet with Brown in person in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a town on the Maryland border 80 miles west of Philadelphia. There in a abandoned stone quarry, Douglass met with Brown and his "secretary of war," the Swiss revolutionary John Henry Kagi and learned that Brown had abandoned his plan to create a refuge for fugitive slaves in the mountains and was planning instead a frontal assault with fewer than two dozen men on the whole slavery system as symbolized by the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry. The scheme was predicated on the assumption that the slaves would rise up and support Brown once they heard of his insurrection. Douglass, who had grown up in neighboring Maryland and had just failed to generate any interest among the free blacks of Brooklyn, knew better. The one area where a slave rebellion was most likely to succeed, namely, the predominantly black counties of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi was hundreds of miles removed from the arsenal which Brown had chosen as the starting point of his rebellion. It would take weeks for the news to travel to where it was likely to do the most good, if it ever got there at all. The slaves of Virginia, far removed from the onerous work of

the cotton fields and often integrated into the households of their masters, were the candidates least likely to rise up and follow Brown. Douglass knew this much better than Brown did, and concluded that Brown was marching his little band of dreamers into "a perfect steel trap."[116] Like Colonel Forbes before him, Douglass tried to reason with John Brown: "I looked at him with some astonishment, that he could rest on a reed so weak and broken, and told him that Virginia would blow him and his hostages sky-high rather than that he should hold Harpers Ferry an hour."[117] When Brown explained that he also planned to take prominent citizens as hostages and, if worse came to worst, use them to negotiate his freedom, Douglass was more convinced than ever that the plan to use the arsenal "as a trumpet to rally the slaves to his defense" was totally delusional and doomed to failure.[118] That, at least, is how Douglass described the meeting years after the fact. One of Brown's daughters later claimed that Brown and John Kagi told their men that Douglass "had promised that he would follow Brown 'even into death'"[119] and would join them as soon as possible.

Douglass was, of course, correct in his assessment of Brown's plan. It was doomed from the moment of its cock-eyed inception. But Brown carried it out nonetheless. On Sunday, October 16, 1859 Brown showed up at the farm of Lewis Washington, great-grandnephew of George Washington, and announced that "We have come for the purpose of liberating all of the slaves of the South."[120] He then took Washington as his hostage and appropriated a pistol which his illustrious forebear had received from Lafayette and a sword Washington had received from Frederick the Great. Armed with these symbolic weapons and Washington's slaves, who were dragooned at gun point into fighting for their own liberty, the small party moved toward Harpers Ferry, where Kagi and A. D. Stevens had already struck "the first blow for liberty"[121] by inadvertently shooting Hayward Shepherd, a free Negro watchman, in their attempt to take the train trestle over the Potomac River. Shepherd died 12 hours later, and Brown's biographer, in spite of his sympathy for Brown, was unable to ignore the irony of the situation. "This was, indeed," Villard, one of his most sympathetic biographers, writes, "an ill omen for the army of liberation. The first man to fall at their hands was neither a slave-owner, nor a defender of slavery, nor one who suffered by it, but a highly respected, well-to-do colored man, in full possession of his liberty and favored with the respect of the white community."[122]

Things went downhill from there.

According to Villard, Brown was not only "without any clear and definite plan of campaign," he also "seemed bent on violating every military principle. . . by placing a river between himself and the his base of supplies—the Kennedy Farm—and leaving no adequate force on the river bank to insure his being able to fall back to that base. Hardly had he entered the town when, by dispersing his men here and there, he made his defeat as easy as possible.

Moreover, he had in mind no well-defined purpose in attacking Harpers Ferry, save to begin his revolution in a spectacular way, capture a few slaveholders and release some slaves."[123] In addition to that blunder, Brown failed to secure the heights above the town, which allowed sharpshooters placed there to pick off his men at will. When Brown's men attempted to flee by swimming the Potomac back into Maryland, they were picked off in this manner.

Villard feels that Brown's failure as a general made him a much more likely candidate as martyr:

> As a wielder of arms, John Brown inspires no enthusiasm; not even the flaming sword of Gideon in his hands lifts him above the ordinary run of those who battled in their day for a great cause. For all his years of dreaming that he might become another Schamyl, or Toussaint L'Ouverture, or the Mountain Marion of a new war of liberation, he was anything but a general. In his knapsack. . . lay instead a humble pen to bring him glory. For when he was stripped of his liberty, of the arms in which he exulted, the great power of the spirit within was revealed to him. The letters which now daily went forth to friends and relatives, and speedily found their way into print, found their way also to the hearts of all who sympathized with him misguided as he was; here was another martyr whose blood was to be the seed, not of his church, but of his creed.[124]

By Monday morning, the headlines of the nation's newspapers were screaming that "A Slave Rebellion of Immense Size" was underway in the South. The long-awaited slave insurrection had started, and terror spread through the land. As some indication of the sympathies of the northern press, the *New York Herald* printed a speech calling for armed insurrection by Gerit Smith alongside of John Brown's "provisional constitution."[124a]

Washington lost no time in reacting to this provocation. On Monday, October 17, President Buchanan ordered Colonel Robert E. Lee and Lt. J. E. B. Stuart to Harpers Ferry to apprehend the insurrectionists. By noon the Jefferson Guards had seized the Maryland side of the bridge over the Potomac, effectively cutting Brown off from his base of operations at the Kennedy Farm and any possibility of retreat. Resistance folded quickly after that. When Lee and Stuart's men stormed the arsenal, Brown's men could hardly defend themselves. Brown would have been killed on the spot had not Israel Green's sword struck his belt buckle. As a result, Brown was captured, and from that moment until he was hanged at Charlestown Court House, he was allowed to propound his own legend to the press which gathered at his feet during his last incarceration. The great slave insurrection which was the lynchpin of his military plan never happened, but in its place Brown got something better than that. He got to goad the whole country into war.

The South was appalled at the way that the North turned Brown into a hero. Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had entertained John Brown at his home in Concord, Massachusetts, referred to Brown as a "transcendentalist saint."[125] Emerson and his protégé Henry David Thoreau had conversed with Brown, and during those conversations, according to Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, another member of the Secret Six, they gained "that intimate knowledge of Brown's character and general purpose which qualified them . . . to make those addresses on his behalf which were the first response among American scholars to the heroism of the man . . . ."[126] During those conversations, Brown had convinced Emerson and Thoreau that he was a transcendentalist, and after his death the sage of Concord and the poet of Walden Pond both participated in Brown's canonization. On the day John Brown was hanged, Thoreau told a crowd of true believers that "Some 1800 years ago Christ was crucified; this morning, perchance, Captain Brown was hung. These are two ends of a chain which is not without its links. His is not Old Brown any longer; he is an angel of light . . . ."[127] Not to be outdone by his protégé, Emerson called Brown, "that new saint, than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict and death—the new saint awaiting his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross."[128] America's most beloved poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow had similar things to say in his diary, where he claimed that the day of Brown's hanging would mark "the date of a new Revolution—quite as much needed as the old one. Even now as I write, they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue slaves! This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, which will come soon."[129] The only member of the New England literary pantheon who disagreed with Emerson's equating of John Brown with Jesus was Nathaniel Hawthorne, recently returned from Europe, who opined that no man was more justly hanged than John Brown.

This was not simply a question of elites talking to each other. When five men and a Boston constable attempted to arrest Franklin Benjamin Sanborn in Concord on April 3, 1860, his sisters mobilized the entire town to thwart the arrest. One day later, the Massachusetts Supreme Court nullified the arrest, and Sanborn received a hero's welcome when he returned to Concord.

Once Emerson and Thoreau had taken the plunge, comparisons equating John Brown and Jesus Christ became commonplace. Virginia, Henry Ward Beecher claimed, had made John Brown a martyr, and Brown did nothing to dissuade his transcendentalist acolytes. During his final imprisonment, his words were broadcast by sympathetic newspaper accounts across the North. Taking his cue from Emerson and Thoreau, Brown began to refer to himself as the Christ: "You know," he stated on November 1, 1859, "that Christ once armed Peter. So also in my case, I think he put a sword into my hand, and there continued it, so long as he saw best, and then kindly took it from me

. . . . I wish you could know with what cheerfulness I am now wielding the "Sword of the Spirit" on the right hand and on the left."[130]

"I do not feel conscious of guilt in taking up arms," Brown claimed, and then he added brazenly that "Jesus of Nazareth was doomed in like manner. Why should not I be?"[131]

Needless to say, the South was appalled by this rhetoric. According to Otto Scott,

> The South [was] first amazed and then driven into fury by the Northern elevation of John Brown. Revelation that his raid had been incited, financed and armed by famous persons in the North, and that other Northerners rose to praise the terror he created imbued the people of the South with fear—and with a rising realization that something new and dangerous in racial conflict was upon them.[132]

When Lincoln claimed that "John Brown's effort was peculiar," because "it was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get a revolt among slaves," the South for once was in full agreement with Lincoln. In fact, Scott continues,

> It was that peculiarity the white Southerners found inexplicable and sinister. The idea that men of their own race would kill them on behalf of another had never really been credible to them, until Harper's Ferry. Until then they had scorned the Northern concern for black slaves as a cloak for political power. The abolitionist clergy and its attempt to paint all the people of the South as Christian pariahs had not shaken the Scotch-Irish inheritors of the faith of John Knox; they knew better. But when white men were shot dead in the streets of Harper's Ferry and their murderers held aloft as examples of a higher law, the South felt itself at bay.[135]

Before Harpers Ferry, men on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line struggled to keep the Union together. After Harpers Ferry, when the White House, Congress, and the Supreme Court proved either unwilling or unable to indict the Secret Six or deal effectively with the threat they posed, the South concluded that it would have to deal with that threat in its own way:

> The Southerners agreed that Harper's Ferry was merely a harbinger of more raids to come. Led by whites, financed and armed by the North, directed by men safe in Northern sanctuaries, these raids would strike against plantations and homes alike, to create a guerilla war unprecedented in its pattern, perilous to the safety of all white Southerners.[134]

After Harpers Ferry, the South began to treat the North as not only a separate nation, but as a hostile nation which threatened invasion from without and which allowed all of its organs of public opinion free rein in calling for a slave rebellion within its borders. The threat of armed insurrection among the South's blacks produced the same effect it had produced in the aftermath of the Nat Turner rebellion and which it would also produce in the aftermath of

Reconstruction: the whites cracked down on their black slaves and barred the movement of free blacks in the territory they controlled.

The South was appalled at the cult of John Brown which arose as a result of the collaboration of New York newspapers and Transcendental pundits from Concord.

> To them [the South] he was a fanatic who sought not only to steal cherished property, but to establish anarchy, to reenact Nat Turner's horrors, to make the terrible scenes of the Haytian Negro revolution insignificant beside the atrocities he would set on foot.[135]

Once it became clear that they were not going to be indicted for treason or conspiracy, the Secret Six joined in the propaganda offensive against the South.

> Parker was in Europe on a futile search for health, when Harper's Ferry was attacked; but he bore his testimony manfully: "Of course, I was not astonished to hear that an attempt had been made to free the slaves in a certain part of Virginia. . . . Such 'insurrections' will continue as long as slavery lasts, and will increase, both in frequency and in power, just as the people become intelligent and moral. . . It is a good Anti-Slavery picture on the Virginia shield: a man standing on a tyrant and chopping his head off with a sword; and I would paint the sword holder black and the tyrant white, to show the immediate application of the principle."[136]

The South felt that the North was conspiring against it and wanted to nip the revolution in the bud. Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and his apotheosis at the hands of the pundits "revived with tenfold strength the desires of a Southern Confederacy."[137]

Virginia's determination to hang Brown confirmed the North in its suspicions that they were dealing with a barbarous race of people who were essentially un-American, members of a different culture which was not compatible with America's foundational principles. The outrage was so great that it spawned plots to liberate Brown before his execution. Lysander Spooner plotted to kidnap Governor Wise of Virginia and hold him hostage aboard a sea-going tug until Brown was released. A group of German '48ers from New York planned, with the collaboration of the Secret Six, to attack Charlestown and escape with Brown to the North. Only with the greatest reluctance did Sanborn called off the attack. "Object abandoned." Sanborn wrote to Higginson. "So I suppose we must give up all hope of saving our old friend."[138]

John Brown's raid convinced the South that it had to arm itself in self-defense. In the view of Senator Mason of Virginia: "John Brown's invasion was condemned [in the North] only because it failed. But in view of the sympathy for him in the North and persistent efforts of the sectional party there to interfere with the rights of the South, it was not at all strange that the

Southern States should deem it proper to arm themselves and prepare for any contingency that might arise."[139]

After an extensive investigation, the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia concluded on January 26, 1860 that as long as the Republican party "maintains its present sectional organization and inculcates its present doctrines, the South can expect nothing less than a succession of such traitorous attempts to subvert its institutions and to incite its slaves to rapine and murder. The crimes of John Brown were neither more nor less than practical illustrations of the doctrines of the leaders of the Republican Party. The very existence of such a party is an offence to the whole South."[140] Brown's intention to "incite insurrection" among the slaves was clear; it was only because of "the loyalty and well-affected disposition of the slaves that he did not succeed in creating a servile war, with its necessary attendants of rapine and murder of all sexes, ages, and conditions."[141]

Less than two days after Brown launched his ill-fated raid, the full scope of the catastrophe began to dawn on Ottilie Assing and Frederick Douglass. John Brown had been captured; most of his men were dead, and the slave insurrection he anticipated had produced not a single Negro willing to fight at his side. But worse than that, from Assing and Douglass's point of view, when Brown was captured, Brown's carpetbag was captured along with him, and in it were letters from Gerit Smith and Frederick Douglass implicating them in a conspiracy behind the attack. Virginia's governor, Henry Wise, requested President Buchanan's assistance in arresting the conspirators, and he left no doubt that the one he wanted above all was "Frederick Douglass, a Negro man . . . charged with . . . inciting servile insurrection."[142] Douglass was in Philadelphia at the time, hoping that a crowd of his white friends there would accompany him to the Walnut Street Ferry and shield him from possible arrest by US marshals. Luckily, Douglass made it out of town without their assistance, for none of them were willing to risk their lives or fortunes on Douglass's behalf.

Once the immediate danger of arrest passed, Douglass had other equally pressing concerns. Locked in his desk in his house in Rochester were several letters linking Douglass to Brown and the other Secret Six conspirators as well as a provisional constitution in Brown's own hand for the revolutionary regime that was supposed to have taken power after Brown's success at Harpers Ferry. Fully aware of the magnitude of the charges that could be leveled against him, Douglass fled first to Canada, and then, on November 12, from New Brunswick to England aboard the steamer Scotia. "I could but feel that I was going into exile, perhaps for life," he later wrote. "Slavery seemed to be at the very top of its power. . . . No one who has not himself been compelled to leave his home and country and go into permanent banishment can well imagine the state of mind and heart which such a condition brings."[143] *The Baltimore Sun* was unimpressed by Douglass's self-serving account of his role

in the Harpers Ferry massacre, calling it "a curiosity, a rare specimen of craven impudence."[144]

Assing eventually published her own account of the events of October 1859, in a piece entitled "The Insurrection at Harper's Ferry." Her account showed "beyond doubt that she had knowledge of Brown's venture possessed only by members of the inner circle."[145] Her attempt to exonerate Douglass of any wrongdoing implicated him further. Much of what the world knew about Brown came from Colonel Forbes, who had turned on Brown when Brown failed to come up with the money he demanded. In her narrative, Assing revealed that Forbes had met with Douglass at his home in Rochester in November of 1858 and that Douglass had given Forbes money as well as contacts among, as Douglass put it, "my German friends in New York," a reference, for those who knew, to Assing's circle of radical friends in Hoboken.[148] Assing eventually came to the conclusion that Forbes was a con man, but not before implicating herself and Douglass even deeper in the conspiracy behind Brown.

In the same piece, Assing referred to Brown, as "the hero of Kansas," a superhuman figure who was "Stern and implacable like death itself," but "never guilty of needless cruelty; to the contrary, he often proved his innate kindness and humanity."[147] The raid on Harpers Ferry had shown not that America was under assault by terrorists who were willing to offer human sacrifice upon the altar of their own megalomania. Rather, it showed in Assing's view that "Only a society that perverted law to justify its transgressions against humanity could persecute this man as a criminal, only a corrupt world, only a debased law could denounce him as a terrorist."[148]

Assing's defense of Douglass was more outrageous than her defense of Brown. Assing claimed that "the famous orator Frederick Douglass was the only man who stood up to acknowledge frankly his participation in the conspiracy, even though the consequences for him are more dangerous and pernicious than for most others."[149] She then added, seemingly unaware that she was contradicting herself, that after Douglass was identified as one of the leaders of the Harpers Ferry conspiracy, it was "only by his hasty flight to Canada did he escape the clutches of the United States marshals, these henchmen of [the] government."[150]

Douglass was reluctant to accept the honors Assing offered him. In his autobiography, he claimed that he himself was unsure whether it was "my discretion or cowardice"[151] that prevented him from joining Brown. But he was adamant in assuring his readers that "The taking of Harpers Ferry was a measure never encouraged by my word or by my vote."[152] In her article, Assing twists Douglass's frank admission of indecision at best and cowardice at worst, into "a magnificent, brilliant manifesto dictated by that implacable hatred for slavery and that dedication to liberating the oppressed which knows no consequences, no matter how devastating their effect on his life."[153]

In retrospect, Assing's motivation in writing this biased apologia for what everyone else saw as an act of cowardice is not hard to fathom. Douglass was now out of the country living on an island a mere 30 miles from the European continent where Assing still had contacts and thousands of miles away from the Negro wife Assing had come to believe had usurped her position as Douglass's one true love. If Assing positioned Douglass in the right way for the German-speaking world, her articles in combination with the German translation of his autobiography might begin their new life together on the continent. One can only imagine how many daydreams Assing savored of Dark Fred, the noble savage from America, being paraded around by an even nobler Ottilie, the half-Jewish Delilah, who opened Dark Fred's mind (and by implication the mind of his race) to the blinding light of Feuerbachian atheism. What a triumph for German culture that would be!

And yet it never happened. Douglass's daughter died, forcing him to return home no matter what the consequences. By the time he got home, whatever role he had played in the Harpers Ferry affair had become moot. Virginia could no longer extradite him because Virginia was now at war with the United States.

In April of 1861, the Civil War broke out, and the revolutionaries rejoiced when it did. Higginson was jubilant. Assing saw the Civil War as the outbreak of her long-awaited revolution. Assing repeatedly referred to the Civil War as a revolution: "The circumstances that have led to the outbreak of this revolution at this time are accidental; however, the deeper seminal cause existed already at the inception of the republic and has grown along with the country until it assumed its present dominance: it is the eternal conflict between slavery and freedom that no power in the world can resolve."[154]

According to Assing, the Civil War was a continuation of the American Revolution. Every revolution leads to a civil war, but war, according to her view, was revolutionary progress in fast forward:

> The last ten days have made a tremendous revolution in all things pertaining to the possible future of the colored people of the United States. We shall stay here and watch the current of events, and serve the cause of freedom and humanity in any way that shall be open to us during the struggle now going on between the slave power and the government. When the Northern people have been made to experience a little more of the savage barbarism of slavery, they may be willing to make war upon it, and in that case we stand ready to lend a hand in any way we can be of service. At any rate, this is no time for us to leave the country.[155]

Even after the war, Assing never wavered in her belief that war was the best method for bringing about revolutionary change: "The regular development of nations is a slow process, so that one century in that respect changes less than five years in an individual life, but let a revolution erupt, and within the

shortest period progress will be made by the people that could not be effected by fifty, even 100 years of peace. By taking this step the nation has decided its fate, and there is a great future ahead."[156]

The real contribution of the German '48ers who came to America was that they helped start the second American Revolution, otherwise known as the Civil War:

> Their reward was that they were able to participate in a revolution that resurrected the American Dream: "One great revolution will educate a nation more rapidly than a century of peace. Less than ten years have elapsed since we sheltered in our houses the fugitives from Harpers Ferry and their allies, since we helped them across the borders, and only four years later our volunteers entered the conquered Southern cities and fortresses with the sounds of the hymn: John Brown's body lies a moldering in the grave; his soul is marching on."[157]

In the lecture Assing worked up on Brown's attempted insurrection at Harpers Ferry, John Brown's true errand was not the bloody slave raid but the peaceful mountain republic he planned for fugitive slaves. "I keep still a letter from John Brown to Frederick Douglass, written a few weeks before the attack on Harpers Ferry: He warmly advocated his demand, and ever represented it as Frederick Douglass's duty to comply with it. If Frederick Douglass could have been persuaded, he would in all probability have shared the fate of the others, who were either killed or executed as high traitors."[158]

In the months leading up to the war and throughout its duration, Assing and Douglass used their journalistic skills and contacts to call for the same black uprising which John Brown failed to provoke. "Should the dreaded Negro uprising actually erupt," Assing wrote in January 1861

> it would squelch all rebellious movements more quickly and more surely than all repressive measures of the government would do, for none of the slave states has the means to fight a superior black force. At the first news of the destruction of a few plantations and the killing of some slaveholders and overseers, these very loudmouths and ruffians who today are only too eager to curse the North would come crawling for its protection and assistance.[159]

On July 4, 1861, Douglass denounced Union General Butler as a traitor because he offered to use United States troops to put down a slave insurrection in Maryland. Assing could not have agreed more. Douglass and Assing criticized Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation because it did not include an explicit appeal for black insurrection. In a speech he delivered in Philadelphia on January 14, 1862, Douglass advocated arming the slaves in the South as insurrectionists.

Before long, Assing and Douglass's campaign to set off a slave rebellion began to bear fruit, although probably not the fruit they had hoped for:

> In December 1862 Jefferson Davis declared that the Southern slave code would be used against African American soldiers caught by the Confederates—that is, they would be treated as insurrectionists. As a result of this proclamation, black prisoners of war were executed in the South, the wounded were refused medical treatment or murdered on the spot; exchange of black prisoners was ruled out.[160]

Once again, the dialectic of the Nat Turner rebellion reasserted itself. Calls for armed insurrection from the North were met by renewed repression in the South, and the hapless Negro was caught in the middle. He resented the oppression of the slaveholder, but as John Brown's raid had shown, he was reluctant to become the pawn of northern revolutionaries as well.

The Emancipation Proclamation seemed to put Frederick Douglass out of a job, but as the reaction to Reconstruction spread throughout the South after the war, Douglass began to have second thoughts. Ottilie continued to be the apostle of German atheism and continued to write to Feuerbach about the progress of her star pupil:

> Early impressions, environments, and the beliefs still dominating this entire nation held sway over D. The ray of light of German atheism had never reached him, while I thanks to natural inclination, training and the whole influence of German education and literature, had overcome the belief in God at an early age.[161]

But as a half-Jew she still remembered the reaction which had swept through Germany in the wake of Napoleon's defeat. Assing feared "a tragic repetition of the fate to which the Jewish community in Germany had been forced to submit during the restoration period."[162] As a result

> she vowed that she would do everything she could to save "her" successful American revolution from falling in to the hands of the enemy. The lesson of 1848 deeply implanted in Assing's mind could never be erased. The revolution in Germany had not just been defeated by military forces but had also fallen by a process of self-deconstruction—undermined by political wavering and bickering, by lack of courage, by cheap compromises, by betrayal of radical commitments.[163]

It looked as if the same thing were going to happen in America in the wake of the Civil War. The excesses of the Reconstruction era had led Nathan Bedford Forrest to found the Ku Klux Klan. Confronted with ever increasing resistance, the Republicans began to lose their revolutionary fervor in dealing with the South and began to cut deals that would lead to a *modus vivendi* rather than revolutionary reform. Andrew Johnson's restoration of home rule in the South began a process which led eventually to what the South would call its "redemption," which is to say the all but total disenfranchisement of the Negro and the reassertion of the hegemony which white Southerners had

lost during the war and Reconstruction. This chain of events caused Frederick Douglass to rethink the retirement from the abolitionist struggle which the Emancipation Proclamation seemed to invite. Douglass re-tooled and came up with a new slogan: "Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot."[164]

By 1870 Ottilie Assing had succeeded in bringing the light of atheism to Dark Fred. The result was that he lost his constituency among rank and file Negroes, who retained their faith in Christ. Shortly after President Grant announced the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, on March 30, 1870, Douglass addressed a celebration of the event in Philadelphia and succeeded in scandalizing all present by talking like a German Marxist. Douglass began his speech by refusing to engage in any "hackneyed cant about thanking God for this deliverance."[165] He then proceeded to attack the churches which "led everything against the abolition of slavery, always holding us back by telling us that God would abolish slavery in his own good time."[166] The black clergy in attendance were shocked and dismayed by Douglass's atheism. Douglass's response, which Diedrich claims probably came from Assing's pen, did little to mollify them. Freedom had come about "Thanks not to faith, but to the enlightenment of the age, and the growth of rational ideas among men; to differ with the church today does not bring torture and physical death."[169] In a letter to a comrade in arms, Assing exulted that she had goaded Douglass into doing battle with what she termed with thinly veiled contempt as "the pious party."

> Finally Douglass is in open battle with the pious party, after they had long ceased to know what to make of him. On the occasion of the ratification celebration for the Fifteenth Amendment in Philadelphia he spoke up against the silly drivel about "divine providence" and the resolutions "to thank God for this miracle," saying "I deal here in no hackneyed cant about thanking God for this great deliverance; I look upon this great revolution as having been brought about by man, rather than by any special intervention of Divine Providence."[168]

Missing from Assing's account was any understanding that the "pious party" was largely made up of the black preachers who constituted the backbone of political and ethnic organization in the black community and would remain so for the foreseeable future. Assing failed to see that in alienating Douglass from the "pious party," she also alienated him from his own people.

Cut off from his own people by his German-Jewish mistress, Douglass became of necessity tied more and more closely to the Republican Party at a time when it was willing, if not eager, to abandon its revolutionary claims in favor of more stable and longer-lasting political power. Eventually as Reconstruction gave way to Redemption, Frederick Douglass abandoned revolution and allowed the Republicans to buy him off with a series of

increasingly demeaning patronage jobs. After working tirelessly for the election of Rutherford B. Hayes, Douglass received his reward when the Senate confirmed Douglass as Marshal of the District of Columbia on March 17, 1877. One month before receiving this honor, Hayes had taken Douglass aside and informed him that he planned "to pursue a conciliatory policy toward the South."[169]

The Redemption of the South began in 1877 when President Hayes ordered the withdrawal of federal garrisons from the former states of the Confederacy. In 1890 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts introduced the "Force Bill" into the Senate, a bill which would have "authorized Federal supervision of elections in all districts where there was evidence of fraud or intimidation."[170] The bill was an attempt to guarantee the franchise to the South's Negroes, but it was soundly defeated and signaled that the cause of white supremacy was now in the ascendancy in America. The main reason for this *volte-face* was the wretched excess of the Reconstruction era, which the North imposed as punishment on the South, but which it felt it could no longer justify. When men like Governor Vance of North Carolina pointed out that during Reconstruction "the criminals sat in the law-making chamber, on the bench and in the jury-box, instead of standing in the dock,"[171] the North had no reply.

During that same year, the event which Weaver terms "the final Confederate offensive" took place when the men who had defended the South in her hour of need assembled in Chattanooga and formed the United Confederate Veterans "to breathe defiance at Yankee civilization."[172] The South could now portray itself as "high-minded Cavaliers fighting fanatical Roundheads" or as "La Vendee, destroyed and desecrated by infidel armies,"[173] but in its hatred of Yankee culture it failed to understand that there was a difference between a Transcendentalist zealot like Thaddeus Stevens and an industrialist like Andrew Carnegie. Nor did they understand that the Civil War marked the passing of the former as the cultural icon of the North and the rise of the latter. Both men were conflated in the image of the hated Yankee, and as a result the South fought a culture war on two fronts, often battling an enemy which no longer existed.

The promoters of southern Redemption failed to understand that the Civil War had destroyed not only the South but Concord, which is to say, the high culture of the North. Symbolic of that demise was the death in 1864 of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the flower of New England culture. In the aftermath of the Civil War, New York displaced Concord as the literary capital of the United States, and money became the criterion of literary merit as well as every other kind of merit. "Puritan zealots trailing clouds of Transcendentalism" had been replaced by

> the money-seeking class which, as De Bow's Review had once declared, "cared nothing for the Negroes unless to dislike them," and "nothing for the Abolitionists, unless to wish that they would hold their tongues and stay their pens, or transport themselves en masse to Exeter Hall, never to return to America."[174]

Once the Republicans backed away from Reconstruction, the punishment of the South took a back seat to its financial and industrial exploitation. At this point the disenfranchisement of the Negro made perfect sense to the Yankee robber barons if, by that gesture, the peace that allowed for the financial exploitation of the South could be secured. Yankee financiers arrived in their private railway cars and bought up the resources of the South at 10 cents to the dollar.

By accepting his patronage job as Federal Marshall, Douglass signaled his acquiescence to those plans. Douglass was 59 years old at the time and cut off from both his own natural constituency and the men who were willing to fund him when he was younger. As a result the temptation to trade in principle for a steady income was too great to resist.

Assing heard about Douglass's capitulation while in Europe, with the unfulfilled hope still in her heart that he would eventually join her there. That hope was given new life when news of Anna Murray's death reached Assing. Now the way was clear for the fulfillment of the fantasy she had been nurturing for over two decades as the other woman.

The fundamental flaw in this plan was Assing's failure to understand the Negro slave's attitude toward marriage. For Assing and her revolutionary friends, the issue was clear. Marriage was, to use the term of William Godwin which so impressed Percy Shelley, "the most odious of all monopolies." The war on the South liberating the slaves was a prelude in Assing's mind to the greater revolution which would abolish matrimony, private property, and religion. Only after that act of cleansing destruction had taken place could a man call himself free.

Douglass having been raised as a slave in the South, however, had already been liberated by that very slavery from the burdens of matrimony and property. He was a product of sexual liberation, and as a result never knew who his father was. In abandoning Anna Murray, the woman who had bought his freedom and by whom he had children who knew who their father was, Douglass would be handing a victory to the slave owners who felt that slaves could breed but not marry.

According to Diedrich, Assing never understood that Douglass's attitude toward marriage and family differed fundamentally from hers. For her, as for Clara Mundt's Aphra Behn, "it means profaning marriage when you turn it into indissoluble fetters which may not even be shattered when it has chained us to a hell of pain."[175] For Douglass, however, slavery had already nullified

marriage and "made my brothers and sisters strangers to me; it converted the mother that bore me into a myth; it shrouded my father in mystery and left me without an intelligible beginning in the world."[176]

There were other more obvious things that Assing either didn't understand or refused to admit. The most obvious was that she was no longer as sexually attractive as she had been 22 years ago. Assing tried to disguise this by writing long letters about the "rejuvenation" she was experiencing in Europe, but intellectual rejuventation could only go so far in a relationship like this, especially since she had lost her teeth and was showing other signs of age. In the absence of the legal bond of marriage, which she had scorned openly for her entire adult life, what exactly was to bind her to him? Her mind? More discussions of Feuerbach? These were slim reeds indeed, especially when confronted with the power of human passion unconstrained by reason for so long. Whatever she had to offer Douglass at this time in her life, it wasn't enough. After his demotion from Federal Marshall to Recorder of Deeds, Douglass hired an adoring white feminist 20 years his junior as his clerk. Before long, the old pattern reasserted itself. Douglass agonized for a while, writing poems in which he compared himself to Adam in the garden of Eden, and Helen Pitts, his clerk, to forbidden fruit: "Amazed I stood in wonder sound/Till then such fruit I'd never found,/I needed help and looked around/ For means to gain possession."[177]

All the while Assing became increasingly despondent, writing him reproachful letters from Europe, where she still hoped beyond hope that they could create a life together. Douglass continued to resist the call to Europe, nor did he invite Assing to come to America. By the summer of 1883, "the conflict between inclination and obligation had become so fierce that he was 'depressed almost to the point of a breakdown.'"[178] Then, early in 1884, Douglass resolved the conflict by marrying Pitts. As if this were not rejection enough, Douglass made the break with Assing even more dramatic by marrying his new bride in a Presbyterian Church in Washington, at a ceremony at which a minister officiated.

Assing held fire for eight months but then on August 21, 1884 she responded to Douglass's double betrayal by committing suicide in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. When he heard the news, Douglass was quick to put his own spin on her final act of defiance and despair by claiming that she was suffering from breast cancer, thereby absolving himself of any responsibility for her death. If Douglass was hoping to forget her, Assing, who knew Douglass's weaknesses well enough, made sure that that would not happen when she willed him as her legacy the yearly interest on her $13,000 fortune. Upon Douglass's death the principal would go to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Douglass lived out the rest of his life as an accomplice both in the death of Ottilie Assing and in the redemption of the South. Instead of proposing

revolution, Douglass ended his public career by giving lectures on himself as a "self-made man," urging other Negroes to follow his example. He was succeeded as America's premier Negro by Booker T. Washington, who was smart enough to understand that Douglass's new message was tailor-made for their age. In an era of reaction to the excesses of war and revolution, it was the only message the Negroes were allowed to share with each other in the public forum.

Booker T. Washington had founded the Tuskegee Institute, his school for blacks who were to be given industrial and agricultural training, in 1881, around the time Frederick Douglass was falling in love with Helen Pitts. Four years later, Washington gave a speech entitled "Cast down your buckets where you are" at the Atlanta Exposition which catapulted him to a position of leadership among America's Negroes. In a country in which both North and South had offered up the Negro on the altar of political expedience and where the promise of emancipation had faded into the reality of segregation and disenfranchisement, Washington looked around for a ray of hope and found it in the Jews: "Ever since I can remember," he wrote,

> I have had a special and peculiar interest in the history and progress of the Jewish race. As I learned in slavery to compare the condition of the Negro with that of the Jews in bondage in Egypt, so I have frequently, since freedom, been compelled to compare the prejudice, even persecution, which the Jewish people have to face and overcome in different parts of the world with the disadvantages of the Negro in the United States and elsewhere.[179]

Negroes, in other words, could succeed in the harsh realities of post-Reconstruction America if they imitated Jews. In *The Future of the American Negro*, Washington wrote: "These people [the Jews] have clung together. They have had a certain amount of unity, pride and love of race; and, as the years go on, they will be more influential in this country—a country where they were once despised, and looked upon with scorn and derision. It is largely because the Jewish race has had faith in itself. Unless the Negro learns more and more to imitate the Jew in these matters, to have faith in himself, he cannot expect to have any high degree of success."

In the wake of this and similar utterances, affluent German Jews began to pour their money into Washington's school. "Julius Rosenwald," Murray Friedman tells us, "had been moved by Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*," and "soon became one of the school's most energetic trustees."[180] As part of his duties, Rosenwald, once a year, would send Washington "a list of wealthy men, many of them Jews, whom he thought should be solicited for contributions."[181]

In 1904 Washington created a "Jewish seat" on Tuskegee's board and persuaded Paul M. Warburg to take it.[182] Among the wealthy Jews who were

subsequently to contribute to Tuskegee were Jacob and Mortimer Schiff, James Loeb, and Felix Warburg (all members of Kuhn, Loeb), as well as the Seligmans, the Lehmans, Joseph Pulitzer, Jacob Billikopf and Julian Mack. Schiff continued this arrangement annually until Washington's death in 1915. Friedman sees in the relationship which Washington established with "Jewish philanthropists like Schiff, Rosenwald and Warburg who supported him with money, time, and effort . . . the first organized ties between the black and Jewish communities,"[183] ties that would eventuate in what came to be known as the Black-Jewish Alliance. That alliance, culminating in the rise of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement, would become the main source of revolutionary activity in the United States for the greater part of the 20th century. Friedman, however, is wrong in thinking that the Black-Jewish Alliance began with Jacob Schiff linking up with Booker T. Washington. The pattern for the Black-Jewish Alliance had already been set in Frederick Douglass's relationship with Ottilie Assing. For more than a century after John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Jews (or half-Jews) like Ottilie Assing, Jacob Schiff, Norman Mailer and Robert Scheer, creator of Eldridge Cleaver, would attempt to remake the Negro in their own image and turn him into the avant-garde of the revolutionary movement in America.

Support for Tuskegee was only one of Jacob Schiff's many philanthropic projects. Another one was the Russian revolution.

Chapter Three

From Emancipation to Assassination

In 1861, when Moses Hess was still hard at work on his book *Rom und Jerusalem,* Czar Alexander II emancipated the serfs, anticipating by two years the Emancipation Proclamation of America's President Abraham Lincoln. Emancipation was in the air, and soon it was the turn of the Russian Jews to be liberated from the restrictions that had been placed on their race since time immemorial. The wary prudence of rulers like Pope Innocent III seemed to be nothing more than proof of the darkness of a bygone age, especially when compared to the Enlightenment which had now reached the throne of a notoriously backward country like Russia.

In November of the same year in which Alexander II emancipated the serfs, he also made Jews eligible for state employment. The law of November 1861 more importantly permitted Jews to pursue professional careers outside the Pale of the Settlement. Alexander's Jewish legislation, coming as it did on the heels of the emancipation of the serfs, gave the impression that "Jewish emancipation was in the offing and that education could make it an immediate reality."[1]

The *annus mirabilis* of emancipation was 1861, but the "golden age of Russian Jewry" had begun six years before that when Alexander II ascended to the Russian throne. "On the very day of his coronation in 1855 Alexander II inaugurated what been called 'the golden age' of Russian Jewry by abolishing juvenile conscription. The conscription edict was followed by a series of decrees which, between 1856 and 1865, improved Jewish access to education and rights of residence."[2] For reasons which will become apparent later, the Czar's actions, which everyone saw as well-intentioned, would have unforeseen consequences by "initiating a process which eventually led to the political radicalization of Jews."[3]

The Russians had been working to integrate the Jews into Russian culture almost from the day that 50 percent of the world's Jews found themselves living on Russian soil after the partition of Poland. Russian reformers were not discouraged when the first faltering attempts to regulate Jewish involvement in alcohol production failed. In 1844, the Russian government abolished the

Kahal, and its functions were divided among various local governments. In order to forestall that integration the Russian Jews had recourse to tactics which would become increasingly significant by the end of the century. They called in outside help. In 1846, when Czar Nicholas I, the man who had abolished the Kahal, was intent on resettling Jews out of the villages of the Pale and onto the virgin land of New Russia as a way of putting an end to Jewish smuggling, he received a distinguished visitor from England. Sir Moses Montefiore, the hero of Damascus, had arrived at his door with a letter of recommendation from Queen Victoria, hoping to bring about "an improvement in the lot of the Jewish people." Montefiore, an English Jew, recommended lifting all restrictions on Jews in Russia. Representing the views of David Ricardo, another English Jew of Sephardic extraction, Montefiore condemned the idea of resettling the Jews and insisted that the heart of the Jewish problem consisted in the limitation of freedom of commerce imposed on the Jews.[4]

Montefiore's attitude is consistent with the conventional views of Jewish historians, who insisted that the Jews of Russia rebelled because they had been oppressed. Evidence, however, shows that the opposite was the case. The Jews rebelled because they had been emancipated. "Jews," Nora Levin writes describing the aftermath of 1917, "had little reason to lament the downfall of a regime that had confined them to a huge ghetto—the Pale of Settlement—and had, with few exceptions, barred them from the normal course of Russian life."[5] But it was the openness of the Czar to Enlightenment ideas like education and emancipation which fueled the rise of the Jewish revolutionary in Russia during the Golden Age inaugurated by Alexander II. As Solschenizyn says, "When the label 'persecutor of the Jews' is put on the Russians, their intentions are falsified and their competence exaggerated."[6]

In 1866 Alexander II decided to lift all of the measures that were supposed to turn Jews into farmers, recognizing that the Russian effort to turn Jews into farmers had failed. Those who understood the situation knew from first hand experience that "The Jew would abandon work in the field as soon as he learned that someone in the neighborhood had a horse, an ox or anything else to buy or sell."[7] The Jews had refused to learn farming, but had not refused the lands which the Czar had offered them to become farmers. Now "huge areas" of the best farming land, "with fertile black soil" had been transferred into "the hands of Jews, without bringing in any results. . . ." Or if there were results they were not the ones intended at the inception of the program. "The best land was reserved for the Jews" but it was producing nothing because the Jews either could not work the land because of ignorance or refused to because it would divert them from more lucrative ways of making money. On the other hand, the Russians who lived near the Jews were outraged that they didn't have any land or that they had to rent land at exorbitant rates from the Jews.[8] This led to attacks on Jewish settlements.

After it became apparent that Jews were not going to become farmers, Czarist ministers tried to Russify them by allowing them to study at Russian universities. Jews got the impression that emancipation was around the corner and flocked into the Russian schools. The Russian belief in the Enlightenment dogma that education would lead to assimilation "acted as an irresistible stimulus for Jews to enter Russian schools in the hope of claiming an academic degree or professional certificate. The first to make good on this promise were the students of the rabbinical seminaries who had been allowed to continue their education in Russian universities since 1856."[9]

By the 1860s, there was a genuine meeting of the minds in Russia. Both the enlightened Russian *Nomenklatura* and the Maskilic Jews agreed that education was the solution to Russia's Jewish problem. Haskalah had begun as a German-Jewish idea with Mendelssohn, but by the 1860s it had been succeeded by the Russian-Jewish idea of assimilation or "Russification" which was now understood as "the enlightenment of Jews through Russian language and in the Russian spirit."[10] But as Haberer points out, "The Russian spirit of the 'new enlightenment' produced more than loyal, educated, and 'useful' Jewish subjects of the tsarist state: it also produced Jewish cadres for the Russian revolutionary movement."[11]

Solzehnitsyn agrees, feeling that the fatal flaw in Russification which led to the rise of the revolutionary was not the malevolence of the Czar; it was his benevolence coupled with a naive acceptance of the platitudes of the Enlightenment, especially those promoting the supposed benefits of education. Far from wanting to persecute the Russian Jews, Czar Alexander II "intended to bring about the assimilation of the Jews with the other Russian peoples."[12] Unfortunately, the Czar began tearing down fences without inquiring why they had been erected. Or, as Solzehnitsyn puts it, "Alexander II began to abolish the limitations on the Jews without inquiring into the inner causes for their isolation in the hope that they would solve all of the other problems by themselves."[13] As a result, "One limitation after another was lifted,"[14] but nothing had changed in the Pale. The Jews were still selling vodka; the situation was still intolerable. In 1870, an official report proclaimed that "the production and sales of alcoholic beverages in the western regions is almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, and the abuses which occur in these taprooms has gone far beyond the boundaries of what is tolerable."[15]

The revolutionary strain of the "Mendelssohnian virus" hadn't made its appearance by the 1850s, but it did soon thereafter, when

> It . . . penetrated the high-castles of rabbinical Judaism, the yeshivas, and claimed converts to the Haskalah among its talmudic students. Even among the teachers of the Kheder, the bulwark of Jewish elementary religious education, there were some Germanophile melamdim who, in their wanderings from one shtetl to another, had become infected

> with the Mendelssohnian virus spread far and wide by the Maskilic intelligentsia.[16]

By the 1860s, the virus began to spread because "external conditions were propitious for creating the right environment to produce a revolutionary offspring."[17] As Moses Hess predicted in *Rom und Jerusalem*, the Jews became revolutionaries within ten years of the arrival of the Enlightenment in Russia. "Its members," Isaiah Berlin wrote, describing the new Jewish-Russian intelligentsia, "thought of themselves as united by something more than mere interest in ideas; they conceived themselves as being a dedicated order, almost a secular priesthood, devoted to the spreading of a specific attitude to life, something like a gospel."[18] Once the ideas of the Enlightenment cracked open the orthodox shell surrounding the shtetl, Jews saw their participation in revolution as ordained by God. Revolution was the task of God's chosen people. Haberer explains how education led Russian Jews to nihilism during the 1860s and how by the late 1860s, these Jews began to assume the leadership role in the revolutionary movement:

> The historical significance of this new intelligentsia for the evolution of Jewish radicalism was enormous. Aside from the fact that the state schools—especially the rabbinical seminaries—furnished the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1860s and 1870s with its first Jewish recruits, it was the intelligentsia nourished by these schools who created the ideological and social atmosphere that enveloped a rising generation of Jews. It imbued them with an activist, Maskilic Weltanschauung.[19]

As a result of their contact with the German Enlightenment, the Jews of the younger generation converted to nihilism during the course of the 1860s. The transformation was as dramatic as it was unexpected and requires some explanation. The Talmud played a crucial role in that transformation. The Talmud, as Jacques Derrida noted 100 years after the Russian Jews turned to revolution in the 1860s and 1870s, has always been a sign of absence. When the Temple was destroyed, "everything became discourse," which is to say talmudic-like commentary on commentary. As Derrida puts it:

> The surrogate does not substitute itself for anything which has somehow preexisted it. From then on it was probably necessary to begin to think that there was no center, that the center could not be thought of in the form of a being-present, that the center had no natural locus, that it was not a fixed locus, but a function, a sort of non-locus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play. This moment was that in which language invaded the universal problematic; that in which, in the absence of center or origin, everything became discourse—provided we can agree on this word—that is to say, when everything became a system where the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely present outside a system of differences. The absence of

> the transcendental signified extends the domain and the interplay of the signification ad infinitum.[20]

The Mendelssohnian Enlightenment had a catastrophic effect on young Russian Jews in the 1860s because it destroyed orthodoxy without putting anything in its place. The Talmud had been a source of contention among Jews since Maimon's attacks in Berlin in the 1780s. When the Talmud finally succumbed to the blows of the Maskilim, the Jews awoke to the realization that there was nothing to take its place, and nihilism, always latent in the Talmud's methodology, followed almost automatically. According to one writer,

> Some "fanatical Yeshiva students who had previously been immersed in the Talmud" abandoned the world view of the patriarchs and Jewish garb after one or two discussions with the nihilists. As soon as even a small break was made in the orthodox world view, nihilism broke through and drove the Jews to the most extreme positions.[21]

The Talmud was an all-encompassing world unto itself. Unlike, say, Aristotelian philosophy, it could not be integrated by some Maskilic Thomas Aquinas into a Jewish-Enlightenment synthesis. Once the absurdity of its structure became apparent, no amount of fiddling could save its intellectual pretensions, and it sank into obscurity without leaving even an oil slick on the surface where it went down. The Jews who had been trained in Talmudic studies, nonetheless, could not get rid of their training or their Messianic sense of themselves as God's chosen people, and so, as Hess predicted, they took that Messianic sense and transferred it to German socialism, after they discovered that believing in nothing was humanly impossible: "These young Jews were immediately obsessed with universal ideals. All men will become brothers, and the same prosperity for everyone. What a grandiose task: liberating all of mankind from misery and servitude."[22]

Once the young Jews had become convinced that "traditional Judaism" was "a parasitic anomaly," "they assimilated rapidly and absorbed the Russian national spirit."[23] The Russian liberals, in other words, succeeded beyond their wildest dreams in Russifying the Jews, but that transformation would have unintended consequences. Those unintended consequences can be summarized best by saying that as soon as the Jews learned the Russian language they began reading Nikolai Chernyshevsky's revolutionary polemic *What Is To Be Done?* Chernyshevsky's novel appeared in 1863 and before long it was a blueprint for how life could be lived outside the norms of the moral order and the traditional mores of both Christians and Jews.[24] Vera Pavlovna, the heroine of the novel, and her companion Pavel Rahkmetov stood for the values of the 1860s, especially free love and communal meaningful work. Chernyshevsky became a conduit for the social and political thought which had been causing revolutions in western Europe for the past three decades.

Jewish nihilism soon took root in a cultural movement composed of numerous informal study circles:

> Spear-heading this crusade were Jewish gymnasium students and rabbinical seminarians. In places like Vilna, Mogilev, Zhitomir, and Kiev, they formed 'circles of self-education' which, in turn, proliferated by attracting talmudists, pupils of Jewish crown schools, and privately educated children of wealthy Jewish merchants. Meeting more or less regularly, members would read and discuss Russian literature, articles from the Russian-Jewish periodical press, and works of the German-Jewish Haskalah. Some ventured to write their own Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish compositions criticizing and satirizing Jewish life and its Orthodox leadership. Both orthodox rabbis and Czarist officials opposed these groups, but they could do little to stop them. . . . On almost every level they had to struggle against unyielding opponents who viewed their unconventional behavior and unauthorized activity as subversive to the established order of traditional Jewish and official Russian society. . . . In attracting and socializing numerous youths, the subculture of Jewish nihilism created a reservoir of prospective socialist Jews who eventually became active as propagandists, technicians, and organizers of revolution.[25]

In the meantime, as "nihilist enlightenment" conquered the Jewish youth, Russian radicalism put forth its first revolutionary tendrils with the founding of *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom) in 1861. Three years later, Nikolai Ishutin and Dmitrii Karakazov created a conspiratorial "Organization," which was the front for a deeper inner circle known as "Hell," which took Nihilism to is logical conclusion by first advocating and then engaging in acts of terrorism. On April 4, 1866, Karakazov turned revolutionary dreams into political realities when he attempted to assassinate Alexander II. Karakazov was captured and promptly executed, but the wave of repression which followed his death brought new recruits to the movement, although not many Jews, who remained aloof from revolutionary violence and the movements which promoted it in the years preceding 1868.

Before long, however, seasoned revolutionaries began to notice a change as Jews started drifting into the movement. Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary, who had fought at the barricades of Dresden with Wagner in 1849, noticed the attraction which revolution held for Jews and fulminated against the takeover of the revolutionary movement by the "dictator-messiah Marx" and his "army of German Jews" with the "little Russian Jew Utin" in the lead.[26] If he hoped by speeches like this to keep the Jews away from the revolution, he could just have easily argued against moths being attracted to candle flames.

In 1868 Mark Natanson, the son of a well-to-do Jewish merchant from the Lithuanian province of Kovno, entered medical school in Vilna, after graduating from the gymnasium there. Natanson would become "the most important revolutionary of the first half of the 1870s."[27] Natanson received a traditional Jewish education at the local Kheder until the age of 12 or 13, at which point he became exposed to the currents of Haskalah which would sweep him far out onto the sea of revolution. It wasn't so much that Haskalah replaced the traditional Judaism that he learned in the Kheder as that it combined with it creating the potent binary weapon known as Jewish nihilism. Natanson read Chernyshevsky's *What Is to Be Done?* and that novel combined with his talmudic training led to "an amalgamation" which was only possible "because of his Jewishness." Natanson had also read Nechayev's *Catechism of the Revolutionary*, but without his "Jewish background" none of these elements would have coalesced into a coherent, much less effective revolutionary program.

Before long, Natanson's example began to be replicated in the study groups of young Jews, many of whom had met at rabbinic schools, which proliferated throughout the Pale of the Settlement during the 1860s and 1870s. During this time, Vilna became a hotbed of Jewish revolutionary activity, much of it emanating from Vilna Rabbinical Seminary. Jewish revolutionary activity became a function of Jewish participation in higher education. "Jewish revolutionary activity increased in direct proportion to the number of Jewish students"[28] and by the beginning of the 1870s, "a group of young Jews in Vilna, who had met in the rabbinic school there, began to play a significant role in the Russian revolutionary movement."[29] That group included Aron Zundelevich, who would go on to fame as the first man to import dynamite into Russia, and the first of many to use it as a technique of assassination. It also included Iankel-Abel (Arkadii) Finkelshtein, whose activity "initiated the beginning of Vilna's Jewish revolutionary tradition."[30] Finkelshtein grew up in Vilna, where he quickly earned the reputation of being a rebellious troublemaker who was constantly in trouble with school authorities. His rebelliousness gave expression to "a deep-seated animosity against the Jewish faith in particular and religious beliefs in general."[31] He came in contact with other like-minded students, and before long founded with Aron Zundelevich the First Vilna Circle, "the first exclusively Jewish revolutionary organization in the Russian Populist movement."[32] Although the First Vilna Circle was made up exclusively of Jewish students, those students had imbibed revolutionary cosmopolitan internationalism from a number of sources, and they, like Hess and Marx, would have felt that it was provincial to talk about Jewish emancipation when all of mankind needed to be set free, especially when Jews were so skilled as revolutionary leaders. Like good students, they had correctly inferred that the goal of their education was assimilation, and so, instead of focusing on Jewish issues, they decided in the name of assimilation to bring the Jewish salvation

known as revolution to the Russian people. "Slowly but surely they realized that the 'Russian people' were as much in need of liberation as their own kin, and that until this was accomplished Russian Jewry could hope neither for emancipation nor assimilation."[33]

In 1873, the tsarist authorities recognized that the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary was a hotbed of revolutionary activity and shut it down. The Jewish students who wanted to continue their education could do so at the Teachers' Institute. If this move was intended to forestall Jewish involvement in revolutionary activity, it had the opposite effect. It increased the resentment of the Jewish students, and by sending them to the Teachers' Institute it gave them greater access to the Russians that they wanted to revolutionize. Those who didn't transfer were radicalized as well.

Other Jewish revolutionaries had similar experiences. Virtually all had Russian higher education to thank for their radicalism. Chudnovskii, another Jewish student from the other end of Russia, organized a smuggling ring in Odessa after witnessing the pogrom of 1871. Like Chudnovskii, Samuil Kliachko, the son of a Jewish merchant in Vilna, became involved in the distribution of radical books in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Chudnovskii was even more successful in Odessa, which soon began to rival Vilna as a center of Jewish revolutionary activity, because Jews dominated the city, which was also in the process of undergoing rapid modernization and industrialization. Twenty-seven percent of Odessa's citizens were Jews in 1873; by 1892 their number had grown to 33 percent. Odessa was a stronghold of Haskalah, "so much so that the pious Hasidim used to say as early as the 1830s that 'the fires of hell began five miles outside of Odessa.'"[34]

This Enlightened atmosphere allowed Chudnovskii to organize the "red mail" service from Lvov. The Jewish involvement in smuggling helped him; without it, he could not have succeeded in the "book business." A Jewish smuggler destroyed the "red mail" service when he turned Chudnovskii in to the Tsarist authorities. Chudnovskii was sent off to Siberia and the red mail disappeared with him.

One of the young Jews who was radicalized by what he read in the red mail was Lev Akselrod. Akselrod was appalled at the idea of Jewish leaders making a living from Jewish misery. His revolt was predicated on specific Jewish circumstances and probably would have remained confined to their orbit were it not for the red mail and the type of subversive literature it brought into Russia from the West. In the winter of 1871, Akselrod picked up a copy of Ferdinand Lassalle's speeches, and what he imbibed from reading it elevated Akselrod's revolutionary understanding to a new level. In Lassalle, Akselrod discovered a German Jew whose Messianic "churches of the future" would "conquer the whole world," and attain "universal happiness, freedom and equality," as well as establishing "universal brotherhood."[35]

Akselrod began to see himself as "the Russian Lassalle," who would eschew the narrow goal of Jewish emancipation in favor of the universal quest for brotherhood and equality. The Jewish question paled in significance next to Lassalle's universal vision which encompassed all of mankind:

> I still remember how, reading the book of Lassalle, I felt a kind of shame at my concern for the interests of the Jewish people. What significance, it seemed to me, could the interests of a handful of Jews have in comparison with the "idea of the working class" and the all-embracing, universal interests of socialism. After all, strictly speaking, the Jewish question does not exist. There is only the question of the liberation of the working masses of all nations, including the Jewish. Together with the approaching triumph of socialism the so-called Jewish question will be resolved as well. Would it not be senseless and also sinful to devote one's energies to the Jewish people, which is no more than a single element in the vast population of the Russian Empire?[36]

This was Russification with a vengeance, and before long its consequences were enough to give pause to even the most ardent educational reformer. It soon became equally apparent that the revolutionary movement suddenly had a large Jewish component to it.

In 1877 M. M. Merkulov, an official with the Third Department, noticed that Jews were an important part of the revolutionary movement in Russia. By the mid-'70s, it had become impossible not to notice that young Jews "had become an important source of recruits for the revolutionary movement."[37] Before long, it was obvious to the most obtuse observer that, as Haberer puts it, "Jewish radicals made up a significant component of Populist circles both quantitatively and qualitatively." Jews, he continues,

> comprised a staggering 20 per cent of all Chaikovtsy (that is, 22 out of 106 persons) who were definitely members or close associates of the organization in St Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, and Kiev. A breakdown by circles shows that they were well represented in each of these cities with 11 per cent in St Petersburg, 17 per cent in Moscow, 20 per cent in Odessa, and almost 70 per cent in Kiev. Even more striking is the fact that in the persons of Natanson, Kliachko, Chudnovskii, and Akselrod they were the founders and for some time the leading personalities of these circles. This means that 18 per cent of Jewish Chaikovtsy (four out of twenty-two) belonged to the category of leaders. Clearly, this puts in question the conventional claim that in the movement of the 1870s Jews were only of secondary importance, and that this importance was limited to their 'technical functions' in organizing the revolutionary underground. . . . This sort of minimalist interpretation, politically motivated by anti-Semitic fairy tales solely blaming the Jews for revolutionary subversion, seriously distorts the actual role of Jew in the Russian revolutionary movement.[38]

Like Mark Natanson, Lev Deich was young Jew from a well-to-do family which aspired to assimilate. Deich's father had come to Russia from Austria and had made a fortune selling medical supplies during the Crimean War. As the result, Deich had access to a gymnasium education which introduced him to the Mendelssohnian Enlightenment (along with Chernyshevsky), which turned him as a result of the strange alchemy of German ideas interacting with Russian Jews, into a revolutionary. Once Deich became a socialist, "everything fell into its proper place." Deich himself "states unequivocally that Jews played an *ershtklasike* role in all the revolutionary groupings of the 1870s."[39]

What began when Grigorii Peretts imbibed from the stream of Mendelssohn ended when Trotsky rode Bolshevism to power in 1917. That same stream of Messianic politics would continue via Trotskyites like Irving Kristol on to the Neoconservatives, who would carry the banner of Messianic politics into the 21st century. The continuity in radical Jewish behavior was traceable to the Enlightenment in general and Mendelssohn in particular. Haberer feels that Mendelssohn is the ultimate source of Jewish Nihilism because Mendelssohn's "example proved irresistible to the younger generation of Maskilim who had been seized and cast adrift by the forces of modernity which irreparably cut them loose from the moorings of Judaism."[40]

This link between Mendelssohn, Trotsky, and Irving Kristol indicates that neoconservatism never really abandoned its internationalist, Trotskyite roots, for this is the same vision that informs Thomas Friedman's vision of the new globalist economy in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* and David Brooks' vision of "heroic bourgeois states" like Israel and the United States in column after column in the *Weekly Standard*. Like Trotsky, the neoconservative apologists for globalism, free trade, and American cultural imperialism find that "national bias and national prejudices had only bewildered my sense of reason, in some cases stirring in me nothing but disdain and even a moral nausea."[41] The same vision of universal transnational brotherhood based on class—in the case of Trotsky, the proletariat, in the case of David Brooks, the bourgeoisie—was deeply appealing to Jews who grew up feeling that they were men without a country. Once the socialist revolution took place, all would henceforth be men without a country. National boundaries, tariffs, ethnic prejudice—all of this would be a thing of the past. Socialism (or global free market capitalism), in other words, was going to succeed where religion had failed in bringing about universal harmony and brotherhood. To ignore the Jewish contribution to this vision is "short-sighted," according to Haberer, because it "prevents us from comprehending the mental processes which drove alienated men and existentially troubled individuals like Vittenberg to sanctify socialism and to commit themselves to terrorism."[42]

Socialism was, in other words, a political movement with deep roots in secular Messianic Jewish thought. As a result Jews began to play a major role

in socialist, and, therefore, revolutionary and terrorist activity in Russia at around the middle of the 19th century. "Jews," according to Haberer, "were indeed attracted to revolutionary activity—and terror in particular—due to specific Jewish circumstances."[43] They saw the Jewish mission in terms that were both Biblical and secular at the same time. The Jews were now the revolutionary vanguard, which resembled God's chosen people, who were called if not by God then by their own idealism, which also had biblical roots, to bring about the salvation of all mankind or, in secular terms, "the liberation of all oppressed groups." Salvation still came from the Jews, but now it was a different kind of salvation—utopian socialism—coming from a different kind of Jew, the underground revolutionary terrorist. Aron Zundelevich, according to Tscherikower, intentionally chose the party name "Moishe," because he saw himself as leading not only the Jewish people but all people out of bondage. The Czar was simply the Pharaoh in his latest incarnation. The future promised a utopia not only for Jews but for all people, who would be grateful that the Jewish revolutionaries had led them out of bondage. The revolution fulfilled the deepest longings of a group of people who had stopped waiting for the Messiah and who now felt that the revolution was going to bring about the paradise on earth which the Messiah had promised but failed to deliver. Revolution was a deeply Jewish project, both in terms of its rationale and in terms of the people who filled the ranks of its organizations. The Elizavetgrad Circle of Lev I. Rozenfeld, which helped organize the assassination of suspected agent-provocateur Nikolai E. Gorinovich "consisted almost exclusively of Jews." Jews, in fact, "were a major and very active component in virtually all radical circles which in the south of Russia acted as catalysts of political terrorism."[44]

The revolutionary movement in Russia attracted large number of Jews from predominantly Jewish areas because of the philosophical and political and religious reasons we have already mentioned, but they became prominent in the movement primarily because of their skills. Because they lived in the Pale of the Settlement on the western border of the Russian empire, Jews had close contact with Jews in the easternmost parts of Prussia, including cities like Berlin, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because of their Jewish upbringing and where it took place they became adept at smuggling and other activities useful to the revolutionary movement. "It was the Jews, with their long experience of exploiting conditions on Russia's Western frontier which adjoined the Pale for smuggling and the like, who organized the illegal transports of literature, planned escapes and illegal crossings, and generally kept the wheels of the whole organization running."[45] Jews were also adept at running printing presses and forging passports and other essential documents. Jews, in other words, were much better at running illegal "underground" operations than they were in educating and mobilizing the vast army of Russian peasants at the other end of Russia, something the early revolutionary

organizations tried but failed to achieve. Soon the revolutionary movement began to take on Jewish characteristics, moving *Narodnaya Volya* away from education and organization of peasants and workers and toward terrorism.

The Jews who were employed in "underground" operations as both *techniky* and *praktiky* soon learned how to put the new technologies to use as weapons of terrorism. Jews from Nikolaev were the first to produce explosives from pyroxylin. Jewish business magnate Dmitrii Lizogub set up a special fund to pay for the assassination of Czar Alexander II. And Aron Zundelevich used that money to fund "the dynamite workshop," which was to provide the explosives that would mine the railroad tracks which were to explode when the Czar's special train passed over them.

Jews were not only more proficient with the new technologies than the average Russian revolutionary, they were also more willing to support terrorism than Gentile revolutionaries. Because of their skills and because of their quasi-religious ideological commitment, the Jews carried the revolutionary movement through its darkest days in Russia. Without Jewish support, it is doubtful that the revolution would have succeeded there. Before long, the police began to notice a preponderance of Jewish names among the lists of terrorists and revolutionaries.[47]

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TURNS TO TERRORISM

In 1874 Osip Aptekman decided to leave the Pale of the Settlement and "go to the people" to bring revolution to the Russian peasant. When he returned in 1875, it was clear that the idea had backfired. Instead of converting the peasants to socialism, they converted the Jewish revolutionary Aptekman to Orthodox Christianity. When Aptekman returned to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1875, he entered the Russian Church.

Aptekman's experience was typical in some ways but not in others. Conversion to Orthodoxy was atypical, but his failure to convert the peasants was not. When the Jewish revolutionaries decided to "go to the people," "the people" more often than not saw them as alien seditionists and turned them in to the police. They most certainly did not perceive them as Russians. When the revolutionary Jews could not convert the Russian peasants, they turned to what they could do best—dynamite, smuggling, disinformation—and the revolutionary movement turned away from education and toward terrorism.

Mark Natanson returned to St. Petersburg around the time that Osip Aptekman did. Natanson, however, was returning from a four-year stint in Siberia. He also did not return to St. Petersburg to convert to Orthodoxy. He came back to create a "party of struggle." Together with another Jew, Lev Ginzburg, Natanson resurrected *Zemlia i Volia* and sent it off in the direction of armed insurrection and terrorism. Eventually the contradictions

between the two factions were too big to ignore and the organization split into two organizations: *Chernyi Peredel*, which continued the populist direction of education and organization, and *Narodnaya Volya*, which became the underground arm of terrorism. Either way, Natanson was the "veritable *deus ex machina* of Russian radicalism," and it is doubtful that the movement could have survived without him nor is it possible to understand the triumph of revolution in Russia without first understanding "the remarkable story of 'how and why' a Jew created Russia's first truly revolutionary party."[48]

No political movement can sustain itself on organizational genius alone, no matter how brilliant, and Mark Natanson's organization was no exception. It was more a stroke of luck than the result of genius that Natanson founded a party and found a backer in the same year. In late 1875 Natanson met a wealthy Jew, Dmitrii Lizogub, who had recently inherited an estate worth over 200,000 rubles. Lizogub was so impressed with Natanson that he agreed on the spot to finance Natanson's new party. The only condition was that the assassination of the Czar be part of the new party's program. As a result of Lizogub's largesse, Natanson now had the wherewithal to put his ideas into practice.

In November of 1875 Natanson linked up with the St. Petersburg Lavrovists led by Lev Ginzburg and formed the Union of Russian Revolutionary Groups. The Jewish background which Natanson and Ginzburg shared was not fortuitous. It brought them together and it allowed them to move their new organization beyond "the ethnocentric peasantism of their Russian comrades."[49] The *de facto* Jewish leadership of the Union of Russian Revolutionary Groups allowed Natanson and Ginzburg to link up with other Jewish groups, like Zundelevich's network of Jewish smugglers, which allowed the passage of money, revolutionary literature, forged documents, arms, and, most importantly, dynamite to pass through the network of illegal border crossings which connected London and Geneva, via Berlin, Koenigsberg and Vilna with revolutionary groups in Russia. The revolutionaries in Russia could not have survived during this period of persecution at the hands of the Czarist police without the Jews, because "this line of communication and its central transfer points for goods and people was manned almost exclusively by Jews."[50] The Zalman family was responsible for the border region between Koenigsberg and Vilna. "Particularly sensitive and valuable items such as printing press accessories and, later on, dynamite were taken directly to St. Petersburg by Zalman himself and sometimes by Zundelevich."[51] The main post office for the "red mail" in the Pale was in Vilna. In Berlin the "red mail" was handled largely by Russian-Jewish students, like Grigorii Gurevich, Pavel Akselrod, Leizer Tsukerman, Vladimir Iokhelson, Iosel Efron, Khasia Shur, Augustina and Nadezhda Kaminer, Nakhman and Leizer Levental, and Semen Lure—all of whom had been active in Vilna, Mogilev, and Kiev—and who were now working under the supervision of Aron Zundelevich, who

then forwarded their contraband to Arkadii Finkelshtein who managed the "red" post office in Koenigsberg. From there the contraband was ferried over the Russian border by a host of German, Polish and Lithuanian peasants in the pay of the Zalman family, the most famous of whom was known as the "Red Schmul."[52] When Natanson visited Zundelevich in Berlin in the fall of 1875, he found that he could devote his organizational genius to other projects because, thanks to Zundelevich and his Jewish collaborators in the Pale of the Settlement, the red mail was already up and running.

In 1877 Natanson was arrested and banished to Irkutsk, but the proof of his organizational genius soon became apparent when his organization showed itself capable of functioning in his absence. Over the next few years a series of increasingly violent revolutionary Jews arrived in St. Petersburg with one goal in mind—the assassination of the Czar, which had become the Holy Grail of the revolutionary movement. The continuity of that movement was ethnic. When one Jew was caught another appeared on the scene to take his place. In Kiev, we are told, the nihilistic circle which gathered around Lev Deich "consisted exclusively of Jewish students."[53] The same was true of circles which stretched from Vilna to Odessa. Gradually, the Messianic politics of these Jewish revolutionary circles began to crystallize around one numinous act, the assassination of the Czar, which in one stroke would usher in the millennium and bring liberty to the oppressed peoples of Russia, both Jew and Gentile alike. This is not to obscure the differences between revolutionary Jews like Natanson and Ginzburg—the former the man of action and the latter the quiet organizer—but only to emphasize their ability to take two different and essentially complementary paths to the same end.

By the summer of 1876 Natanson's followers were known as "Troglodytes" to indicate that their activity was now "underground." More than anyone else, Mark Natanson was responsible for the change in revolutionary tactics. He was more interested in terrorism than populism, and his organization as the "lengthened shadow of one man," began to act on his ideas.

One especially clever project was the Chigirin conspiracy which Natanson endorsed after the fact. A group of revolutionaries in Kiev conceived the idea of printing "A Secret Imperial Charter" according to which the Czar called upon Russia's peasants to rise up in rebellion against the land owners and aristocrats who were thwarting his emancipation decree of February 1861. With the help of Anna Rozenshtein, who arranged the printing of the decree on a printing press smuggled in from abroad, the Kiev revolutionary circle convinced the peasants to act. By November 1877, a large group of peasants were ready to rebel "in the name of the Czar." From the conception of the idea in the mind of Lev Deich to its execution on Anna Rozenshtein's printing press, the "Jewish input" of the Chigirin conspiracy was "obvious." The Chigirin conspiracy was not only organized by Jews, it bespoke Jewish *chutzpah* as well as a view of the *goyim* as gullible and willing to believe anything that they saw in print. It also

bore the stamp of Mark Natanson, because "the realization of this scheme was made possible in the last analysis only because Mark Natanson supported the Chigirintsy wholeheartedly when they turned to him for assistance."[54]

By 1876 Mark Natanson had created in *Zemlia i Volia* a revolutionary movement that was uniquely Jewish in its tactics and its organization. If the Russians had been running it instead of the Jews, it would have been a different organization. The Jews, as a result of their effectiveness as revolutionaries, began to determine the course of the movement in all of the crucial areas but most notably away from "back to the people" populism and toward revolutionary terror. In collaboration with the dynamite importer Aron Zundelevich, Natanson "ensured the development of an explicitly terrorist party with an overtly political program of action" when *Zemlia i Volia*'s "disorganization group" arranged the assassination of the informer N. F. Sharashkin in June 1877. Sharashkin's murder in St. Petersburg had been preceded by a botched assassination attempt on the life of a suspected agent-provocateur in Odessa by the name of Nikolai E. Gorinovich. On June 11, 1876, Lev Deich poured sulfuric acid on Gorinovich's face and left him for dead with a note attached to his body which read "Such will be the fate of all spies." Gorinovich survived, albeit horribly mutilated, and eventually testified at the trial of his would-be assassins. Of the seven men who were convicted, three, including Lev Deich, were Jews.

The death of Sharashkin and the near death and mutilation of Gorinovich seems to have propelled *Zemlia i Volia* over a threshold of inhibition into a realm where revolutionary violence became the preferred choice of revolutionary activity. Russia was now entering an era when politically motivated murder and terrorism were to become common occurrences, for which the Jews can be held accountable:

> Jews constituted an important, if not crucial, national element in turning the region into a hotbed of terrorist violence. . . .The statistical findings of Kappeler (as they relate to Jews) show up the presence of Jewish radicals in almost all "southern circles" which were directly or indirectly involved in acts of terrorism or physical resistance against the authorities. For instance, the Elizavetgrad circle of Lev I. Rozenfeld, which was closely linked with the Kiev Buntarists and helped them in organizing the Gorinovich assassination, consisted almost exclusively of Jews. The same was the case in Nikolaev where the "rebels" were in contact with Solomon Vinenberg, Aron Gobet, Lev and Savelii Zlaropolskii, all of whom were leading activists among the local, predominantly Jewish, radical youth." Indeed, Jews were a major and very active component in virtually all radical circles which in the south of Russia acted as catalysts of political terrorism.[55]

By the late 1870s, the Russian authorities viewed all Jews as potential revolutionaries. The attitude surfaced as early as 1872 with the arrest of Arkadii Finkelshtein, when the governor of the Vilna province upbraided an assembly of prominent Jews for doing nothing to stop the spread of terrorism among Jewish youth. "To all the other good qualities which you Jews possess," the governor noted sarcastically, "about the only thing you need is to become nihilists too."[56] When the police broke up the First Vilna Circle of revolutionaries in June of 1875, the Vilna police chief continued the indictment which the governor had leveled against the Jews three years earlier: "Until now," he said, "we considered you Jews only swindlers; now we will also consider you as rebels."[57] In 1877, an official with the Third Department concluded that Jewish youth was "highly susceptible to revolutionary fermentation." Three years later another official claimed that it was an "irrefutable fact" that Jews rather than Poles or Russians not only "adhered to social-revolutionary ideals," but were also extremely sophisticated in preparing Jewish youth for political subversion.[58]

The idea that Jews were drawn to revolution was firmly established in the mind of Russian officials by the second half of the 1870s. The increase in terrorism from 1879 to 1881 increased Russian anger against Jews as an essentially "alien people" who had a congenital propensity toward subversion. By 1880 the idea was firmly established in the Russian mind. When Isaak Gurvich was imprisoned in St. Petersburg in May 1880, he was told that his release was unlikely because "Jews were considered particularly subversive."[59] When on February 22, 1880, Ippolit Osipovich Mlodetskii was publicly executed in St. Petersburg for his attempt on the life of Count Loris-Melikov, the crowd of 40,000 who watched him die suspected that he was part of a far-flung Jewish conspiracy because, as the loyalist press put it, "these Jews, being from time immemorial the representatives of the revolutionary spirit, stand now at the head of Russian Nihilists."[60] *The London Times*, however, blamed the execution of Mlodetskii on a resurgence of Russian anti-Semitism:

> The sheer fact that the would-be assassin, Mlodecki [sic], was of Jewish descent has sufficed to renew in certain circles of the community and in some public organs, more specifically those circulating among the lower orders of the people, the old war-cry of persecution against the Jews in general. . .[Any] one listening to the flood of invective which is being poured forth against the Hebrews must imagine the evil days to have returned when hatred of the Jews was prevalent in respectable society.[61]

Jews were in the forefront of those who "embraced the terrorist alternative to revolutionary Populism."[61a] Solomon Vittenberg, who organized the "first armed demonstration" of the revolution in Odessa on July 24, 1878, decided to assassinate the Czar with the help of a circle of co-conspirators, who with one exception, a Ukrainian, were all Jews. Vittenberg was caught and hanged

on August 10, 1879, before he could carry out his plan. His death along with his quasi-Christian justification for his actions inspired other Jewish revolutionaries to follow his example. Jacques Maritain's insight seems like the best gloss on Vittenberg's last testament: the Gospel separated from the Church had become a revolutionary document with incredibly destructive power.

Inspired by the same Messianic fervor which motivated Vittenberg, Grigorii Goldenberg murdered the governor of Charkov and then showed up in St. Petersburg asking his revolutionary comrades for the privilege of murdering the Czar. The Narodovoltsy were more than a little impressed by his ruthlessness but decided nonetheless that it would be better "that Russians and not Jews pull the trigger in the most important assassinations."[62] Goldenberg was eventually arrested for transporting dynamite, and after betraying his fellow revolutionaries in a series of devastating confessions, committed suicide in prison. Goldenberg was a creation of (and victim of) Haskalah and Russification at the hands of clueless but well-meaning educational bureaucrats. His father had been allowed to move to Kiev from the Jewish shtetl of Berdichev because of Alexander II's liberalization of state residency requirements hitherto imposed on the Jews. In the tortured alchemy of Jewish Enlightenment, that was turned into a reason for killing the Czar in Goldenberg's mind. The Jews of Grigorii Goldenberg's generation "were set adrift to seek for themselves a meaning in life by drinking from foreign wells which poured forth all sorts of enticing ideas."[63] Education created the revolutionary Jew in Russia. The Whigs' black operation continued to have unintended repercussions in Russia long after it had brought about unintended repercussions in France. Haskalah created revolutionaries. Leizer Tsukerman, who went from participating in a Maskilic study circle to running *Narodnaya Volya*'s underground printing press in the course of a decade provides one of many examples of a generation of young Jews who found a new religion in revolutionary socialism when the old talmudic religion failed. Tsukerman's Jewishness allowed him to inspire the revolutionaries:

> it was as a Jewish Jew, as a Quintessential Jewish personality, that he impressed them and won their hearts and minds. His Yiddish songs, jokes, and stories drawn from the his repertoire of Jewish life in the Pale brought humor, informality, and joy into their midst. . . . Tsukerman was in his element. Joining *Narodnaia Volia*'s printing shop was like a homecoming, a home where his presence made a difference, a life among people who shared his sentiments and unquestionable dedication to socialist ideals.[64]

Tsukerman, like Goldenberg, ended up in jail when the police raided his printing operation on January 18, 1880. Goldenberg's confession was full of the names of other revolutionaries, and most of them were Jewish. Goldenberg

as a result became the stereotypical Jewish terrorist, and proof, if any was needed, "that behind every terrorist plot there was a Jew."[65]

After the split of *Zemlia i Volia* into *Narodnaya Volya* and *Chernyi Peredel*, the Jews gravitated toward the more violent *Narodnaya Volya* because it supported terrorism. In November 1879 Aizik Aronchik, member of *Narodnaya Volya*, planted a large amount of dynamite under the tracks which he thought the Czar's train was going to cross in Odessa, Alexandrovsk, and Moscow. None of the explosions succeeded in killing the Czar, and Aronchik was eventually arrested along with two other Jews directly involved in the conspiracy, Savelii Zlatopolskii and Grigorii Goldenberg. Aronchik was sentenced to life-long imprisonment in Siberia, but when that was not deemed rigorous enough he was transferred to the Fortress of St. Peter and Paul and ultimately the Schluesselberg prison where he went insane in 1885, dying shortly after that. Goldenberg also went insane in prison and then committed suicide but not before betraying many of his revolutionary colleagues.

Goldenberg's confession could have devastated *Narodnaya Volya* if it had come sooner after his arrest. As it was, the Narodniki had time to disperse and evade arrest, and the reprisals did nothing more than strengthen their determination to kill the Czar. The culmination of those efforts occurred on March 1, 1881 when the revolutionaries, using both gun and bomb, finally made good on their promise to kill the Czar. What followed the assassination was not the hoped for reign of heaven on earth, but retaliation against the Jews, who were seen as responsible for his death.

AFTER THE MURDER OF CZAR ALEXANDER II

Six weeks after the murder of the Czar, pogroms "broke out suddenly like an epidemic that spread far and wide" across the Pale of the Settlement. Barbara Tuchman claims that the reasoning behind the pogroms "was the same as the Nazis': to use the Jews in the classic role of scapegoat, to create a diversion from oncoming disaster, to draw off mass discontent from the governing class."[66] Chaim Potok, like Tuchman, holds the Czarist government responsible for the pogroms, claiming that "a frightened regime rallied the people by blaming the Jews for the assassination."[67]

Virtually every Jewish historian says that the pogroms were orchestrated by the government, but Solschenizyn cites sources who claim just as vehemently that "their spontaneous character was obvious,"[68] which leads him to conclude that the assertion that "the government was held responsible for fomenting pogroms" was "completely baseless and . . . absurd."[69] Much of the violence centered on the saloons and taprooms of the Pale indicated that the pogroms focused on long-standing resentments, which needed no government orchestration. The Jews living in Russia were beaten and their houses looted and burned not because those Jews were held responsible for the death of the

Czar but, according to Gleb Uspensky, "because they had made themselves rich off of the labor of others and did not earn their bread with their own hands."[70] Beginning in the 1870s, the Jews became involved in capitalism and manufacturing and as a result "the Jews began to make hell hot with the ruble, and the people couldn't stand it."[71]

There is no real evidence that the government promoted the pogroms, but there is a significant body of material showing that the revolutionaries did. The revolutionaries, many of whom were Jews, felt the same way about the Jews as Karl Marx did and promoted the pogroms as an attack on nascent Russian capitalism and the abuses that went along with it as a way of parlaying local resentment into global revolution. The failed pogroms in Odessa and Yekaterinoslav were probably the work of *Narodnaya Volya*, which hoped to capitalize on the pogroms to foment a general revolution in Russia. On August 30, 1881 the Narodniki, who were, it should be remembered, significantly Jewish, circulated fliers attacking the Jews: "Who took over the land, the woods, and the bars? The Jews. . . . The Jew offends mankind, deceives him and drinks his blood."[72]

The Narodniki were seeking to exploit the resentment which the Jews had created among the general population. Jews were seen as both capitalist vampires and potential revolutionaries, and there was truth—the Narodniki could certainly affirm the latter proposition—in both assertions. Marx had already provided the model for Jews attacking Jews: "Thanks to a falsely generalized notion of equality, which has been used to deleterious effect against the general population, the Jews have succeeded in gaining economic control."[73] The Jewish faith enables the Jew to exploit "every weakness and every form of trust" among those of other faiths.[74] Beyond that, "the Jews will exploit the advantages of nationhood without ever becoming a member of any nation or willing to bear the burdens of citizenship." As a result of lowering the guard against exploitation erected by Christian monarchs, the Jews get to take over any country that tolerates them and their practices because "The morality of the Talmud puts no boundaries on letting Jews enrich themselves at the expense of those of other faiths."[75] This was the sort of talk that was being promoted in revolutionary circles to turn the pogroms into something bigger and wider. When the pogroms finally came in reaction to the assassination of the Czar, the revolutionaries, including many Jews, who had conspired to murder the Czar, turned around and supported the pogroms against fellow Jews because they saw in them the beginnings of the revolution in Russia. Commenting on the situation in Minsk, his hometown, Isaak Gurvich wrote:

> [Like our gentile comrades] we were also under the influence of the theory that the pogroms are a popular uprising (a *folksoyfstand*), and any *folksoyfstand* is good. It revolutionizes the masses. Certainly, the Jews suffered as a consequence—but all the same, the gentile revolutionaries

> of the nobility also called on the peasants to rise up against their fathers and brothers![76]

"Among the Jewish revolutionaries," Abraham Cahan wrote in his autobiography,

> were some who considered the anti-Semitic massacres to be a good omen. They theorized that the pogroms were an instinctive outpouring of the revolutionary anger of the people, driving the Russian masses against their oppressors. The uneducated Russian people knew that the Czar, the officials and the Jews sucked their blood, they argued. So the Ukrainian peasants attacked the Jews, the "percentniks." The revolutionary torch had been lit and would next be applied to the officials and the Czar himself.[77]

Revolutionaries did not denounce pogroms for fear of alienating peasants, and as a result, some Jews began to have doubts about the revolution. The issue of Jewish loyalty—to race or to revolution—was going to cause some serious soul-searching among Russian Jews. The issue in Russia would follow lines that had already been articulated in Germany, when Hess split with Marx and proposed racial solidarity as superior to class consciousness. Hess's position, however, was still the minority opinion among Jewish revolutionaries, who like Lev Deich, speaking on behalf of the Geneva Chernoperedeltsy, claimed that "our approach to the [Jewish] problem must be based on a universal-socialist standpoint that seeks to fuse nationalities instead of isolating one nationality [the Jews] still more than is already the case."[78]

The issue which threatened the revolution more than any other was emigration. Recognizing this, Deich felt that emigration to Palestine was the worst possible option, because it would isolate the Jews in ethnocentric fantasies. Deich urged Jews to go "to America where they will merge with the local population."[79] As a result of Jewish immigration, America would play a major role in the Russian revolution, but the Narodniki had more immediate problems, problems which were essentially impossible to resolve from a Jewish perspective. If the revolutionaries supported the Jews, they would alienate the peasants, but if they didn't support the Jews, they would alienate the most significant faction of the revolutionary movement, namely the Jews. As a result, Deich concluded that "the Jewish question is now almost insoluble for the revolutionaries. What, for example, are they to do now in Balta where they beat up the Jews? To intercede for them means, as Reclus says, 'to call up the hatred of the peasants against the revolutionaries who not only killed the Tsar but also defend the Jews'. . . . [This] is simply a dead-end avenue for Jews and revolutionaries alike."[80]

The Tsarist police were worried for exactly the same reasons. The pogroms, they feared, might get out of hand and turn into full-scale revolution. Today, wrote one official, "they are harassing the Jews. . . . Tomorrow it will be the

turn of the so-called kulaks . . . then of merchants and landowners. In a word, if the authorities stand by passively, we can expect the development of the most devastating socialism."[81]

The tsarist official was right. The pogroms radicalized Jewish youth, who turned to the revolutionary movement to express their outrage at the attacks on the Jews. Nora Levin noticed the same thing during the Russian Civil War some 40 years later. The anti-Bolshevik armies visited reprisals on all Jews for what they saw as Jewish participation in revolutionary and terrorist activity, and that in turn radicalized Jewish youth who felt that the only way to die with a gun in their hands was to join the Red Army. So Jewish revolutionary activity led to the pogroms and the pogroms led to more Jewish revolutionary activity. Eventually, the pogroms would turn into Jewish revolutionary uprisings, when the armed Jewish defense groups which arose in the aftermath began taking the initiative in pre-emptive fashion.

By 1887, it appeared to the authorities that the revolutionary movement in Russia was kept alive, in spite of heavy losses, only because of the continuous supply of Jewish recruits, who, skillfully evading the police, constantly started up new pockets of revolutionary resistance. Venting his frustration over this phenomenon, the Moscow chief of police wrote in February 1887: "The very people who resist a transition to a peaceful program are the Jews who recently have been quietly attempting to grasp the initiative of the revolutionary movement in their hands."[82]

As a result the new alarm about revolutionary activity, especially after the assassination of the Czar, began to merge with the older, traditional anti-Semitism producing an especially virulent animus against all Jews, not just the Jews who fomented revolution. The triumph of Bolshevism in the revolution of 1917 increased the fear and the animus against the Jews once again. And once again it was the most visible Jews, which is to say the ethnic, religious Jews, who bore the brunt of that animus when the reaction came. "The Trotskys make the revolution, but the Bronsteins pay for it," is how one Jew formulated the phenomenon. Hitler, far from being *sui generis*, was simply a manifestation of the same sort of anti-Semitism which followed the assassination of the Czar in Russia in the 1880s. Those who felt that Jews were in the forefront of revolutionary activity then felt confirmed by subsequent events, by the triumph of Bolshevism not only in Russia but in Germany and throughout eastern Europe in the chaotic years following the end of World War I. The fears of Bolshevism combined with traditional animus against Jews helped to create a reaction that brought Hitler to power and would have terrible consequences for Jews, especially for religious Jews, who were least responsible for the revolutionary excesses of people like Trotsky, ne "Bronstein," who in addition to changing their names didn't consider themselves Jews.

The widely publicized case of Grigorii Goldenberg only fueled the fires of anti-Semitism and confirmed the average Russian in his belief that a Jew

was behind every terrorist plot. After plotting the assassination of the Czar and being convicted of assassinating the Governor General of Kharkov, Goldenberg turned state's evidence and revealed in writing up his terrorist connections, a list full of Jewish names, which "confirmed the government's suspicions that the Jews were the principal agents of terrorism."[83] Looking at the Jews from a position outside their group, the average Russian failed to see the ideological fissures dividing Jews. Since they saw Jews as possessing "complete unity and solidarity," they held the Jewish community responsible for the actions of Jewish terrorists, claiming that its leaders "willingly if not purposefully, failed to exercise their authority over Jews who conspired against the state." As a result, the myth of a Jewish revolutionary conspiracy against "Holy Russia" was readily available as a new weapon in the arsenal of Russian anti-Semitism.[84]

Revolution was seen as "a Jewish disease" in part as a rationalization of the government's failure to stop it, but also because there was a "modicum of truth" in the assertion. "No matter how much prejudiced fantasy entered into the making of Russian political anti-Semitism, its ideologues were also rational human beings who relied on some sort of concrete evidence to substantiate their 'demagogic reasoning.'"[85] Salo Baron calls the idea that Jews were revolutionaries "a new powerful myth" which arose in spite of the fact that "most tsarist officials, including the successor to the throne, Alexander III, were aware that the tsaricide could not be blamed on the Jews, at least not directly."[86] Baron quotes Czarist officials in support of his contention. The fact that they say the exact opposite and blame Jews for the unrest is taken as proof, not of Jewish involvement in revolutionary activity, but of their anti-Semitism. Czarist Minister of Internal Affairs, N. P. Ignatiev, we are told, felt that there was "one common denominator which explained everything—the Jews: 'Judaism was the natural breeding ground of subversion.' It propagated radical Jews who, along with Poles, were 'the basis for the nihilists' secret organization 'which incited the people to attack their Jewish tormentors in a disorderly, antigovemment fashion.'"[87]

Salo Baron dismisses Jewish participation in revolutionary activity as "officially inspired rumors"[88] and cites the fact that of the seven conspirators executed for the murder of the Czar, only one was Jewish and a woman at that. Baron's comment ignores the fact that Jewish revolutionaries like Aron Zundelevich deliberately discouraged Jews from playing the prominent role as trigger pullers in assassination attempts because of fear of reprisals and because it would lead the Russian peasants to conclude that revolution was an essentially Jewish affair. Baron's comment also ignores the meticulous organization necessary for a successful revolutionary movement, and the fact that it was at this sort of organization that the Jewish revolutionaries excelled. Baron tries to portray Gesia Helfman as an insignificant cog in the second

tier of the revolutionary organization whose contribution "consisted merely in providing shelter for her fellow conspirators."[89]

The testimony at her trial, however, told a different story. Helfman was effectively in charge of the entire operation from September 1880 until the assassination in 1881. She set up the workshop which produced the dynamite which killed the Czar. As the police chief General Shebeko noted, Helfman's involvement in "secondary, techno-organizational tasks" was "vital to the machinery of political violence—and in this sense they, in fact, contributed as much to, and thus bore as much responsibility in, the execution of terrorist acts as the assassins themselves."[90] It would be misleading to say that Jews had only "secondary functions" in *Narodnaya Volya*'s campaign to assassinate the Czar. "As intermediaries between the party's Executive Committee and its rank and file, the Jewish Narodovoltsy occupied an important position in the propagation of an organization of political terrorism."[91]

In 1882, one year after the assassination of Alexander II, the Czarist committee founded ten years earlier to promote Jewish assimilation concluded that their efforts had failed. The Czar who had inaugurated the golden age of Russian Jewry by lifting restrictions on the Jews had been murdered by revolutionaries who were to a significant extent Jewish. Once the Jews had been exposed to the rage of the pogroms, the overwhelming majority of their number were inclined to agree with the Czar's committee. Russification based on the internalization of Mendelssohn's example in Germany had failed. In the aftermath of the assassination of the Czar, the Russians had concluded that the Jewish people were irredeemably afflicted with the bacillus of revolution. The Jews, on the other hand, were no longer interested in assimilation, a fact which led to the intensification of both emigration and revolutionary activity. Nora Levin claims that it was oppression which led the Jews into the arms of the revolutionaries. The Czarist officials, however, laid the blame at the feet of the Enlightened Alexander II's education policies. Education more than oppression turned Jews into revolutionaries. The only agent of change more effective was education followed by oppression, which was the course taken by Alexander III after the assassination of his predecessor.

During the period surrounding the murder of the Czar, which is to say from 1876 to 1883, Jews poured into Russia's public schools. The number of Jews attending the gymnasium doubled, and from 1878 to 1886, the number of Jewish university students sextupled to the point where Jews, who comprised 4 percent of the population, made up 14.5 percent of Russia's university students. In the 30 years which followed Alexander II's accession to the throne, Jews became a plurality and in some cases a majority at Russian universities, especially in the south. In 1886 "over 40 per cent of law and medical students at the University of Kharkov and the University of New Russia in Odessa were Jewish."[93] In the business schools, Jews made up 50 percent of the students. In

Odessa, one third of whose inhabitants were Jews, 72 percent of the students at the school of business were Jews, and 19 percent of the university students.[94]

Sensing that the situation was getting out of control, the Russians instituted a *numerus clausus* for Jews, which fostered the revolutionary spirit even more than Haskalah. In 1889, Alexander III learned from his justice minister that the Jews were on the verge of taking over the legal profession, both by the large numbers of Jews who had become lawyers but also because those Jews, because of the way that they did business, had destroyed the moral standing of the legal profession and as a result, were forcing non-Jews out of the profession. The Czar expressed his concern and "for the next 15 years virtually no Jew was admitted to the bar in Russia."[95]

In 1887 General N. I. Shebeko issued a comprehensive report on the revolutionary movement in Russia. The good news was that revolutionary activity had declined in the years after the assassination of Alexander II, but there was bad news too. During the same period, the revolutionary movement had become more Jewish. "The profession of destructive ideas," he wrote, "has generally, little by little, become the property of the Jewish element, which very often figured [prominently] in revolutionary circles." The shocking part of the report came in a parenthetical remark following his pessimistic assessment of Jewish involvement in revolution. "Approximately 80 per cent of known socialists in the South [of Russia] in 1886-1887," he noted, "were Jews."[96]

Haberer puts Jewish participation at between 35 and 40 percent, but essentially agrees with Shebeko's assessment. By the late 19th century, "revolutionary subversion without Jews had become unthinkable." This, he continues,

> was particularly true with respect to the principal area of revolutionary activity—the heavily Jewish populated provinces of the South. Here, especially in 1886-87, Jews made up approximately 35 to 40 per cent of the movement's membership. While this is substantially below Shebeko's claim of 80 per cent, there can be no question that even half this figure is still an impressive indication of the degree to which Jews had become a critical mass in the Russian revolutionary movement over the course of some twenty years that witnessed on the average a five-fold increase in their share of participation.[97]

Shebeko's report not only refutes Jewish apologists like Salo Baron, who claims that Jewish participation in Russia's revolutionary movement never exceeded 4 percent, it also changes the force of the argument by moving it away from sterile statistics. As Shebeko's report indicates, the revolutionary movement suffered severe setbacks in the wake of the 1881 assassination, so severe in fact, that without Jewish support the movement could not have survived. The Jews not only played a numerical role in revolution out of all proportion to their numbers in Russia, they also saved the revolution from extinction by "the

continuous supply of Jewish recruits"[98] as well as by bringing it back to the impenetrable (at least by Czarist agents) shtetls of the Pale when it could not longer survive in the capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

After the government crackdown in the wake of the assassination, the revolution moved south to Odessa and west back to the Pale, where it became more Jewish. The shift was also generational. The second generation joined *Narodnaya Volya* after the assassination of Czar Alexander II and promptly moved south because the Czarist government was so effective in eradicating the movement in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Once it moved south, the revolutionary movement of necessity became more Jewish. With the exception of the work of Alexander Ulianov, Lenin's brother, who was executed for an attempt on the life of Czar Alexander III in 1887 and the work of Sofia Ginzburg, revolutionary activity had ceased in St. Petersburg by 1885. The fact that it didn't die out altogether can be traced to the shelter it found in the densely Jewish areas of the Pale and Odessa.

> Having undergone their revolutionary bar mitzvah while studying in St Petersburg, which usually led at least to one arrest and a term of imprisonment, they returned home to Minsk, Vilna, Kiev, Taganrog, or Odessa, often as expelled students subject to domiciliary exile. Here they resumed their subversive work together with local Jewish radicals who, like themselves, had served their revolutionary apprenticeship as gymnasium and/or university students. Working in a familiar terrain that in towns like Minsk and Taganrog was still poorly policed, these individuals were for some time relatively free to propagate socialism and organize circles which were often predominantly Jewish in composition. Their Jewishness, as well as their ability to operate in 'native' surroundings, made for easy contacts with Jewish intelligentsy and workers. The net effect of all this was that although the centralized party was destroyed in 1881-2, new provincial centers of revolutionary subversion were constantly and autochthonously recreated by Jewish Narodovoltsy in 1883-87. The shifting nature of Narodnaia Volia activity, both in terms of geography and decentralization, therefore, enhanced rather than diminished the Jewish presence in the revolutionary movement.[99]

As further indication that the revolutionary movement had retreated into the Jewish areas of Russia, Shternberg and Krol set up a revolutionary student organization at the University of Odessa within weeks of enrolling there. Virtually every member of the organization was a Jew, most of whom had undergone their revolutionary apprenticeship in St. Petersburg before the police crackdown. Shternberg's revolutionary worldview was quintessentially Jewish. He advocated terrorism, as opposed to populist education and organization among the Russian peasants, as a way of bringing about the final goal of the party, and his battle cry was "the God of Israel is alive!"[100] a phrase

he used more than once in his pamphlet "Politcal Terror in Russia," published in 1884. "Jews," as a result, "thus completely dominated the technical and organizational work of the Odessa group."[101]

The connection with Halaskah was there, but the chain of events that Mendelssohn set in motion when he proposed the paradigm of German Reformed Jewish assimilation had been turned inside out. Instead of joining the culture that excluded them, the Enlightened Jews of Russia were now determined to destroy it. The connection with Mendelssohn had become an in joke among the children of the first generation of Russian Maskilim. When the Revolutionary Orzhikh met Natan Bogoraz, the founder of the revolutionary cell in Taganrog, he expressed to his admiration of Bogoraz's revolutionary organizational skills by referring to him as "Nathan the Wise."[102] Because they had high Jewish populations and because their local constabularies lacked the skills and resources of their counterparts in St. Petersburg and Moscow, provincial cities like Ekaterinoslav became centers for revolutionary activity. The high proportion of Jews living there made the revolutionary circles in towns like Odessa much more radical than they would have been otherwise. At one of their congresses, the split over the use of terrorism was essentially "a split between Jewish and Gentile delegates," with the latter opposing terrorism, and the former arguing for terrorist acts as the only means to destroy tsarism.[103] Revolutionary subversion without Jews, in other words, had become unthinkable.

Commenting on Shebeko's report, Haberer writes that "anti-Semitic generalizations insinuating a deliberate Jewish revolutionary conspiracy in Russia should not prevent us from recognizing the factual basis underlying the phobia in official and reactionary circles that the Jew was poised to destroy Holy Tsarist Russia."[104] As we have seen, Shebeko's claim that 80 percent of the revolutionaries in the South were Jews "was not a product of anti-Semitic fantasy"; "it was based on compelling impressions derived from police reports covering the fight against political subversion in 1885-7."[105] In the ensuing years the same trend continued. In 1889 the police broke up the Circle of Narodovoltsy, which as of March 1889 was run by the Jewess Sofia Mikhailovna Ginsburg and was at the moment the police raided its headquarters was plotting the assassination of Czar Alexander III. The membership of the Russian Circle of Narodovoltsy was 77 percent Jewish. The international organization had a similar number of Jews on its staff, and they in turn relied on Jewish contacts in Berlin, Grodno, Vilna and Minsk for communication and materiel. As a result,

> it was hard to escape the impression that by the end of the 1880s the revolutionary profession was dominated by socialist Jews, who surpassed numerically all other national minorities, and perhaps even the Russians, in the principal areas of continued anti-government activities—the

émigré colonies of Western Europe and provinces of the Jewish Pale of Settlement.[106]

The pogrom crisis drove Jews out of the ranks of the more moderate *Chernyi Peredel* and into the ranks of *Narodnaya Volya*, which advocated revolutionary terrorism. The pogrom crisis, in other words, reinforced rather than weakened their Jewish consciousness.[107] The same could be said of the May Laws of 1882 and the introduction of the *numerus clausus* at the universities in 1887; both measures increased resentment and as a result contributed to the rise of revolutionary fervor among young Jews.

Bad press contributed to the situation. Solschenizyn points out that European Jews, who had been meddling in Russian affairs since Moses Montefiore's visit in 1844, tried to prevent the expulsion of Jews from Moscow. The American Jewish banker Isaac Seligman, for example, traveled to the Vatican to ask the pope to try to moderate the behavior of Alexander III,[108] ignoring that Russia was under a state of terrorist attack and that legal limitation imposed on the Jews in Russia was never racial in nature.[109] Even the otherwise philosemitic Englishman James Parkes, who condemned these measures, had to admit "that in the period before World War I, certainly Jews had concentrated a significant amount of wealth in their hands and . . . as a result created concern that if the Jews were granted full rights they would quickly take over the entire country."[110] Parkes also admitted that there was an element of truth in portraying the Jew as the taproom owner and usurer, and that it was the Jews' involvement in vodka sales and production that created the most hatred among Eastern European peasants. The foreign Jews who became so adept at manipulating public opinion against the Czar and the Russian government promoted revolution by portraying it as a religious crusade. The Russian revolution was "the true embodiment of society's progressive strivings, [and] contains within itself all the conditions for the salvation of Jews."[111]

After the assassination of the Czar in 1881, the revolutionary movement could not survive without the Jews. The pogroms were followed by a series of countermeasures which turned the situation into a vicious circle in which violence begot more violence as Russia was dragged inexorably down into the spiral of revolutionary chaos. The pogroms followed by the *numerus clausus* at the university created more revolutionary Jews, who began to arm themselves in Jewish Defense Groups, which became more inclined to engage in revolutionary violence.

For the next four decades, the situation in the Pale was aggravated by foreign press accounts of the pogroms. The riots in the Bessarabian (or Moldavian) town of Kishinev began on April 6, 1903 on the last day of Passover and the first day of the orthodox Easter celebration. The attack took place over 20 years after the assassination of the Czar and so could not have been

motivated by that event. More significant were the town's demographics: out of a population of 50,000 Jews and 50,000 Moldavians, the 8,000 Russians considered themselves a beleaguered minority. By four in the afternoon the crowd of malingerers and young people included many who were drunk, and the mob began to throw stones through the windows of the neighboring Jewish houses. The police, although warned in advance that something was afoot, did nothing to stop the mob, and so a number of Jewish stores and houses were destroyed, but at the end of the first day, according to the police report the Jews themselves remained unharmed.

On the morning of April 7, a crowd of Jews armed with metal bars, clubs and shotguns showed up at the New Market to confront the unarmed Russian Christians. The Jews were enraged by the inactivity of the police, and claimed that "today we are going to defend ourselves."[112] In addition to shotguns, the Jews also carried bottles of sulfuric acid, obtained from Jewish drug stores, which they splashed on any Christians who happened to be passing by. Soon rumors of Jewish atrocities against Christians began circulating through the town, rumors which became more exaggerated the more they spread. Soon people were claiming the Jews had vandalized the Cathedral and murdered its priests. Soon groups of 15 to 20 Christians began roaming through the town led by the youths who the day before had thrown stones at the Jewish houses. More plundering of Jewish stores followed. The mob moved on to the synagogues, which were destroyed. Torah rolls were shredded and thrown into the streets. Then the mob broke into the liquor stores and what they didn't drink immediately got thrown into the streets. The inactivity of the police, who often stood by watching, only encouraged the rioters further. Their inactivity was largely the result of inadequate training in riot control and poor leadership, but the failure of the police to intervene nourished rumors among the Jews that the government was behind the riot and supporting it. Jews panicked and began firing revolvers into the already angry mob when it approached them. For the most part, they hit no one, but their actions enraged the mob even further. The mob stormed the Jews who had been firing on them and beat them unmercifully. One Jew who fired his revolver into the crowd killed a Russian boy by the name of Ostapov, and the crowd reacted with especial violence in this instance. By five o'clock in the evening a number of people had been killed.

By the time the governor got the army to restore order in the town, 42 people were dead, of which 38 were Jews. All of the dead had been killed by blunt instruments. None of them had been shot. There was also no indication that the bodies had been violated, according to the reports of the doctors who had conducted the autopsies of the victims. Of the 456 people who reported injuries as a result of the rioting, 62 were Christians and eight of them reported gun shot wounds. Of the 394 Jews who reported injuries, only five reported serious injuries. Two thirds of those injured were grown men. Rape

charges were filed against three people. One soldier had his face mutilated by sulfuric acid. One thousand three hundred and fifty houses were destroyed, along with 500 Jewish owned stores. Eight hundred and sixteen people were arrested, and of that number 664 were brought to trial.

The facts, which were bad enough, were soon lost, however, in the publicity campaign which followed. Before long fact became mixed with fiction as a host of gruesome stories got repeated in newspapers throughout the western world. The official report said that the pogrom was spontaneous, but the news reports abroad claimed that the government was behind it. The police report insisted that no evidence of rape or any other abuse was found during the course of the autopsies, but the press reported all sorts of bestiality. Realizing that they were outgunned by the reports which the Jewish Defense Office had sent to newspapers in all of the world's capitals, the government reacted by banning stories on the pogroms, but this facilitated the spread of unfounded rumors in Europe and America and enabled even more shameless exaggerations since no one had access to police reports. One official of the Jewish Defense Office wrote: "We sent explicit reports about the terrible bestialities . . . to Germany, France, England and the United States. . . . Our reports had an enormous effect everywhere: in Paris, in Berlin, in London, and in New York there were protest gatherings where the speakers held up pictures of the crimes committed by the Czarist government."[113] Before long, the American and European press joined in. The worst example was William Randolph Hearst, whose paper wrote, "We accuse the Russian government of being responsible for the Kishinev massacre. We declare that it is up to its ears in guilt as a result of this holocaust."[114]

As a result, the Jews controlled the dissemination of news about the pogroms, and the Kishinev Pogrom was used to stigmatize Russia forever after. After reading press reports like this, it became apparent to literate westerners that an enemy like this deserved nothing but extermination.[115] Russia was not adept at public relations, and not capable of rebutting the charges. They simply didn't know how to deal in damage control. At the same time, Jewish control of the press was on the rise in America and Europe. As a result, the Czarist government lost credibility at home and legitimacy abroad, and it became one of the pieties of acceptable progressive opinion to hope for revolutionary change there. "May the God of Justice," fulminated the Hearst press, "return to earth and judge Russia as he once judged Sodom and Gomorrah and sweep this incubator of pestilence from the face of the earth!"[116]

La Civiltà Cattolica echoed the complaints of the Russian Orthodox, complaining "the Israelite race combines the rule of gold with that one which directly subjugates the mine. . . ." [117]

Not long after the pogrom in Kishinev, the Jewish groups which had been founded for self-defense began talking about revenge. It wasn't difficult for the Jews to smuggle weapons in from abroad and before long those weapons

ended up the hands of the young men who began looking for an excuse to [illegible] them. The "pogrom" in Gomel was a good example.

On March 1, 1903 the Gomel committee of the Jewish Bund organized a celebration of the anniversary of the "execution of Alexander II." The Jews of Gomel, who made up 50 percent of the population, organized demonstrations designed to outrage the sensibilities of ordinary Russians, including target practice outside of town with a portrait of the Czar as their target.

According to a police report describing the events of the late summer of 1903, "The Jews of Gomel began . . . acting in a particularly provocative manner. There were words with peasants and even in their dealings with educated Russians there was a tendency to emphasize their contempt, as when for example Jews would force soldiers in uniform to get out of their way when walking down the sidewalk."[118]

On August 29, 1903 events escalated after a fist-fight broke out when a customer spat in the face of a Herringmonger by the name of Schalykow. A previously agreed upon signal brought the city's Jewish population running to the market place. Everywhere one heard the cry, "Jews! To the market place! Russian pogrom!" The Jewish mob divided itself in groups and then fell upon the fleeing peasants, beating them as they ran away. Eyewitnesses testified that the Jews beat unmercifully any Russian peasants who were unable to escape, including old men, women and children. The Jews dragged a young girl from a cart and dragged her by the hair over the cobblestones. The peasant Silkow was standing off to the side eating a roll when a Jew attacked him from behind stabbing him to death.

When the police chief was hit on the head by a roofing tile thrown at him by a Jew, the Russian mob screamed, "The Jews have just killed the police chief, " and then proceeded to destroy Jewish houses and stores. When soldiers intervened, "the Jewish mob then threw stones at the soldiers and fired revolvers at them." The soldiers asked Rabbi Marjanz and Doctor Salkind to calm down the Jewish mob, but "their speeches had no effect and the Jews continued to riot."[120]

A legal document later described the events as a Russian pogrom, i.e. a pogrom in which Jews attacked Russians.[121] This assessment was confirmed by the local police report. Long before the riot broke out on August 29, 1903 "The Jewish population began to . . . arm itself with weapons and create self-defense groups in anticipation of anti-Jewish disturbances. . . . Many of the inhabitants of Gomel had the opportunity to see Jewish youth engaged in target practice outside of town in which as many as 100 Jews participated." Once the riot broke out, the police reported that "the Jews fired on the troops which had been sent to protect their property." "Descriptions of this sort," Solschenizyn opines, "are nowhere to be found among Jewish authors." As is always the case with armed groups of this sort, he continues, "there was no clear demarcation point between defense and attack. The first instance

referred back to the Kishinev pogrom, in the second instance it had to do with the revolutionary attitude of the organization."

Jews not only controlled the press accounts of what happened in Gomel. After the dust had settled they sent lawyers to the trial to undermine the proceedings, in a way that was becoming the typical Jewish response to high profile cases involving Jews. The Jews made use of virtually the same *modus operandi* in the Leo Frank case in America, when a Jew was accused a raping a 12-year-old girl in Atlanta a few years later and in the Mendel Beilis case, in which a Jew was accused of the ritual murder of a Russian boy. After the corpse of a 12-year-old boy by the name of Andrei Jushtschinsky was found drained of blood during the first week of Passover and at the time that the cornerstone of a new synagogue had just been laid; a 37-year-old factory worker by the name of Menachem Mendel Beilis was arrested and charged with the crime.[123] The first ritual murder trial in Russia (usually it was Catholic countries which held them) became an overnight sensation in America and Europe. The Duma wanted to know if there was a sect of Jews that practiced ritual murder. As in the case of the Gomel pogrom, Jews attempted to disrupt the trial, which ended with Beilis's acquittal.[124] The murder remained unsolved, but, in spite of the acquittal, the European press screamed that the Russian government had declared war on the Jews, although no one ever held the American government responsible for the trial of Leo Frank, a Jew tried for raping a girl in Atlanta during the same period (1913-15). The Jews, for their part, never forgave Russia. It became a sign of virtue to long for revolution there.

The Jewish Defense Bureau sent two of its lawyers to the trial in Gomel, A. S. Sarudnyi and N. D. Sokolow, who announced upon their arrival that they had "absolute proof" that the pogrom in Gomel had been organized by the Czar's secret police. Six more Jewish lawyers subsequently arrived and claimed that it was an injustice that any Jew had been arrested. The fact that 36 Jews were on trial (in addition to 44 Christians), the Jewish lawyers opined, was meant to serve as a warning to Jews that they were from then on not allowed to defend themselves.[125] The Jewish lawyers ignored the fact that the Jews they were defending had lost significant amounts of property in the pogrom and concentrated instead on exposing "the political motives" of the prosecutors as way of diverting attention from the fact that during the riots young Jews ran through the town shouting, "Down with autocracy," which lent credence to the claims of those who felt that what happened in Gomel was a Jewish revolution and not a pogrom. When it became apparent that the trial was not going their way, the Jewish lawyers stalked out of court abandoning their Jewish clients to their fate in favor of more spectacular attempts to manipulate public opinion to discredit the entire Czarist legal system.

Once again the Czar was caught flat-footed and pilloried in the press at the hands of a public opinion he was helpless to sway. What applied to the world of the press applied *a fortiori* to the world of finance, as American Jews

like Jacob Schiff used their considerable financial power to undermine the Czarist government. Russia came to be seen as the typical Asiatic land, where darkness and exploitation of the people reigned unchecked, and it became not only completely acceptable but honorable to hope for a revolution in Russia in the near future. That revolution, it would routinely be claimed, would not only be beneficial for Russian Jews, it would benefit all of mankind.[116]

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA

In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus, the highest ranking Jewish artillery officer in the French army was convicted of treason for passing military secrets to the Germans and sent to prison on Devil's Island. One of witnesses at his public degradation was an Austrian Jewish playwright by the name of Theodor Herzl. After listening to the mob outside the Ecole Militaire shout, "Death to the Jews," Herzl took up where Moses Hess had left off 30 years before and wrote his Zionist tract, *The Jewish State*. More importantly, Herzl, who embodied the high culture of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, began to lobby Europe's most influential leaders to bring about its realization.

The Dreyfus Affair began years before when an increasing number of French writers began to express concern about what Father Ratisbonne, himself a convert from Judaism, called as the title of his book *La question juive*. Similar titles proliferated in the period around the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution—Eduard Drumont's *La France Juive*, appeared in two volumes around that time. Many of the authors, like Father Ratisbonne, were Catholics and part of the ongoing Catholic reaction to the Revolution which had begun with the Vendee. Abbe Chabautey wrote *Les juifs nos maitres* and Lemann wrote *Rome et les juifs*. Many of the writers cited Abbe Barruel as one of their primary sources, but Barruel had never mentioned the Jews in his memoirs of the history of Jacobinism. During the 19th century, what Barruel called *francmaçonnerie* had become *judeo-maconnerie* in the writings of his admirers. It was a change of more than semantic interest.

Before long Rome took notice of all the books about Jewish influence emanating from the Church's eldest daughter. One year after the 100th anniversary celebration of the French Revolution, *La Civiltà Cattolica* published a three part series on "the Jewish Question" in three successive numbers over the fall of 1890. *Civiltà Cattolica* was founded in 1849 in the aftermath of revolution in Europe and edited by Italian Jesuits. Although it is not the official organ of the Vatican, it has a uniquely authoritative status. The unsigned articles in *La Civiltà Cattolica* on the Jewish Question were not only published with the recent celebrations in mind, they saw a causal connection between the ascendancy of Jews in France and the aftermath of the Revolution. The approach was primarily theological: "modern Hebrews constitute the scourge of divine justice."[117] Lured to their destruction by the

"sweetness of liberalism," Catholics awake to find themselves in "the embrace of the voracious octopus of Judaism."[128] The hegemony of the Jews in France was the punishment for the sin of apostasy, which took place on a national scale at the time of the French Revolution:

> Heaven's chosen instrument of anger for punishing the degenerate Christianity of our time is the Hebrews. Their power over Christianity is continually increasing, along with the predominance of that evil spirit in it that followed up the rights of God with the rights of man in its bosom. The justice of the Eternal makes use of the most apostate and most cursed people in order to scourge the apostasy of the nations more favored by his Mercy.[129]

The text-book case is France, the country which in 1889,

> celebrated the first centenary of that revolution which separated her from God, the Church and her kings. But how did she celebrate this solemnity? France prostrated herself in the dust of the masonic temple of Solomon, humiliated under the feet of the talmudic synagogue, as a slave of a swarm of foreign vultures who have already drained three-fifths of her ancestors' patrimony from her. And thus, the revolution of 1789 has yielded her the glorious profit of passing from the noble submission to her most Christian kings over to the ignoble servitude of the kings of Mammon.[130]

The theological overview the Jesuits provide did not preclude a critique of recent French history in political and philosophical terms because the rise of Jews in France was in some logical but nevertheless uncanny way the result of the introduction of revolutionary principles a century before. Any country which abandons the Catholic Faith and turns from God's law, as France did in 1789, will end up being ruled by Jews, because

> in effect, the modern principles, or the so-called rights of man, were invented by Jews in order to cause the people and their governments to divest themselves of their defensive arms against Judaism, and to multiply the offensive arms redounding to this latter's advantage. Once having acquired absolute civil liberty and equality in every sphere with Christians and the nations, the dam which previously had held back the Hebrews was opened for them, and in a short time, like a devastating torrent, they penetrated and cunningly took over everything; gold, trade, the stock market, the highest appointments in political administrations, in the army and in diplomacy; public education, the press, everything fell into their hands or into the hands of those who were inevitably depending on them. The result was that in our days Christian society encounters in the very laws and constitutions of the states the biggest obstacle which hinders it from shedding the yoke of Hebrew audacity, imposed under the guise of liberty.[131]

Evidence for this claim was taken from foreign sources, like the

> great synod of Israelites having come together from all over Europe, which took place in Leipzig on June 29, 1869, at which Dr. Lazarus of Berlin claimed that "The synod recognizes that the development and practice of modern principles offers the most solid security for the present and future prosperity of Judaism and its followers. These principles contain the most efficacious seeds for its thrilling vitality and its further expansion."[131]

According to the *Civiltà Cattolica* article, "This is the source of the presumption of Judaism, which, as said Prince Metternich, supplies the states with 'first class revolutionaries,' and of the arrogance by which it already predicts its definitive triumph over Christianity."[133] In Russia too, Jews were simultaneously "in the first ranks of those who created capitalism" as well as "in the avant garde of those who were active in advocating the destruction of the monarchy and the destruction of the bourgeois order."[134]

Virtually every country which experienced revolutionary ferment, whether home grown or imposed by Napoleon, emancipated the Jews and put laws in place which secularized social, economic and political life. In each instance, including Russia, which had yet to experience revolution, the Jews, as Karl Marx noted, flourished in those countries' newly created capitalist economies. This economy coupled with industrialization uprooted huge numbers of people who had lived on the land for generations and herded them into the cities, where they became the revolutionary proletariat. By promoting capitalism, the Jews also promoted revolution. It was a dual role that Jacob Schiff would carry to new levels in a few years.

As a result of the revolution, France awoke to find itself in bondage to the Jews and it is "just this subjugation burdening the European peoples in economic, moral and political aspects that constitutes the kernel of the Jewish question in our time."[135] The main form of modern bondage is finance:

> The accumulation of money by the Hebrews under the aegis of the rights of man—the system initiated a hundred years earlier and also in France—is ample cause for loathing. . . . The bloody revolution of 1793 which wasted the goods of the nobility and the clergy, attracted that swarm of rapacious vultures. A century later here in France, perhaps even more so than in the Austrian Empire and in Italy, they have become the lords of everything. . . . The entire so-called High Finance is in the grip of non-French Jews who possess inestimable wealth. The litany of these princes of Israel is long and all have last names which sound as French as those of Arabs or Zulus. The Dreyfuses, Bischoffheims, Oppenheims, Erlangers, Hottinguers and so on, altogether form a banking sanhedrin that represents a value of at least 10 billion, entirely extracted from the veins of France, thanks to the *rights of man*, invented by this cosmopolitan and insatiable race itself and granted to it. . . . So as already today one cannot negotiate a loan in

> Europe without the good will of the Rothschilds, likewise, before long, no one will be able to do any business at all without the consent and the interest of the international Jewish league. Hebraism, with its adoration of the golden calf, which represents its power, must necessarily degrade itself below the civilized world. . . .Now there is no longer any virtue on earth but industry, no religion other than profit, no priesthood other than business, no rite other than money-changing, no God but gold.[136]

Because of their ascendancy in finance, the Jews were able to extend their domination of French culture to newspapers and education:

> . . . we mean the magisterium of the public press and academia. In 1848 at the Jewish congress held in Krakow . . . it was decreed that the dispersed Israel had to take possession of Europe's most powerful newspapers. . . .Journalism and public education are like the two wings that carry the Israelite dragon, so that it might corrupt and plunder all over Europe. . . . The Jews buy the press, over half of the newspapers are in their power, and they use it on behalf of their ideas. Jews are responsible for the moral decline in France because, "entirely Jewish is the pornographic and irreligious press which sullies the country and has no equal in any civilized place. . . . The Jews sully France with the most obscene, most scandalous, most nauseous journalism imaginable and the Freemasons eagerly disseminate it.[137]

By the early 1900s, some people believed that certain fields were actually "dominated" by Jews, so great was their presence. In 1912, Moritz Goldstein, a young Jewish journalist, "delighted anti-Semites" by publishing an article in the conservative magazine *Der Kunstwart* claiming that Jews now largely controlled German culture. As he saw it, "we are administering the spiritual property of a nation that denies our right and our ability to do so."[138]

Throughout their series on the Jewish question, the Jesuits at *La Civiltà Cattolica* maintained that there was causal connection between Jewish hegemony and revolution. Once the revolution broke down the barriers against evil which Christian nations had erected in self-defense, the Jews colonized that nation and turned its inhabitants into their slaves. The only cure is repentance, which is to say, a return to the Gospel. That cure will be impossible,

> as long as there are governments which continue to replace the ten commandments, the faith and the Gospel of Christ with the principles glorified by the French Revolution. If the Christian societies, having been removed from the Church of Jesus Christ, won't return to her, they will wait in vain for their liberation from the iron yoke of the Jews. As long as sin will endure, punishment also will endure and even intensify.[139]

The authors of the article on the Jewish question mentioned Russia repeatedly as the only country in Europe which, as of 1890, had not succumbed to

Jewish control. Solschenizyn viewed the Jewish contribution to the rise of the revolutionary spirit in Russia from a spiritual perspective that was not dissimilar to the explanation which the authors of *La Civiltà Cattolica* proposed, when he claimed that "It is not Christian Europe which suffers under the Jews; it is unbelieving Europe which suffers."[140] One manifestation of the suffering was the constant discussion of the Jewish question which echoed across the continent around the turn of the century. "By 1898 anti-Semitism had reached the level of a paroxysm in all of western Europe"—in Germany, France, "Great Britain and the US."[141] At around this time, in cities like Vienna and Budapest, large numbers of Jews began to dominate the press, theater, legal profession and media, which did not correspond to their numbers in the general population. Also at this time the Jewish businessmen and bankers began to accumulate their huge fortunes. As a result, an anti-Semitic movement spread through Austria and Bohemia toward the end of the 19th century, prompting Eugen Duehring, later attacked by Engels, to respond that "The Jews are not only an alien but also a real and unconvertably degenerate race."[142] As both *La Civiltà Cattolica* and Solschenizyn indicated, the demise of religion which followed the revolutionary secularization of formerly Christian countries created a culture which no longer saw baptism as the "cure" for the Jewish problem, which was now construed in racial terms both by Jews like Moses Hess and by their anti-Semitic opponents.

The power of the Jews increased over the French with each subsequent revolution during the 19th century. "The revolution of September 4, 1870 raised six Israelites to the apex of power and the terrible government of the Paris Commune numbered another nine of theirs, mainly leaders and intriguers. Prominent among these were: Gustave Dacosta, who hunted the priests; Lisbonne, who tried to open a tavern served by prostitutes in nuns' habits; and Sione Mayer, who presided at the destruction of the Vendôme column." The revolutionaries were "supported by a journalism that confuses, screens, deceives and frightens off whoever doesn't bow to the whims of Judaism," and it does it with "the help of the masonic sects."[143]

The same thing occurred in Italy, where in September 20, 1870, "Rome was conquered with shells and the Papacy made a prisoner, the conspiracies, the uproars, the rebellions, the assassinations, the massacres, the wars, the so-called revolutionary deeds, everywhere and always had the same success of increasing the Hebrews' wealth and of humiliating and oppressing the Christian civilization."[144] *La Civiltà Cattolica* was referring here to the same series of Masonic-inspired revolutions that had inspired Moses Hess. In both countries the Catholics who participated in the revolution thinking they would free themselves from oppression were later subdued by the oligarchies controlled by Jews and their Masonic allies:

> Freedom . . . uniquely redounded to the Hebrews' advantage. Through it, they have acquired complete power to subjugate the nations and to ordain that the few might tyrannize the many, and this under the guise of legality, with regard to material goods, to conscience, to faith, to family, yes and what is more to blood and life. Out of such a spasm of liberty, equality and fraternity has arisen the despotism of the tyrannical oligarchies to which the modern states reduce themselves and whoever glances into them will observe that they are oligarchies of Jews or of Freemasons, the Jews' base serfs. The religious right of Catholics is chained; this is the freedom of Masonic Judaism. Permission of blaspheming and committing sacrileges is converted into a public right; this is its equality. Brutal hatred against whoever possesses faithfulness to the God of his forefathers is applauded as patriotism, this is its fraternity. In the Rome of the Popes, carrying the Cross of Christ through the streets in a procession is a crime; but carrying the bust of Giordano Bruno or the horn of Satan there is a noble homage paid to the state.[145]

Six years earlier, in 1876, in his encyclical *Humanum Genus*, Pope Leo XIII had already criticized the rise of freemasonry in formerly Christian countries like France, without, of course, linking them to the Jews. Leo's critique of the Masonic subversion of education, which "allow[s] no share either of teaching or of discipline to the ministers of the Church," is extended by the Jesuits to include their Jewish allies. Again they cite France as the prime example of a country where the Masons collaborated with the Jews to take control of education. In France, they write,

> The war cry "Clericalism is the enemy" was conceived in the midst of the overflowing jewel cases of the Jew Rothschild, and broadcast by way of Cousin, the Grand Master of Masonry to Gambetta who wore it on his sleeve. . . . Among the most pitiless persecutors of Catholicism, the prize goes to the Jews Hendle, Schnerb and Levaillant. . . . The Jew Giedroye mutilated the masterpieces of the classical authors, purging away from them the holy name of God, so that it would never come under the eyes of young scholars. The Jew Lyon-Alemand ended a teacher's career because that teacher had praised, in a book sent to be printed, the beneficial influence of Christianity on civilization. The Jew Naquet proposed the wicked law promoting divorce and saw to it that it was approved. The Jews tear down the crucifixes from the walls of the Paris schools, breaking them and giving orders to throw them into the sewers, and they defend sword in hand, children's obligatory attendance of secular schools, that is of those without and against the Christian God.[146]

All of the revolutionaries active in Europe in general and in Italy in particular—they mention Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi—have "flirted with the synagogue."[147] What begins as liberation ends as bondage, because

"This ultimate purpose is universal domination, is world domination cherished as an article of faith by the degenerate cabalists of Israel. Jews always win out in a society organized according to revolutionary principles."[148] Whenever a state promotes the "absolute equality of all citizens" and "unrestricted liberty" it transforms society, as Shakespeare noted in Troilus and Cressida, "into a tumultuary struggle between opposing forces, of which the most powerful will get the upper hand. And, unfortunately, the most powerful force is always the most malicious one, that in the choice of weapons doesn't even shrink from dishonesty."[149]

MIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

The emigration of Russian Jews did not begin immediately after the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Emigration, in fact, was negligible up until 1887, six full years after the first pogroms following the assassination. The first dramatic jump took place from 1889-1892. The really massive jump took place in 1897. The pogroms are listed as the usual cause of migration, but in retrospect they must be considered as one cause among many. In 1904 at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war huge numbers of Jewish draft dodgers left Russia and emigrated to America.[150] Avoiding the draft was a significant reason to migrate, especially to America, because America was at peace and there was no draft.

One of the biggest waves of emigration followed the Czarist government's nationalization of the vodka industry in 1896. To deal with an abuse that had plagued the Russian state since the final partition of Poland, the Czarist government made the distilling of vodka a state monopoly in 1896. Jews could no longer produce vodka, nor was it legal to sell vodka on credit anymore.[151] As the first result of the ban, the state took in 285 million rubles in alcohol sales and 98 million rubles in taxes. The enormous revenue which accrued to the state from vodka production gave some indication of why the Jews fought so bitterly to retain control of it. When they concluded that it was a lost cause, large numbers of Jews simply left Russia and emigrated to America.

The Jews accused Russia of economic oppression and used that charge to justify revolution, but the economic figures tell another story. The Jews prospered financially throughout the 19th century in Russia. In addition to the huge number of Jews involved in the sale and production of alcohol, the Jewish-dominated sugar industry employed hundreds of thousands of Jewish families. The Jews owned two million desyatines of land in 1908 even though they actually farmed only 113,000. Of 1000 grain dealers in the northwest, 930 were Jews.[152] Jewish capitalists contributed to the rise of the revolutionary workers' movement by the way they treated their employees. "Jews owned mines and exploited the workers."[153] Before long the same complaints that had come to the fore in France, as recorded in the *Civiltà Cattolica* article, began

to be common in Russia. "The ranks of Russian businessmen are being taken over more and more by Jews. . . Jews control finance and credit."[154]

One of the most ominous social indicators showed that there was an inverse ratio between Jewish prosperity and Jewish assimilation over the course of the 19th century. Jews made more and more money but at the same time became less and less interested in becoming Russians. The Mendelssohnian dream of Jewish Russification that had been imported from Germany during the heady days of the Russian Enlightenment now seemed glaringly outdated. It had been replaced in the Jewish mind by Zionism and Socialism. The steps toward assimilation which Russian Jews had made falteringly in the 1850s had stopped altogether. Russia's educational system had failed in its project of integrating Russian Jews into Russian culture. After over 40 years of Enlightened reform, only 67,000 out of over five million Russian Jews spoke Russian, a troubling figure when one contemplated the fact that in 1900 50 percent of the world's Jews were living in Russia. The Jews had become not only an unassimilable minority with considerable financial power in their own right, they also had inside connections to world finance in New York through Jacob Schiff and Paris through the Rothschilds. Their connections with the financial oligarchy didn't quench their thirst for revolution. In fact, they had become fixated on violent revolution as the only feasible solution to their problems—real and imagined.

Migration didn't solve the revolution problem either because the Jews migrated to colonies in places like New York which still nourished that fantasy and provided shelter for recruits like Leon Trotsky, who hurried back from New York City once the revolution broke out in earnest. After resettling in New York in 1890, Gurwich discovered a "Russian workers aid society" made up almost entirely of craftsmen from Minsk, which celebrated "the Russian New Year" by putting on a "ball of the Minsker Socialists" in New York.[155] On the other hand, Jewish emigration to New York was so massive that it threatened to cripple the revolutionary movement in Russia by depleting its source of recruits. Our work, said one revolutionary, "was hindered more by the growing migration to America than by the persecution of the Police. We created the socialist workers for America."[156] The net result of that immigration would be to turn America into Russia's successor as the world's premier revolutionary power by the beginning of the 21st century.

Virtually every Jew who emigrated to America had to pass through Germany to the port cities of Bremen and Hamburg, but the German Jews showed no interest in allowing the *Ostjuden* to settle in Germany. In fact, the newcomers from the East often embarrassed the assimilated German Jews by reminding them of their unenlightened forebears. Gustav Mahler wrote to his wife from Lvov (Lemberg) that Polish Jews "run about this place as dogs do elsewhere."[157] Walter Rathenau, AEG heir and minister in the Weimar Republic, fulminated against this "Asiatic horde."[158] As Solzehnitsyn

puts it, German Jews did not welcome them but contributed generously to their upkeep and the "eventual integration" of those who made it through the border into Germany. Jewish migration to cities like Berlin would provide fodder for national socialist propagandists during the '20s and '30s.

The normal method of German Jewish philanthropy meant making sure that the Ostjuden remained in the sealed trains which carried them to the ports of Bremen and Hamburg, where they were put on boats to America. Between 1882 and 1914, millions of Jews crossed Germany on their way to England and the New World. All of them were aided by the Jewish *Hilfsverein*, whose slogan was "German thoroughness and Jewish heart."[159] The refugees were not as sanguine about their treatment as the German Jews were. They complained of being confined in trains for days on end and allowed out only to pass through delousing stations. "'We emigrants were herded at the stations, packed in the cars and driven from place to place like cattle. . . .' Not even the great cholera epidemic of 1892 stopped the flow of immigrants through Germany, although it did lead to an increase of medical measures along the way."[160] Sealed trains would soon take on greater meaning as the 20th century progressed.

Before he died in 1904, Herzl learned from Police Chief V. K. Plehve that the Western Jewish financial world was supporting revolution in Russia. One of the key figures in this support was Jacob Schiff, a German Jew who had emigrated to New York.[161] Eventually two million Jews emigrated to the United States, and most of them ended up staying in New York City, which became a center of anti-Russian agitation. Schiff became a player in American-Russian relations when he used his influence in the world of finance to back the Japanese and thwart Russian credit during the Russo-Japanese war. He also helped sway the mind of Theodore Roosevelt, whose sympathies were on the side of Japan.

Schiff came to New York from Germany and became the head of the Banking firm Kuhn, Loeb & Co. In 1912 "he was known in America as the railroad king, and was in possession of 22,000 miles of track." Schiff took to heart the plight of the Russian Jews and was hostile to Russia until 1917. According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Schiff "belonged to the most important creditors of both his own and many foreign governments," part of which was the 200 million dollars which he lent to Japan during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. Infuriated at the anti-Semitic politics of the Czarist regime in Russia, he happily supported the bellicose activities of the Japanese. Conversely he also refused to have anything to do with lending money to Russia, and he used his influence to convince other banking firms not to lend money to Russia, while at the same time financing the Jewish "self-defense" groups. Schiff, we know from conversations with his distant relative G. A. Vilenkin, an official in the Russian finance ministry, "admitted that through

him money was flowing to Russian revolutionary organizations" and that the "situation was so far advanced" that the aid couldn't be halted.

Count Sergei Witte tried to borrow money from Schiff but got nowhere. He soon found that he had to deal with Schiff's influence on the president of the United States when Theodore Roosevelt warned Witte not to impose restrictions on American citizens traveling in Russia. Roosevelt was referring to American "salesmen" in Russia, without adverting to the fact that the majority of these "salesmen" were in reality Russian Jews who received American citizenship only to return to Russia, often to promote revolutionary activity. As salesmen, they were expected to be allowed to sell whatever they wanted, including the Colt revolvers which ended up in the hands of the students of Odessa during the revolution of 1905. Schiff was nothing if not forthright about his support for revolution, even if he kept the details of his financial support out of the headlines: "If the Czar can't guarantee his own people their Freedoms which are their right, then this will lead to a Revolution and to the creation of a Republic, in which these rights can be attained."[162] Solzehnitsyn agrees with Haberer that "the general ardor of the Russian revolutionary movement was doubtless ignited (fanned) by the Jewish revolutionaries."[163]

Over the first decade of the 20th century, the Jews' revolutionary activity became more overt and more violent. In Krynki the revolutionaries fired on the police from the shtetl plunging the town into anarchy for two full days. "According to local reports, the unrest began when Jews outraged the local Russian residents by using a picture of the Czar for target practice outside of town."[164] It was becoming increasingly obvious that the Russian revolutionaries needed the Jews as the fuse that would set off the revolution.[165] (The number of Jews increased with each decade until by the turn of the century, they made up one quarter to one third of the revolutionary movement in Czarist prisons).

Before long, the Russian police began to notice that the revolutionary movement would have been unthinkable without Jewish support. Jews who made up 5 percent of Russia's population comprised over 25 percent of all political prisoners in Russian prisons and in exile. The historian M. N. Pokrowsky estimated that "Jews made up from one fourth to one third of the organizational cadres of all revolutionary parties." In 1903 Count Sergei Witte told Herzl that the Jews, who made up 5 percent of Russia's population, were the source of 50 percent of all the revolutionary recruits. G. P. Fedotow wrote "The Jews. . . were intellectually liberated during the 1880s. . . in a manner similar to what happened to the Russian intelligentsia in the epoch of Peter the Great. They became to a large extent deracinated, international in their understanding of themselves and intellectually active. . . . They took a leading role in the Russian Revolution, and they also brought about the moral corruption of the Russian revolutionaries."[166]

The Jews saw revolution as a perverse form of assimilation and as the answer to the "burning deracination" which swept over them when the Kahal was abolished and talmudic Judaism was exposed as the essence of benighted superstition. M. Agursky claims that "Participation in the revolutionary movement was in a certain sense a simpler form of assimilation than the usual form, which required baptism."[167] Jewish society was saturated with revolutionary ideas. And the intoxication which these ideas fostered was transgenerational. The rich jeweler from Kiev, Marschak, gave his terrorist son complete freedom of action. The brothers Goz came from a wealthy Moscow Jewish family which also included the Wysosky family, millionaires from tea manufacture, whose grandfather gave the social revolutionary party hundreds of thousands of rubles.

Rationalism found its fulfillment in Marxism, which spread like wildfire through the Pale of the Settlement providing a bracing dose of Messianic politics, which provided immediate relief from the depression which followed deracination. Suddenly, in Marxism, Jews had a purpose in life consonant with the lofty calling they derived from the Jewish heritage of Messianic politics going all the way back to Simon bar Kohkba:

> The Jews believed . . . that the Revolution was a step on the way toward the realization of the kingdom of God on earth. Not to condemn the Jews but to praise them, they wrote about the role which Jews played as the leaders of the people's movement for Freedom, Equality and social justice, a leader who was not reticent to bring about the destruction of the current state and social order in order to reach this high goal. . . . In his book *Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk,* Fritz Kahn claimed that "Moses, 1250 years before Christ, made the first proclamation of human rights in the history of mankind. . . Christ paid for proclaiming this communist manifesto in a capitalistic state with his death, . . . and then in 1818 the star rose over Bethlehem for the second time. Once again he rises over the roofs of Judea, Karl Marx."[168]

With weapons and subversive literature flooding into the Pale, Vilna, the "Lithuanian Jerusalem," was awash in revolutionary ideas and the wherewithal to carry them out. Weapons plus revolutionary ideas plus pogroms led to the creation of fighting units, known as self-defense groups, in the Pale, especially in Vilna, which in the 19th century became for Russian what the Hague in the 18th century had been for France. The rise in revolutionary consciousness corresponded to the rise in Zionism. In 1897 the Bund was founded in the same year as the First World Zionist Congress was held. Yet Zionism did not provide a safety valve for revolutionary Jewish fervor, as Herzl claimed it would in Germany, because revolutionary Zionists like Jabotinsky felt that revolution had to take place in Russia before the Jews could move to Palestine.

When the revolution finally arrived in 1905, the Jews, especially Jewish students in the south, played a major role in its execution. In October 1905 one of the Zionist synagogues in Odessa became not only the place where the student and worker revolutionaries assembled, it became the place where they picked up their weapons as well. Inspired by the resistance they had witnessed among the Jews of Gomel, thousands of Jews joined the Odessa defense leagues. Before long they were marching through the town taunting the Russians saying, "We gave you your God and now we will also give you your Czar." At one point the Jews opened fire on a crowd of workers. On the following day, a group of patriotic Russians organized a procession carrying icons and portraits of the Czar. They were attacked by the Jews as well. Twenty years later, the revolutionary Semyon Diamantstein admitted that the "an explosive device was thrown into the Orthodox procession to provoke a reaction."[169] In the reaction that followed many Jews were killed. Foreign press reports claimed predictably that "thousands and tens of thousands of Jews had been murdered and that young girls and children were raped and strangled."[170] But Diamantstein unwittingly corroborated the official reports which claimed that no women and children were among the slain when he wrote, "The overwhelming majority of the dead and injured Jews belonged to the best, willing to fight, younger element, who were in the self-defense groups. They died in battle, but they didn't give in." What got reported as a pogrom was in reality a revolutionary "battle" in which many Jewish soldiers died.

The police claimed that the Jews were responsible for the riots and the official Senate investigation backed them up, concluding that "the October riots were clearly provoked by revolutionary activity and ended exclusively as Jewish pogroms [i.e., attacks on Russian Christians], because representatives of this ethnic group were disproportionately involved in the revolutionary movement." Ignoring the evidence available in the official reports, the Encyclopedia Judaica claimed that "From their beginning these pogroms were inspired by the government."[171]

After two years of revolutionary turmoil, the Jewish leaders, who now held the upper hand, were no longer content to strive for equal rights in small increments. They saw themselves on the threshold of victory and no longer felt it necessary to present themselves as loyal petitioners to the Czar.[172] As a result of this revolutionary activity, by 1907, "the western half of Russia from Beassarabia to Warsaw" was "boiling over with hatred for the Jews, who [were] held as chiefly responsible for all of the troubles there."[173]

As in France during the same period, the Jews in Russia inexorably took control of the national mind and culture. "The brain of the nation," wrote W. Schulgin in the 1920s, "was in Jewish hands and it became business as usual to think in Jewish categories. . . . In spite of all of the restrictions, the Jews. . . controlled the mind of the Russian people."[174]

In October of 1905, the Czar tried to mollify the Jews by granting them new rights at the beginning of the Duma monarchy under Prime Minister P. A. Stolypin. The Duma monarchy was the Russian imitation of the Glorious Revolution. As in France, the English idea of controlled revolution could not sink roots into Russian soil. The Czar's concessions were ridiculed by the press which was seen as controlled by the Jews. Witte considered the press "Jewish" or "half-Jewish," which the representative Purischkevich confirmed when he referred to the press section of the Duma as "our Jewish Pale of the Settlement."[175] D. I. Pichno, who had spent 25 years with the newspaper *Kiewljanin* felt that the press constantly belittled the efforts of Stolypin and the Czar because "The Jews. . . have committed themselves to the Russian revolution. . . .. Serious Russian society understood that the press was a power in moments like this, but they had no power over it, because that power was in the hands of their enemies, who across Russia spoke in their name and had to be read. There were no other organs." Andrei Belyj had similar things to say about the press. It was controlled by Jewish writers who were "alienated from this culture. . . . Just take a look at the list of the employees of the newspapers and magazines in Russia. Who are the music and literature critics? You'll find only Jewish names on the list. . . . The overwhelming majority of the Jewish critics are completely alienated from Russian art, and write in an Esperanto jargon and terrorize every attempt to enrich or deepen the Russian language."[176]

Even an enemy of the Czar and a devoted revolutionary like Jabotinsky warned that "nothing good" would come from "the progressive magazines, which are kept going by Jewish money and run by Jewish writers. . . not for Russian politics or for the Jews." The government's reform measures were caught between the Jewish papers which "proposed the insufferable Talmud of democracy" and the right-wing papers, which could barely. . . keep their heads above water, but which accused Stolypin of favoring the Jews. All the while, Jewish influence increased. The number of Jews living outside the Pale of the Settlement increased year by year, and the chairs at the universities were invariably held by "Jews, social revolutionaries or social democrats."[177] The best indication of Jewish prosperity under the Czars was demographic; over the course of a century, the Jewish population under the Russian crown rose from 820,000 to over five million, even though 1.5 million emigrated.[178]

In September 1911, P. A. Stolypin, the Russian prime minister who had been accused of favoring the Jews because he had worked so hard for Jewish rights was assassinated by a Jew. D. G. Bogrov, the assassin, had been raised in an atmosphere of burning hatred for the Czarist regime. The Jewish animus against the Czar became apparent when Bogrov's father said he was proud of his son. Bogrov later claimed that he really wanted to murder the Czar but was afraid that that act "would have set off a witchhunt against the Jews and would have led to a limitation of our rights." M. Menshikov, who had

reproached Stolypin for conceding too much to the Jews when he was alive, mourned his passing. "Our great statesman, the best leader we have had for a century and a half—murdered! And the murderer was a Jew! Doesn't he have any shame? How could he dare to shoot the prime minister of Russia?"[179]

The murder set off panic among Kiev's Jews, but the government which had been accused of fomenting pogroms in the past made sure there were no disturbances in the wake of Stolypin's death. There was, however, widespread horror and indignation, especially against the Jews. "After Stolypin was murdered," wrote W. Rosanow in December 1912, "I ceased to have any feelings toward the Jews. Would a Russian have dared to murder Rothschild or one of their leaders?"[180] When the Duma looked into the murder they were accused of anti-Semitism. "Why didn't the Octobrists suppress the fact that Stolypin's murderer was a Jew?" Representative Nisselowich wondered. To him the fact that they didn't smacked of anti-Semitism. When Solschenizyn brought up the fact that Bogrov was a Jew 70 years later in his novel *August 1914* (part of the cycle known as *The Red Wheel*), he was accused of anti-Semitism as well. "Why did I mention the fact that Stolypin's murderer was a Jew. . . . The fact that I didn't suppress that fact was proof of anti-Semitism."

Stolypin was the only politician who could have kept Russia out of the war which broke over Europe three years later in August 1914. With him gone, Russia plunged down the path leading to defeat and revolutionary chaos, followed by the iron heel of Bolshevism and the inevitable reaction against it at the hands of Germany's National Socialists. The murder of Stolypin led to Russia's defeat in the war, which led to the rise of Bolshevism, which led to the German reaction, under which the Jews suffered terribly for Bogrov's crime and those of the other revolutionary Jews.

Chapter Four

The Redemption of the South and the NAACP

> The Jews. . . have already leaped en masse upon the millions of liberated Negroes and have already taken a grip upon them in their, the Jews' own way, by means of their sempiternal "gold pursuit" and by taking advantage of the inexperience and vices of the exploited tribe. . . . the Negroes have been liberated from the slave owners, but that will not last because Jews, of whom there are so many in the world, will jump at this new little victim.
>
> – Fyodor Dostoyevsky on Reconstruction, 1877[1]

By 1905 the Redemption of the South was complete. As a literary commemoration of that fact, Thomas Dixon wrote a trilogy of novels expounding the South's position. The most famous novel of the trilogy was *The Clansman: an Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, in which Dixon portrayed in fictional form the South's rebellion against Reconstruction, and, to use the title of the film based on it which appeared 10 years later, "The Birth of a Nation." The dictum that generals always fight the last war applied to Dixon's novel. By focusing on a war which had been won 28 years in the past, namely the South's successful overthrow of Reconstruction, Dixon created a myth which allowed his readers to ignore the form of Yankee imperialism which the South faced in 1905, namely, financial and industrial exploitation. The key to this settlement, which allowed both mystification and accommodation, was racism, in particular the "scientific" racism that was making dramatic cultural inroads in the now Anglophile WASP North in the aftermath of the triumph of Darwinism in England.

The odium surrounding racism has become so all-pervasive that it is worth taking a moment to understand just what it is and what it is not. What it is not is religion. And so to transpose the American racial argument back to its origins in European anti-Semitism, recourse to racism meant that Christianity had been superceded and that baptism could have no real effect in changing the biological substratum which determined human behavior, or what Dixon referred to as "the Leopard's Spots." Dixon took that phrase as the title of

one of the other novels in his trilogy. In that "Romance of the White Man's Burden," Dixon expounded upon his belief that biology trumped religion in every instance. By choosing biological determinism over religion, Dixon ingratiated himself with the northern industrialists, who, quite rightly, saw in Darwinism a covert justification of capitalism. In doing this, Dixon all but guaranteed that the arbiters of culture in the North would do nothing to oppose his vision of the new South. Dixon was posturing defiantly in front of the corpse of an enemy that had already been defeated, namely the zealots of the transcendentalist/abolitionist stripe, while distracting the attention of his readers from the enemy currently occupying their country, namely, the northern industrialists who promoted child labor and enslaved lower class Southern whites in ways undreamt of by the defenders of chattel slavery. In doing this, Dixon also cut the nerve of reform and social amelioration because if behavior was a function of the immutable characteristics of race no reform was possible because, to use the terms of his argument, the leopard was unable to change his spots. Dixon's recourse to biological determinism, as manifested in race, as the ultimate explicator of human behavior destroyed any possibility of understanding revolution or its roots in the Puritan/Yankee culture of the North. In his analysis of Dixon's *Clansman*, Richard Weaver cites Dixon's claim that the Southerner is "an ultraconservative, and the last man on earth to become a revolutionist,"[2] but he fails to point out that the main character of *The Clansman*, who joins the Klan to save Southern culture, announces at the end of the novel that he has become a "revolutionist" too. Dixon's racism turns the South's victory over Reconstruction into a pyrrhic victory because to defeat the Yankees, the Southerners had to become revolutionaries themselves.

In order to accomplish this, Dixon has to change the terms of the debate. Lincoln is the first figure in Dixon's novel to undergo this change. Instead of portraying Lincoln as a Republican, which is to say as an American Jacobin and the heir of the European revolutionary tradition, which is how the South portrayed him before the war, Dixon portrays Lincoln as a racist, i.e., a good person. Lincoln, according to Dixon, believes "that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid their living together on terms of political and social equality. If such be attempted, one must go to the wall."[3] "No more insane blunder," Lincoln continues,

> could now be made than any further attempt to use these Negro troops. There can be no such thing as restoring this Union to its basis of fraternal peace with armed Negroes, wearing the uniform of this Nation, tramping over the South and rousing the basest passion of the freedmen and their former masters.[4]

America, according to Dixon's Lincoln, is a white man's country:

> there is no room for distinct races of white men in America, much less for two distinct races of whites and blacks. We can have no inferior servile class, peon or peasant. We must assimilate or expel. The American is a citizen king or nothing. I can conceive of no greater calamity than the assimilation of the Negro into our social and political life as our equal. A mulatto citizenship would be too dear a price to pay for emancipation.[5]

Race-mixing of the sort that will inevitably follow from the defeat of the South will lead to the destruction of the American character, which is based on the innate biological characteristics of the white race. Therefore, to save the republic, Lincoln sees it as his duty to deport the Negroes living in the United States to some American colony in the tropics:

> "If the Negro were not here would we allow him to land?" the President went on, as if talking to himself. "The duty to exclude carries the right to expel. Within 20 years we can peacefully colonize the Negro in the tropics and give him our language, literature, religion and system of government under conditions in which he can rise to the full measure of manhood. This he can never do here. It was the fear of the black tragedy behind emancipation that led the South into the insanity of secession. We can never attain the ideal Union our fathers dreamed, with millions of an alien, inferior race among us, whose assimilation is neither possible nor desirable. The Nation cannot now exist half white and half black, any more than it could exist half slave and half free. . . God never meant that the Negro should leave his habitat or the white man invade his home."[6]

Had Lincoln lived, according to Dixon's reading of American history, he would have brought about reconciliation in America after the war by expelling the nation's Negroes and establishing whiteness as the basis of the nation's identity. This plan was thwarted by Lincoln's assassination, which was carried out, according to Dixon, by a revolutionary cabal led by Congressman Austin Stoneman, Dixon's disguised portrait of Thaddeus Stevens. In the introduction to his book, Dixon tells us that

> The chaos of blind passion that followed Lincoln's assassination is inconceivable today. The Revolution it produced in our Government, and the bold attempt of Thaddeus Stevens to Africanise ten great states of the American Union, read now like tales from "The Arabian Nights."[7]

Dixon leaves no doubt that "the master hand [which] has organized a conspiracy in Congress to crush the President"[8] belonged to Austin Stoneman. He also leaves no doubt in the reader's mind about the political course which Stoneman was determined to pursue. "Stoneman," Dixon writes, "is a revolutionary." He was "In temperament a fanatic, in impulse a born revolutionist; the word conservatism was to him as a red rag to a bull."[9] Stoneman admits as much to Lincoln's successor: "We, too, are revolutionists and you are our executive.

The Constitution sustained and protected slavery. It was 'a league with death and a covenant with hell,' and our flag 'a polluted rag.'"[10]

Stoneman is part of a cabal that wants to enslave the South and turn it into a "second Poland." As one despairing Southerner puts it: "My son, we are now in the hands of the revolutionists, army sutlers, contractors, and adventurers. The Nation will touch the lowest tide-mud of its degradation within the next few years. No man can predict the end."[11] The revolutionary plan is to destroy the South: "Blot every Southern state from the map. Strip every rebel of property and citizenship, and send them into exile beggared and infamous outcasts."[12] To accomplish his plan, Stoneman needs to confiscate the property of the white southerners and redistribute it to the Negroes. "The one thing on which the success of my plan absolutely depends is the confiscation of the millions of acres of land owned by the white people of the South and its division among the Negroes and those who fought and suffered in this war."[13]

Stoneman will accomplish his plan by turning Negroes into revolutionaries. The Negro is the *avant garde* of Revolution which will begin in the South but will soon spread to the North. Once Stoneman "had the South where he wanted it, he would turn and ram Negro suffrage and Negro equality down the throats of the reluctant North."[14] The "ship of state" was

> in the hands of revolutionists who had boarded her in the storm stress of a civic convulsion, but among them swarmed the pirate captains of the boldest criminals who ever figured in the story of a nation.[15]

The "Black Plague of Reconstruction" was the result of a conspiracy among revolutionaries who "threw to the winds the last scruple of decency" and had "organized a conspiracy" that would solve the race problem by creating a situation in which "the Negro shall rule the land of his bondage."[16]

Stoneman's "experiment" is an early form of social engineering. "We have the printing press, railroad, and telegraph—a revolution in human affairs," Stoneman explains. "This experiment is going to be made. It is in the book of Fate."[17] At another point, Stoneman describes his plan to destroy southern culture as "a cold-blooded scientific experiment." Stoneman plans "to give the Black Man one turn at the Wheel of Life. It is an act of just retribution."[18]

In putting the words "just retribution" into Stoneman's mouth, Dixon reintroduces morality into his story, something that is always a problematic issue. The main question is whether social engineering of the sort that Stoneman is proposing, i.e, the political manipulation of environment and culture, is stronger than race. Dixon thinks not, because

> The breed to which the Southern white man belongs has conquered every foot of soil on this earth their feet have pressed for a thousand years. A handful of them hold in subjection three hundred million in India. Place a dozen of them in the heart of Africa, and they will rule the continent unless you kill them.[19]

But to thwart Stoneman's plan the Southerners have to bestir themselves, which implies of course, moral effort. In fact, the plot revolves around the moral outrage generated when a black man attempts to molest a white woman. She and her mother thwart his plan by committing suicide. "The suicide of Mrs. Lenoir and her daughter," Weaver tells us, "who leap hand-in-hand from a precipice after the latter has been violated by a Negro, was based on an actual occurrence in the vicinity."[20]

Moral outrage demands a moral response. Negroes belong to a "lower order of animals"[21] who lust after white women. The Southerner, Dixon tells us, was "the last man on earth to become a revolutionist. All his traits were against it. His genius for command, the deep sense of duty and honour, his hospitality, his deathless love of home, his supreme constancy and sense of civic duty, all combined to make him ultraconservative."[22] However, the vision of the black hand on the white woman's throat changed all that and roused the Southerner to a pitch of "righteous indignation." The only thing which can overcome the aversion which Ben Cameron's father has toward "lawlessness and disorder" and the conspiracies which bring "exile or death," is the spectre of "a black hand on a white woman's throat."[23]

Confronted with that challenge, the South joined forces under the leadership of the great Scotch-Irish leader Nathan Bedford Forrest and became a nation of "revolutionists." Ben Cameron hears the call and joins Forrest's new organization, the Ku Klux Klan, but in doing so he proclaims, "I am a revolutionist."[24] The reader's confusion is compounded further when he is forced to wade through the mixed metaphors Dixon uses to describe the rebirth of the South which the Klan brought about.

> A gale of chivalrous passion and high action, contagious and intoxicating, swept the white race. The moral, mental, and physical earthquake which followed the first assault on one of their daughters revealed the unity of the racial life of the people. Within the span of a week they had lived a century.[25]

Dixon invokes images of racial fate and moral indignation, of revolution and the middle ages, as well as images of race and the cross: "I raise the ancient symbol of an unconquered race of men. . . the Fiery Cross of Old Scotland's Hills!"[26] Like mixed metaphors in general, the conflation of race and cross is calculated to produce emotional effect more than careful analysis. Dixon does not explain how all of these images fit together into some coherent understanding of man's nature and how the men of the South called upon the stores of tradition and personal courage to thwart Stoneman's attempt to destroy them.

At another point, Dixon refers to the birth of the Klan under Forrest as "the resistless movement of a race, not of any man or leader of men,"[27] which turns it into something like the migratory instincts of lemmings and deprives

it of whatever moral significance it might have had. When Ben Cameron informs Elsie Stoneman "That I am a successful revolutionist," the reader isn't sure whether this is good news or bad, or whether it carries no moral meaning whatsoever, even if he is quick to add "—that Civilisation has been saved, and the South redeemed from shame."[28] If the South had to rouse itself under the leadership of Nathan Bedford Forrest to throw off the yoke of northern tyranny, then it would be worth praising them for their efforts. But if men like Ben Cameron were simply puppets of "the resistless movement of race," then it's not clear why we should be interested in their story, any more than we should cheer on a snake in the process of shedding an old skin, even if that biological process could be construed as a metaphor for higher moral effort.

Dixon, in other words, gives us no way to make sense of the dichotomies he proposes in his novel. Before the reader is more than a few chapters into his book, Dixon's theory runs into trouble. Dixon needs to explain how a white man can become a revolutionary. If the real issue is race, how can someone who is white be evil? If behavior is a function of biological determinism, how can a white man be a revolutionary? Or, to view the issue in another way, why should we care one way or the other? If Negroes can't help being bad, how can we hold them accountable for their actions? Dixon can't have it both ways. He can't have both moral indignation and biological determinism as the engines driving the same novel.

Dixon introduces sex as the *deus ex machina* which saves him from the incoherence of his world view. Dixon saves the appearances of his racial theory by introducing the idea of sexual corruption. Austin Stoneman, the Yankee revolutionary, has been corrupted by his colored mistress, Lydia Brown, who is portrayed as "a mulatto, a woman of extraordinary animal beauty and the fiery temper of a leopardess."[29] Once again, we are back to the leopard's spots, and racism has been preserved as the universal explicator of human behavior.

This also explains how racial purity can re-assert itself in Stoneman's daughter, even though she comes from biological stock that has obviously been corrupted. Elsie Stoneman's father may have been corrupted "by a strange brown woman of sinister animal beauty and the restless eyes of a leopardess,"[30] but there is hope. Race will triumph over politics, because Elsie Stoneman has good Scotch Covenanter blood in her veins:

> The heritage of centuries of heroic blood from the martyrs of old Scotland began to flash its inspiration from the past. Her heart beat with the unconscious life of men and women who had stood in the stocks, and walked in chains to the stake with songs on their lips.[31]

This forms the basis of Elsie's appeal to President Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor: "Mr. President, you are a native Carolinian—you are of Scotch Covenanter blood. You are of my own people of the great past, whose tears and sufferings are our common glory and birthright."[32]

Sexuality provides the crucial link between moral indignation and the biological determinism which robs it of any meaning. Stoneman, the Puritan, was corrupted by the high-yaller vampire. Sexual contact between the races leads to contamination. The higher races are corrupted and their standards of behavior are lowered, as Stoneman ruefully admits at the end of the novel:

> My will alone forged the chains of Negro rule. Three forces moved me—party success, a vicious woman, and the quenchless desire for personal vengeance. When I first fell victim to the wiles of the yellow vampire who kept my house, I dreamed of lifting her to my level. And then I felt myself sinking into the black abyss of animalism, I, whose soul had learned the pathway of the stars and held high converse with the great spirits of the ages.[33]

At every turn in the book's plot, we find confusion of the moral and the biological. America is great because of the purity of its racial stock:

> We are great because of the genius of the race of pioneer white freemen who settled this continent, dared the might of kings, and made a wilderness the home of Freedom. Our future depends on the purity of this racial stock. The grant of the ballot to these millions of semi-savages and the riot of debauchery which has followed are crimes against human progress.[34]

Dixon tries to square this circle by implying that somehow the white race, unlike Stoneman's high-yaller mistress, is genetically moral. This, of course, implies that the Negro race is genetically immoral. But if human behavior is a function of biological determinism, then there is no morality at all, and if that's the case, there is no room for moral indignation when the black hand reaches out for the white woman's throat. The more we ponder Dixon's prose, the more our confusion deepens.

> No more curious or sinister figure ever cast a shadow across the history of a great nation than did this mulatto woman in the most corrupt hour of American life. The grim old man who looked into her sleek tawny face and followed her catlike eyes was steadily gripping the nation by the throat. Did he aim to make this woman the arbiter of its social life, and her ethics the limits of its moral laws?[35]

When it comes to thwarting Stoneman's schemes, race trumps individual morality. But if this is the case, then why did Stoneman succumb to the mulatto vampire? And if race trumps morality why do we need to fear a lower race imposing its "moral laws" on a higher race? In fact, if race trumps morality why are we talking about "moral laws" at all? In the end we are left with the incoherence of Dixon's novel. If there is a moral reason for Stoneman's downfall (even if he succumbed to the wiles of the high-yaller vampire), then

this undermines Dixon's theory of racial and biological determinism. If there is a racial reason, then morals are irrelevant, and so is race for that matter.

Weaver claims that "These three novels must be remembered for their influence in molding the mind of the time. . . . The general reception accorded *The Leopard's Spots* was the first indication that the South might yet win the ideological battle."[36] Yet, Weaver also admitted that the South failed to produce its own Aquinas or Burke, an apologist capable of defending the South and its way of life against the Northern radicals and their revolutionary fervor.

Since the fundamental fact of Southern life was the Negro, Southern apologists were drawn first to the Bible to justify slavery. When slavery was abolished and the South lost the war, this form of apologetics was no longer necessary. Apologists for the Southern way of life then abandoned religion and embraced "scientific" racism as the next best defense of their way of life. "Scientific" racism, however, was no more intellectually respectable than prooftexting the Bible was in finding a justification for slavery.

The South's intellectual failure, however, did not mean that it could not come up with a way to overthrow the Reconstruction regime imposed upon it in the aftermath of the Civil War. Unable to come up with a coherent explantion of the relationship between biology and morality, the South attempted to resolve the issue by recourse to *force majeure*, which in this context meant lynching. Mississippi's Governor Vardaman warned that if it were necessary, every Negro in the state would be lynched to maintain white supremacy.[37] Pfeifer argues that

> Lynching in postbellum America was an aspect of a larger cultural war over the nature of criminal justice waged between rural and working-class supporters of "rough justice" and middle class due-process advocates.[38]

According to this argument,

> Lynchers failed to assimilate conceptions of an abstract, rational, detached, and antiseptic legal process that urban middle-class reformers wrote into statutes, particularly those pertaining to capital punishment, and that state appellate courts increasingly enshrined in rulings pertaining to legal procedure in capital cases. . . . Mobs were impatient with the inevitable delays of legal process and disdainful of the alleged leniency of legal solutions and the seeming distance of a newly professionalized and bureaucratized criminal justice apparatus. They instead enforced racial and class goals through ritualized, community based punishment. Postbellum mobs did not respond to an absence of law but rather to a style of criminal justice that was careful and deliberative, ostensibly impersonal and neutral, in which the rights of the defendant, the reform of the criminal and humanitarian considerations were factored in beyond the punitive demands of communal opinion. . . . To rough-justice advocates, real justice was lodged in the community. It was administered

> face-to-face with a measure of retribution that matched the offense, and it sought to "preserve order," that is, to uphold the hierarchical prerogatives of the dominant residents of the locality.[39]

Lynching was a function of failed authority. After the South lost the war, the North went out of its way to de-legitimatize all of its institutions, all of which, including slavery, were derived from and legitimatized by the Constitution of the United States. When the North imposed Reconstruction and racial equality on the South, they failed to establish the legitimacy of the new regime. As a result the South, more than any other section of the country, was prone to take the law into its own hands. The Civil War, followed by Reconstruction,

> marked a turning point in lynching violence across the United States. The war upset prevailing economic, social, racial, legal and constitutional orders. It precipitated racial leveling, centralization of state authority, and the ascendancy of the North's dynamic industrial and agricultural capitalism.[40]

Unable to accept the legitimacy of the regime which the Union army sought to impose by force, the South resorted to lynching to restore what they considered a legitimate social order, which is to say one legitimatized by the consent of the white people of the South. As a result,

> In the late 1860s and 1870s a vast wave of homicidal violence swept the South as whites, often through paramilitary organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camelia, which in southern Louisiana reclaimed political power from enfranchised African American men. . . . After "Redemption" and the return to power of conservative white southern state governments in the 1870s, lynching remained a valuable device for sustenance of white power and the periodic crises of a continuously contested racial order. White elites in Cotton Belt areas such as the river valleys of north central and northwestern Louisiana allowed formal legal agencies to languish in favor of extralegal violence to punish black resistance and criminality.[41]

The New Orleans *Picayune* defended the lynching of 11 Sicilians in March 1890 as an example of the popular sovereignty guaranteed by the Constitution:

> Yesterday the people of this city rose in wrath and indignation at the corruption and perversion of the machinery to which was delegated the administration of justice. They did not overwhelm and sweep away the officials, but brushing them aside, they took in their own hands, the sword of justice, and they did not lay it down until they had executed vengeance upon the criminals whom the corrupt ministers had excused and set free.[42]

Just as slavery and abolitionism created the dialectic of history in the antebellum South, lynching and the anti-lynching organizations which sprang up in the North after the Redemption of the South provided the historical dialectic for the postbellum years. Lynching was one more manifestation of the vicious circle which came into being in the South in the wake of the Nat Turner rebellion. Oppression led to resistance, and resistance, egged on by northern "reformers" who were perceived as revolutionaries, led to further oppression.

In the wake of the Civil War, however, that dialectic now operated in a different way. Now northern radicals had unhindered access to the South and could use their control of the media to stir up the Negroes in a way that would have been impossible during the time of Nat Turner. The result was an increase in northern agitation, which only exacerbated the cultural climate which led to the rise of lynching as a form of social control. After the war, northern agitation led to lynching, and retaliatory lynching led to more northern agitation.

One of the prime agencies of northern agitation was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a New York organization founded in reaction to a lynching in Springfield, Illinois in 1908. One of the founders of the NAACP was Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison. Villard's father was a German revolutionary and came to the United States after the Revolution of 1848 failed. Ottilie Assing met Villard's mother and admired his grandfather as "the veteran apostle of liberty, whose country is the world and whose countrymen all mankind."[43]

The NAACP inherited the revolutionary mantle from both the abolitionists and the German '48ers. No one epitomized this legacy better than Oswald Garrison Villard. On February 12, 1909, the centenary of Lincoln's birth, Villard called "upon all believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."[44] In lynching, the Negro issue was joined once again. The circumstances had changed, but the dialectic, *mutatis mutandis*, remained the same. The abolitionists brought about Reconstruction, which in turn begat Redemption, which in turn begat lynching, which in turn brought the grandchildren of the abolitionists back into the fray with the creation of the NAACP.

The NAACP got its revolutionary pedigree from other sources as well. The 1908 race riot in Springfield, Illinois angered William English Walling, a white Southerner and social worker, and his Russian-Jewish wife, Anna Strunsky a revolutionary who had been imprisoned by the Czar. In 1908 Anna Strunsky, declared that "America's treatment of the Negro was even worse than Russia's treatment of its Jewish minority."[45]

The founding of the NAACP marked the beginning of Jewish influence on American life. It also marked the beginning of what would come to be known as the Black-Jewish Alliance. It also marked the beginning of the new

form of revolutionary activity that would characterize almost the entire 20th century in America. At the beginning of that alliance, Jews, largely German Jews, joined with the descendents of America's home-grown revolutionary movement, as manifested best in the person of Oswald Garrison Villard, and together they would spend the next 60 years trying, in John Brown's words, to carry the war into "Africa," i.e., turn the Negro into a revolutionary. Anna Strunsky represented the beginning of what would become one of the main sources of revolutionary activity in America, namely, Russian Jews who fled the crackdown on revolutionary activity in Russia following the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. But in 1909, when the NAACP was founded, Strunsky was the exception. The main source of funding for the NAACP came from German Jews. According to Heimreich,

> The New York-based German Jewish aristocracy played a crucial role in the early Black-Jewish Alliance. Names such as Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Isaac Seligman, and James Loeb were often the financial might behind many of the seminal endeavors to address the plight of blacks in this country, including the Urban League and the NAACP. Philanthropist Julius Rosenwald would make a huge contribution toward educating Southern black children, and other German Jews, such as Louis Marshall, Jacob Schiff and Joel Spingarn also made important contributions on the legislative and legal fronts. In the next generation or two, Jews with immigrant Eastern European, and often labor-left backgrounds, would take these German Jews' place at the forefront of the black-Jewish partnership.[46]

If we're talking about the NAACP, the term partnership is misleading if by it we mean collaboration between Jews and Negroes as equals. The NAACP was a Jewish organization, run by a board with no black representatives. To disguise this fact, the most visible member of the NAACP was a Harvard educated mulatto by the name of W. E. B. Du Bois. Given the ethnic make-up of the organization, before long it was accused of paternalism in dealing with the Negro. Harold Cruse would level even stronger charges in 1967 when he accused the Jewish elite of creating organizations like the NAACP as a way "to fight anti-Semitism by remote control."[47]

The NAACP was created around the time that other Jewish organizations were coming into existence to fight anti-Semitism. The American Jewish Committee came into existence three years before the NAACP in 1906 largely as a result of the Kishinev pogrom in Russia. In 1913, B'nai B'rith created the Anti-Defamation League to fight anti-Semitism in the United States.

The term "Black-Jewish Alliance" is deceptive, especially when it is applied to the NAACP. Du Bois was a product of Harvard and the German university system of the late 19th century which idolized Hegel and had borne its first political fruit in the Revolution of 1848. A covert Marxist for his entire life,

Du Bois waited until he was in his nineties to join the Communist party. In his early writings Du Bois shared Marx's suspicions of the Jews as economic exploiters. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903, Du Bois claimed that the "defense of deception and flattery or cajoling and lying which the Jews of the Middle Ages used left its stamp on their character for centuries."[48] Du Bois's claim upset Jacob Schiff, Rabbi Stephen Wise, and other Jewish leaders, but not enough to cause them to withdraw their financial support from the NAACP, which supported Du Bois as editor of its magazine *The Crisis*. Once Du Bois became editor of *The Crisis* he no longer made statements criticizing Jews.

The Spingarn brothers, Joel and Arthur, arrived at the NAACP in 1911 in the middle of a power struggle between Du Bois and Villard. The issue was revolution. Should the Negro be told to confine his efforts within the framework of the nation's laws? The man who epitomized the conservative approach was Booker T. Washington. Joel Spingarn allied himself with Du Bois and began urging armed resistance among the nation's Negroes, a stand that appalled Villard. In 1913, Spingarn

> incurred Villard's wrath by counseling Baltimore Negroes not to confine the means of securing their rights to peaceful methods. Negroes heard Spingarn refer to the black man standing at his cabin door with shotgun in hand as a means of protecting what was rightfully his—a statement that one New Jersey Negro leader found appalling.[49]

After listening to Spingarn's rabble-rousing speech, *The Quincy (Illinois) Herald*, concluded that "he wishes to seize the US Arsenal and be a John Brown the second."[50] Spingarn, like Du Bois, considered not the southern racists but Booker T. Washington as their main enemy, and gave speech after speech in which he "asked his black audiences to abandon Washington's gradualism for the more militant program of the NAACP and to switch their allegiance to Du Bois as the symbol of blacks' ideals and ambitions."[51] Villard felt that Spingarn was an irresponsible "firebrand" who would create a reaction among Negroes who supported Washington. The NAACP was vulnerable to counterattacks in the Negro press, which often referred to it as a "white" organization. The internal split over gradualist versus revolutionary tactics eventually led to a "public altercation after Spingarn arose with his usual unrelenting candor and 'coolly' disputed Villard's advice that Negroes use only peaceful means to secure their rights."[52]

In 1914 Spingarn succeeded in ousting Villard, replacing him as NAACP chairman. The issue was violence. Villard felt that Negro protest should remain within the law. Spingarn argued for violent insurrection. Eventually, "Spingarn and Du Bois went on to dominate the NAACP and shape the direction of the civil rights struggle for the next 20 years, giving it a decidedly more militant tone."[53] Once Spingarn became chairman of the NAACP he spent the greater

part of 1914 and 1915 promoting what he termed "the new abolitionism." Preaching violent insurrection among Negroes and attacking Booker T. Washington were two sides of the same coin, and Spingarn engaged in both. Spingarn implored "black audiences to demand their rights in language that was sometimes so harsh that some thought he was advocating violence."[54] He also "openly declared that Booker T. Washington's accommodationist stance and popularity within the black community posed the single greatest threat to black advancement and the growth of the NAACP."[55] Like Lenin, Spingarn felt that things had to get worse before they would get better. Spingarn knew that, rather than end violence and lynching, these early manifestations of black power might temporarily increase them but pursued the revolutionary course nonetheless.

In pondering the collapse of what he terms the "Black-Jewish Alliance" that began with the founding of the NAACP, Murray Friedman gives the following analysis of Jewish motivation:

> Jews did not just organize for their own defense; they also rallied to the defense of blacks, who faced even greater terrors. Why did Jews do so? Possibly it was because, as a pariah people themselves, they easily identified with another group of even more oppressed outsiders. They were no doubt also encouraged by the implicit moral imperatives of Judaism.[56]

If so, the concrete expression of the "moral imperatives of Judaism" as manifested by the NAACP under Joel Spingarn's leadership was spreading revolution, which would lead to more lynching, and the destruction of any Negro leader not acceptable to the Jewish leadership of the NAACP. W. E. B. Du Bois's first job with the NAACP was the destruction of Booker T. Washington, who had emerged as America's premier Negro leader after he had articulated a philosophy of race relations known as the Atlanta Compromise, based on his famous address at the Atltanta Exposition of 1895.

At the beginning of 1911, Washington considered W. E. B. Du Bois and the NAACP his mortal enemy in the battle over control of the Negro mind in America. By the end of 1911, however, "a note of unprecedented harmony came to dominate the relations between the NAACP and Washington's forces."[57] What happened in between has come to be known as "the Ulrich Affair." On a business trip to New York City in mid-March 1911, Washington was attacked by "a big German" by the name of Henry Albert Ulrich, who accused Washington of making improper advances to his "wife," as well as "peep[ing] into the flat between the shade and the window sill."[58] When Ulrich found Washington "looking through the keyhole"[59] of another apartment in the same building, he chased him into the street and beat him so severely that Washington was treated for injuries at a local hospital.

On the following day, Washington filed charges of felonious assault against Ulrich, but by then the newspapers had picked up the story, and Washington, the leading black figure in America, was now associated with voyeurism and the fatal sin of sexual attraction to white women.

The initial reaction to the Ulrich Affair was an overwhelming outpouring of support for Washington, including letters from then President Taft and Woodrow Wilson, as well as virtually unanimous support in the black press. Washington was aided by the fact that Ulrich had abandoned his wife in New Jersey. The woman Washington had addressed in New York was Ulrich's mistress, a woman married to a Spaniard by the name of Alvarez. In mounting his defense, however, Washington gave the impression that he was more interested in avoiding bad press and preserving his image than in confronting his accuser and getting at the truth. The legal strategy backfired on Washington. Washington's lawyers continued to postpone the case hoping the bad publicity would go away, but the postponements caused even Washington's friends to become impatient. One newspaper opined

> that Negroes were entitled to know whether the man who claimed to speak for them was really innocent of "questionable intentions in being in that 'free and easy' section of New York at that time of night." This reference to the unsavory reputation of the neighborhood in which Washington was assaulted merely put into print rumors that had been widely circulated ever since the occurrence.[60]

The defenders of southern Redemption had a field day with the reports. Thomas E. Watson, who would soon come to national fame and a political career in Washington as a defender of racial segregation in the South, claimed that Washington, like all Negroes, was the slave of "his inherited appetites" when it came to white women. It was the "recrudescence of nigger" which led Washington inexorably "to the white woman's bed-room door." The fact that people like Woodrow Wilson had "sent Booker Washington a message of condolence and confidence when that coon was caught at a white woman's bedroom door and was deservedly beaten for it"[61] only made matters worse.

Sensing that Washington had been fatally weakened by bad publicity, Oswald Villard used the Ulrich incident to forge an *entente cordiale* between the NAACP and the Washington forces, but before the year was out, Villard was ousted by Du Bois and the Spingarns, and hostilities resumed on both sides. The fact that the NAACP attempted to capitalize on the sentiments of people like Tom Watson gave further evidence that their intent was revolution not amelioration.

Matters went from bad to worse when Ulrich won an acquittal. At this point, Washington felt that he had been compromised by the whole affair, confessing in private that his "unfortunate experience in New York and the events which followed it had left him in rather collapsed condition." Gatewood

claims that Washington "never fully recovered from the psychological and physical strain" before his death in 1915.[62]

As a result, he was willing to make peace with the NAACP, which then pressed its advantage by undermining his gradualist stance among the Negroes and using Du Bois to promote a radicalism more in line with the thinking of the Spingarn brothers and their Jewish backers.

The idea that the NAACP was promoting a Jewish-Black Alliance becomes even less tenable when one considers that organization's attitude toward Marcus Garvey. After spending years discrediting Booker T. Washington, Du Bois moved on to his second job: the destruction of Marcus Garvey. After Washington's death, both Du Bois and Garvey saw each other as potential allies. Garvey, however, began to have second thoughts when he visited NAACP headquarters in 1917 and saw "so many white faces."[63] After the ouster of Villard, the Spingarn brothers consolidated their control over the NAACP and turned it into what their historian calls "a closed corporation."[64] The fact that the NAACP's central office exercised such tight control of the branch offices "meant essentially that a few New York administrators determined NAACP policy on a nationwide scale."[65] That in turn meant that the NAACP was vulnerable to counterattack from black organizations and grassroots black leaders like Garvey, who portrayed it as essentially a closed corporation controlled by Jews. Du Bois's job at the NAACP was to de-legitimatize any Negro leader whom the New York German Jewish elite found unacceptable. By the mid-1920s, it had become apparent to Marcus Garvey that Du Bois was, in his words, "a white man's nigger."[66]

Chapter Five

The Trial of Leo Frank

On April 26, 1913, Mary Phagan was found dead in the basement of the National Pencil Factory in Atlanta, Georgia. Mary Phagan was a pretty, busty 14-year-old pencil factory employee and the object of unwanted attention from the factory manager, Leo Frank, head of the local B'nai B'rith Lodge. Frank was indicted for her murder. At the time of the Leo Frank case there was next to no anti-Semitism in the South. Jews were perceived as people of the book. Until the Leo Frank case, the most famous instance of anti-Semitism in the South was perpetrated by a Yankee. On December 17, 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant, writing from his headquarters in Holly Springs, Mississippi, announced that "the Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also departmental order, are hereby expelled from the department within 24 hours from the receipt of this order."[1] The North could hardly accuse the South of anti-Semitism because no Jewish official in the North had a rank as high as the one which Judah P. Benjamin, Jefferson Davis's right-hand man, held during the Confederacy. After the war Jewish peddlers made their way down South, but, in spite of their often sharp business practices, there weren't enough of them to provoke anti-Semitism. Besides, when it came to racial issues, the South had more pressing problems.

Racial prejudice in the South was a black and white issue. The Frank trial took place at a time when the South's redemption from reconstruction was an accomplished fact. Lynching was, if anything, on the wane in 1913, and the citizens of the state of Georgia were eager to prove their allegiance to the rule of law. Most Georgians viewed the Frank proceedings with a sense of pride, as showing how far they had come from their recent troubled past. In spite of the volatile material at the heart of the case—the rape and murder of a 14-year-old girl—no one had been lynched—not even the Negro watchman Jim Conley—before the case went to trial. If anything, the Frank trial showed lack of prejudice when it indicted Frank over the pencil company's Negro watchman, Conley.

Leo Frank's character, specifically his sexual morals, became the central issue. Female employees testified that Frank often entered their dressing room and favored them with unwanted attention that included kissing and fondling. A newspaper boy who was a friend of Mary Phagan testified that she had been pursued by Frank and was afraid to be alone with him, as she was on the last day of her life when she went to his office to pick up her paycheck. On that Saturday in April, the city of Atlanta was preparing for a parade commemorating its Civil War veterans, and the pencil factory's office was empty except for Frank and Phagan, a fact Frank would have known when he told Phagan to come in and pick up her pay. Phagan's salary for a week's work at a machine which put erasers on pencils was $1.20.

The Leo Frank case put Atlanta's Jews on trial because they chose to close ranks around Frank even though four Jews were on the panel which indicted him. But the Frank trial also put the New South on trial. The boosters at the local chamber of commerce may have benefited financially from the new southern economy, but the average to poor man in Georgia wasn't particularly happy that the South had been turned into the cheap labor pool for northern industrialists because it was his daughters who ended up working in their factories. Cheap labor in the South meant child labor made a bad situation even worse. When the sexual exploitation of child labor was added to the mix, the sullen South reached the limit of its patience and demanded an expeditious trial. The southern ruling class which was trying to ingratiate itself with the northern industrialists by offering the malnourished children of Atlanta as cheap labor knew that justice delayed in this instance was an open invitation to a return to the rule of lynch law.

THE RACE CARD

Leo Frank and his lawyers went to trial blithely unaware of the real dynamics that informed the case. When Leo Dorsey, the state prosecutor, called a witness who claimed that he saw Frank engage in an act of sexual perversion with a local prostitute, the defense attorneys woke up to the fact that everyone, including most importantly the jury, felt that Leo Frank's character was on trial. They refused to question Frank and let him clear the air on his own character, a move which would subject him to cross-examination of the sort they tacitly admitted would harm his case, confirming the character issue as central in everyone's mind. When Frank finally did take the stand he talked for hours about the ins and outs of the pencil business, further alienating his southern audience by giving the impression that he was a totally callous and self-absorbed alien who viewed the girls who worked for him as nothing more than the robots who ran his machines. If the girls were robots, the Georgians reasoned, why couldn't the more attractive girls, like Mary Phagan, be seen as sexual robots?

Realizing that their strategy was in deep trouble, Frank's lawyers decided to play the race card. Luther Z. Rosser, one of Frank's attorneys, called Jim Conley to the stand and tried his best to entrap the Negro in his own testimony. When that failed, he resorted to naked race-baiting, which took two forms. In the first instance, Rosser claimed that the only reason that Frank had been indicted was because of his race, implying that the South was a hotbed of anti-Semitism. "Gentlemen," Rosser told the court, "take a look at this spectacle if you can. Here is a Jewish boy from the North. He is unacquainted with the South. He came here alone and without friends, and he stood alone. He is defenseless and helpless."[2] Frank's other attorney Reuben R. Arnold was, if anything, even franker about the accusations the defense attorneys now leveled against the state of Georgia. "I tell everybody, all within the hearing of my voice, that if Frank hadn't been a Jew he never would have been prosecuted. I am asking my kind of people to give this man fair play. Before I'd do a Jew injustice, I'd want my throat cut from ear to ear."[3]

The defense then moved to the other prong of its race strategy, its attack on Jim Conley in particular and all Negroes in general as unreliable and incapable of being trusted. Pandering to the lowest anti-Black sentiments in the South, Luther Rosser told the jury that "Conley is a plain, beastly, drunken, filthy, lying nigger with a spreading nose through which probably tons of cocaine have been sniffed."[4]

"They got a dirty, black negro," Rosser continued, "and in order to give impetus to his testimony they had a barber cut his hair and shave him, and they gave him a bath. They took rags from his back and he came in here like a slicked onion. They tried to make him look like a respectable negro."[5]

Rosser and Arnold's strategy was predicated upon a fundamental rule of the South. If a disputed issue comes down to the word of a white man versus the word of a Negro, the nod always goes to the white man. Neither Rosser nor Arnold, however, seemed aware that they had undermined their own case by playing up the fact that Frank was a Jew. If he were a member of an alien race from New York, a section of the United States that had been traditionally hostile to the South, it was not clear that he fulfilled the Southerner's criterion of whiteness. Beyond that, Rosser and Arnold failed to understand that in calling the citizens of Georgia anti-Semites, the defense insulted the very group they needed to persuade. Was the jury supposed to feel that they were somehow above the accusations of anti-Semitism leveled against their fellow Georgians when the jury knew full well that it was nothing more than a randomly chosen sample of that citizenry?

Dorsey, the state's attorney, jumped on an even more glaring inconsistency. If the state's case was motivated by prejudice, why would they ignore a suspect as tempting as the Negro Jim Conley and go after someone whose Jewishness had been irrelevant until the defense raised it as an issue?

"Gentlemen," the state's attorney asked the jury, "do you think that I, or that these detectives, are actuated by prejudice? Would we as sworn officers of the law have sought to hang Leo Frank on account of his race and religion and passed up Jim Conley, a Negro? Prejudice?"[6]

Dorsey reminded the jury that it was the defense which brought up the issue of prejudice in the first case. His rebuttal then "all but obliterated the defense's accusation" and exposed "the cry of anti-Semitism [as] a deliberate ploy to salvage a losing case."[7] A short peroration on Jewish leaders which included praise of Benjamin Disraeli and Judah P. Benjamin, allowed Dorsey to take the high ground and announce to a jury that was already sensitive to the idea that northern capital had unlimited rights over the south, that all men were equal when they stood before the bar of justice.

Having demolished the charge of anti-Semitism, Dorsey could then probe the inconsistencies in the defense's case. "What business did this man have going into those dressing rooms?" Dorsey wondered, resurrecting the moral issue that the defense had been so eager to dodge.[8] Oney underscores the shocking nature of the charges leveled against Frank's character and the effect they would have on a jury in Georgia in 1913:

> To accuse Frank of attempted rape and murder was bad enough, but to imply that due to some unspecified physical abnormality he had tried to perform what most Atlantans would have considered an act of perversion and what Georgia law regarded as the capital offense of oral sodomy was devastating.[9]

There were other issues that argued for the truthfulness of Conley's testimony. The defense attorneys tried to discredit Conley's claim that Frank told him he would never go to jail for the crime because he had rich relatives in New York. "Why should I hang?" Frank allegedly told Conley, "I have wealthy people in Brooklyn." How, Dorsey wondered, did an ignorant negro like Conley know that Brooklyn existed and that Frank had wealthy relatives there, and that "they had $20,000 in cool cash out at interest" if Frank hadn't mentioned that fact to him?[10] How was it that the note which Frank claimed Conley wrote said, "the Negro did it," when Conley would have said, "the Negro done it"?[11]

As Dorsey bore down on the defense's case, his words began to have their effect on the people in the court room. Both Frank's wife and mother burst into tears. (At another point Frank's mother stood up and called Dorsey "a Christian dog," putting another nail in her son's coffin.)[12] Even Atlanta's pro-Frank newspaper, *The Georgian*, claimed that Dorsey's summation speech to the jury was a "a white hot philippic, the greatest ever heard in a criminal court in the South."[13]

Unaware that their racial strategy was alienating the very jury they needed to persuade, Frank's defense attorneys continued to invoke racial prejudice without understanding that Frank's failure to confront the Negro's attack on his character condemned him in the eyes of the jury because "never in the

history of the Anglo-Saxon race, never in the history of the African race in America, did an ignorant filthy Negro accuse a white man of a crime and that man decline to face him."[14] Knowing that he couldn't deal with the issue of Frank's sexual morals directly and fearing that his race-baiting tactics had failed, defense attorney Arnold in desperation called for a mistrial.

The plea for a mistrial was based on Arnold's claim that "the behavior of the spectators throughout this trial has been disgraceful."[15] That claim was based on the fact that the judge ordered the courtroom's windows opened because the temperature in the courtroom had reached 91 degrees at the height of the Atlanta summer in the days before air conditioning, exposing the proceedings to the scrutiny of the spectators who had assembled in the square in front of the courthouse. The charge of jury intimidation would gain a life of its own as it became embellished by subsequent news accounts ("Kill the Jew or we'll kill you," the most famous line, was apocryphal, and made up by the press as part of a campaign to exonerate Frank.)[16] Eventually, those claims made their way into the deliberations of Oliver Wendell Holmes, when the Frank appeal was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. However, no one who was at the trial substantiated the claim.

The defense strategy failed miserably, and Frank was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. The guilty verdict made Leo Dorsey, who was carried on the shoulders of three men through the crowd of 5,000 which had assembled to hear the verdict, a local hero. Dorsey would run for political office based on his conviction of Frank. The people of Georgia felt that the Frank case had vindicated the legitimacy of their state's institutions. Frank had had his day in court. No one had resorted to lynch law. Justice had been served.

The guilty verdict, however, had the opposite effect on Atlanta's Jews, who began to talk about Frank as the American Dreyfus and banded together to do whatever was necessary to overturn his conviction. Frank was found guilty during one of the greatest waves of Jewish migration since the flight from Egypt. Beginning with the assassination of Czar Alexander II and continuing in light of the publicity which flowed from a series of pogroms that the Jews claimed were orchestrated by the czarist government, millions of Russian Jews fled, via ports like Hamburg, to the United States and congregated in places like the lower east side of Manhattan. This huge influx of Russian Jews arrived when the German Jews who had arrived during the middle of the 19th century had achieved unprecedented political power largely because of their influence over publishing, Broadway, and the fledgling motion picture industry. Taken together these factors contributed to a situation in which American Jews were prone to see an anomalous American incident like the Frank case as part of a larger European pattern of anti-Semitism of the sort that had created the Dreyfus incident in France and the pogroms in Russia, and that made them determined to do something about it.

The first indication of what was to come had already happened in Atlanta during the early days of the trial. Upset by what they considered the unfair coverage of the trial in *The Georgian*, the Jews put editorial pressure on the paper by withdrawing their advertising. The other papers in Atlanta, *The Journal* and *The Constitution*, "paid no attention to the demands of the Jews," but they were locally owned. *The Georgian* was owned by William Randolph Hearst, and soon pressure was brought to bear in New York, where Jewish influence was much stronger than in Atlanta. Gradually, Hearst succumbed to the pressure and when he did the editorials in *The Georgian* began to take a definite pro-Frank stance. In order to placate the Jews, *The Georgian* created a columnist whose only beat was the Frank trial. That columnist identified only as "the Old Police Reporter," was unfailingly sympathetic to Frank and, before long, the machinations of his Jewish backers.[18]

The Georgian would remain determinedly pro-Frank throughout the trial, something that other papers began to notice. Writing in the *American Mercury*, Herbert Asbury, who had worked for the *Georgian* during the Frank trial, admitted that "Although evidence was constantly piling up against [Frank], toward the end we worked as hard trying to prove his innocence and build up sentiment for him and against the Negro, Jim Conley."[19] Reacting to pressure from Hearst in New York, who was in turn reacting to pressure from Atlanta's Jews, *The Georgian* opined that it was

> "the present Grand Jury's DUTY to indict Conley without further ado!"[20] When the Grand Jury did not indict Conley, *The Georgian* ignored the fact that several Jews were on the panel, even though that fact constituted a "stunning victory" for the prosecutor.[21]

Shortly after their complaints reached his ears, Hearst arrived in Atlanta, where he met with the city's rich Jews and the newly elected governor John Slaton. Slaton was also a member of the same law firm as Frank's lawyers, which raised questions of conflict of interest which became harder to avoid as the clamor to get Slaton to pardon Frank became greater. Before long, the ramifications of the case became clear for the citizens of Georgia. At issue was the rule of law and whether the law applied to all of Georgia's citizens regardless of their race or wealth or connections. Having suffered through the manipulation of the political process as a form of covert Yankee-inspired social engineering during the Reconstruction era, the South had used the Klan and lynching to restore popular sovereignty. Now with that era safely in the past, Georgians prided themselves on their return to the judicial process, only to be denounced by the nation's press as bigots because they had convicted a Jew in a trial that everyone in attendance had considered fair and above board. To the average Georgian, the fact that the state had not railroaded Jim Conley or the fact that a mob hadn't lynched him was a sign that Georgia's legal system had conquered prejudice. Now the national press was attacking Georgia for

a prejudice which it never knew it had, namely, anti-Semitism, and ignoring all of the evidence that the trial had amassed to testify for their belief in the rule of law and the fairness of the proceedings. The Georgians were in effect being called anti-Semitic bigots because they had given Leo Frank a fair trial and not succumbed to the special pleading of the northern newspapers, most of which were owned by Jews.

After Frank was found guilty and sentenced to die on October 10, 1913, Judge Roan went out of his way to assure him that "I have tried to see that you had a fair trial for the offense for which you were indicted." The people of Georgia may have agreed with Judge Roan, but the Jews were convinced that Frank was the victim of an anti-Semitic conspiracy, and this view got trumpeted throughout the northern press.

Once the full fury of the northern press became apparent in the aftermath of Frank's conviction, it became clear that the Jews were going to create the very anti-Semitism they wanted to avoid as the Frank case took on a life of its own as the test case for the moral legitimacy of the New South. Who had more power, Atlantans began to wonder, the state of Georgia, and by extension the people who appointed its judges and representatives, or the *New York Times* and all of the other Jewish owned newspapers who were demanding Frank's acquittal and then his pardon?

FRANK'S RELIGION PRECLUDED A FAIR TRIAL!

Atlanta's Jews were appalled by the verdict and saw it as a personal attack on their community, even though until that time there had been no evidence of anti-Semitism in Atlanta. Rabbi David Marx, heretofore leader of Atlanta's assimilationist-minded synagogue, decided to make the Frank case his personal cause. Marx headed for New York, where he planned to elicit support from the heads of organized American Jewry. In a letter to one potential supporter, Marx claimed that the Frank case was "without doubt an American 'Dreyfus' case" because "the evidence against Frank is purely prejudice and perjury. The feeling against the Damned Jew is so bitter that the jury was intimidated and feared for their lives, which undoubtedly would have been in danger had any other verdict been rendered."[22]

While in New York, Marx met with Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of the *New York Times* and that profession's most powerful Jew. Marx was not going to have an easy time selling the Frank case to Ochs, who had the reputation of being a "non-Jewish Jew" who "will have nothing to do with any Jewish movement."[23] Ochs had rejected an invitation to join the board of the newly formed American Jewish Committee and had sworn that the *New York Times* would never become "a Jewish newspaper."[24] By the end of their meeting, all the zealous rabbi could elicit from Ochs was a promise to look into the matter. In fulfilling his promise, Ochs got a report from the Atlanta stringer for the

Times, informing him that it would be a mistake to support Frank, not just for Ochs and the *Times* but for Frank himself, who would bear the brunt of the backlash. In fact, the stringer said, "that the worst thing for him that could happen would be for Jews to rally to him as Jews."[25] Ultimately, Ochs made the mistake of ignoring this advice, and as the stringer indicated, Frank paid the ultimate price for that mistake.

Marx had an easier sell before him when he met with Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee. Unlike Ochs, Marshall was an openly Jewish advocate who had spent the past ten years fighting anti-Semitism. In 1911 he had persuaded the United States to abrogate a treaty with Russia which prevented "American Jews from freely conducting business in Russia."[26] That that business involved selling revolvers to Jewish revolutionaries went unmentioned by the AJC and the American press. Marshall agreed with Marx and felt that the Frank case met the criteria for AJC involvement, but he feared open advocacy of the case might backfire, especially in Georgia, and create more anti-Semitism, which would, in turn, make overturning the verdict impossible. According to Marshall, "any action that is taken must emanate from non-Jewish sources."[27] This meant creating front groups and giving the impression that the newspapers which orchestrated the campaign were reporting on a groundswell of popular opinion. Marshall proposed working behind the scenes to change Atlantans' thinking. "There is only one way of dealing with this matter," he wrote to another AJC board member, "and that is in a quiet unobtrusive manner to bring influence to bear on the Southern press [to create] a wholesome public opinion which will free this unfortunate young man from the terrible judgment which rests against him."[28]

By the end of September, articles began appearing in papers like Cincinnati's *American Israelite*, claiming that "Frank's religion precluded a fair trial. . . . The man was convicted at the dictates of a mob, the jury and judge fearing for their lives."[29] This, of course, was precisely what Marshall did not want to happen, and it brought about precisely the reaction which Marshall feared. Stung by claims in the press, the jury responded by saying that it had not been influenced much less intimidated by the crowd which had gathered outside the court house. The jury felt compelled to repudiate false reports which had appeared in the press. The buggy salesman Henslee denied explicitly Samuel Aron's claim that he told the Atlanta Elks Club: "I'm glad they indicted the God damned Jew."[30] The claim was preposterous, Henslee claimed, because the Elks had many Jewish members. Monroe S. Woodward, an Atlanta hardware store salesman who had served on the jury testified that "I did not at any time, while a juror, hear any applause except such as occurred in open court, and which was heard by the judge and attorneys in the case. . . . There was never any applause or cheering inside or outside of the court within my knowledge while the case was being considered."[31] Accounts of mob intimidation in the press followed by the vehement denials by those who were

actually there as participants confirmed the idea in the mind of Georgians that the Frank case was a contest between big northern interests controlled by Jews and the common man, who still had faith in the American legal system.

State Attorney Leo Dorsey articulated these sentiments when he argued in court against the new trial that the newspapers were proposing, claiming that another trial would be an attack on the people of Georgia. "If," Dorsey argued, "the verdict of guilty against Leo Frank is set aside upon such trivial grounds as the convicted man's lawyers recite in their motion, it will justify very largely the contempt in which people are beginning to hold their courts and the administration of their laws."[32]

Dorsey claimed that the Jews were willing to slander the entire state of Georgia to overturn Frank's conviction. Dorsey maintained that race had nothing to do with Frank's conviction: "The people were not aroused against Leo M. Frank because he is a Jew but because he is a criminal of the worst type. In the name of the Gentiles of Atlanta, I declare that when the counsel for the defense charges the jury with bias and charges Atlantans with intimidating the jury with a display of mob spirit, they are slandering the citizenship of the entire community."[33] Moved by Dorsey's argument, the judge denied the motion for a new trial.

On November 8, 1913, eight days after the motion for a new trial was denied, Jacob Schiff and the board of the American Jewish Committee met at Temple Emanu-El in New York to discuss their next move. Louis Marshall again warned that any expression of Jewish solidarity which gave the impression that the Jews were determined to get Frank off the hook no matter what would only create the very anti-Semitism their organization strove to avoid. Marshall's caveat, however, was no match for Jacob Schiff, the most powerful Jew in America, who argued for the AJC's open involvement in the Frank case. A compromise was reached, and the AJC agreed to support Frank's case by manipulating public opinion from behind the scenes. The AJC voted to retain Albert Lasker, head of a Chicago public relations firm who had established famous brands such as Budweiser beer and Quaker Oats, to undermine the legitimacy of the Frank verdict and orchestrate public opinion to get it overturned.

None of the Jews involved in the compromise leading to the approval of this campaign seems to have considered the dangers it involved, especially for Leo Frank, whose life hung in the balance. Even the open publicity campaign which Marshall feared posed fewer dangers. A backlash against Jewish support for Frank had begun to manifest itself—and not just in Georgia. Even in New York, the capital of the Jewish publishing industry, there was no mystery to what was going on if the *New York Sun* could run headlines like, "Jews fight to save Leo Frank."[34] If it could be shown that the Jews were working behind the scenes to orchestrate this sort of feeling, the reaction

would be that much worse, and Marshall's fears that the very anti-Semitism which they opposed would become a very ugly reality.

Ultimately all of the dire predictions of the Jews became self-fulfilling prophecies. In response to the attack on the state of Georgia, its citizens and its institutions, "Prejudice did finally develop against Frank and against the Jews. But Frank's friends were responsible for this anti-Semitic spirit. . . . The supposed solidarity of the Jews for Frank, even if he was guilty, caused a Gentile solidarity against him."[35]

Cruse claims that the Frank case revealed that even if Jews experienced discrimination it had no economic consequences. And that fact called the significance of the Black-Jewish Alliance into question. In his view, "It was the crucial disparity between the economic status of blacks and Jews that qualified the meaning of any alleged social significance of the Black-Jewish Alliance."[36] "Black marginality" and "Jewish marginality," far from being "two sides of the coin of racial prejudice" were different phenomena because they had no economic common denominator. This double standard would have far-reaching consequences, but its existence emerged for the first time in the Frank case.

By late fall of 1913, Albert Lasker had not only agreed to orchestrate the publicity campaign to exonerate Frank, he had contributed $1000 of his own money to the cause and had raised equal amounts from his father and fellow Chicagoan Julius Rosenwald, the chairman of Sears Roebuck and Company. At around the same time Adolph Ochs had overcome his scruples about using his paper as a vehicle for Jewish advocacy and had committed the *New York Times* to Frank's cause as well. From that moment until Frank's death, the *Times* devoted front-page coverage to every aspect of the story.

The conspiracy to exonerate Frank got into trouble almost immediately, which is not surprising considering the methods it had chosen to use. Lasker hired the famous detective William Burns, a celebrity of rock star stature in his day, who in turn set himself up in Atlanta's most expensive hotel and announced that he was going to get to the bottom of the case and solve a mystery which the courts of Georgia had already resolved. "I am in the Frank case to the finish," Burns announced after his arrival in March 1914.[37] Instead of informing Burns that the jury had already rendered its verdict, the Hearst paper in Atlanta went along with this publicity stunt and announced in a front page headline: "Detective promises Decisive Probe."[38]

In the meantime, Albert Lasker, the man who had paid Burns his $4,500 retainer fee, had, seemingly independently, come up with the slogan which would do for Leo Frank what Lasker had done for Quaker Oats and Budweiser Beer. The phrase, "The Truth is on the March," began appearing in articles on Frank across the country and from the lips of Frank himself, who included the phrase in just about all of the interviews he granted from his jail cell.[39]

"A rallying cry had been born"[40] and it looked as if it were making inroads in Atlanta itself, when one of the locally owned papers, *The Journal,* reversed its previous position and came out for a new trial. Appearances were deceptive. The publicity campaign may have caused the defection of one paper, but it mobilized the opposition further by bringing another paper into the battle on the side of the Georgians. *The Jeffersonian* had nowhere near the circulation of the *Journal* when the Frank case began, but the *Journal* didn't have an editor like Tom Watson, who turned out to be a genius in articulating the resentment which the common man in Georgia felt over the Frank case and the heavy-handed interference of the Jews which provoked it. For 11 months, Watson had ignored the Frank trial in the pages of the *Jeffersonian,* which up until that time had distinguished itself by running a series attacking the Catholic Church, in which Editor Watson referred to the pope as "a fat dago."[41] The defection of the *Journal* had brought Watson into the fight, and Watson was outraged at Yankee Jewish meddling in the Georgia legal system and determined to ask the questions which the other papers had pointedly ignored.

"Who is paying for all this?" Watson wondered when William Burns, the world's highest paid detective, showed up in Atlanta. The spike in circulation that *The Jeffersonian* enjoyed in the wake of Watson's entry into the Frank case indicated that many other Georgians had similar questions on their minds. "Does a Jew expect extraordinary favors and immunities because of his race?"[42] Again Watson seemed not only capable but willing to articulate the questions on everyone's mind.

"Is it wise," Watson continued, "for the Jews to risk the good name and the popularity of the whole race in the extraordinary, extra-judicial and utterly unprecedented methods that are being worked to save this decadent offshoot of a great people?"[43]

There is no indication that the Jews who were bent on orchestrating Frank's pardon were aware of Tom Watson at this stage of the game, nor is there any indication that they would have heeded his warnings if they were. With the machinery of public relations firmly behind their cause and with hitherto hostile newspapers now calling for a new trial, victory seemed within the grasp of the Frank camp. In the meantime, Lasker and his associates were counting the cost for final victory. On April 20, Lasker came up with another $5,000 for the cause, and estimating that a total of $20,000 would be needed for victory, Lasker wrote what Oney calls "the cordial equivalent of a shakedown letter"[44] to Louis Wiley, the business manger of the *New York Times,* informing him that "New York ought to give at least $10,000, and much more. . . . Will you please get the ball in motion and raise the maximum amount you can?"[45] On April 22, Wiley complied with Lasker's demand by writing a letter—on *New York Times* stationery—to Jacob Schiff asking for the rest of the money,

prompting Oney to opine that "by the date Wiley wrote Schiff, the *Times* had clearly crossed the boundary between journalism and advocacy."[46]

Tom Watson had surmised as much from his vantage point in Georgia. The state of Georgia was now on the receiving end of undeserved "Nation-Wide Abuse,"[47] as he phrased it in one *Jeffersonian* headline, and the main culprit in this campaign was the *New York Times* under the leadership of Adolph Ochs, who serves as "a most useful servant of the Wall Street interests, runs a Tory paper in New York, whose chief end in life seems to be to uphold all the atrocities of Special Privilege and all the monstrous demands of Big Money."[48]

Favorable press coverage was only the tip of the iceberg when it came to the conspiracy to exonerate Frank. Most of the money in that campaign was going to Detective Burns, who was using it to bribe witnesses to recant the testimony they had given under oath. The Jewish plot to exonerate Frank blew up in the faces of the wealthy Jews who were orchestrating it when accusations of bribery began appearing in the *Jeffersonian*. "How much longer," Watson asked in the April 23 edition of *The Jeffersonian*, "will the people of Atlanta endure the lawless doings of William J. Burns? What right does this sham detective have to tamper with the witnesses that told the truth on Leo Frank, that foul degenerate who murdered little Mary Phagan?"[49] Watson concluded that "This man Burns richly deserves a coat of tar and feathers, plus a ride on a fence-rail. He has been engineering a campaign of systematic lies tending to blacken this state and tending to provoke an outbreak of popular indignation."[50]

Popular indignation did break out in Marietta, Mary Phagan's hometown, when Burns and his assistant Dan Lehon showed up, ostensibly to bribe other witnesses. Recognizing Burn's face from newspaper photos, Robert E. Lee Howell attacked him on the street. A crowd quickly formed and soon cries of "Lynch Him!" filled the air, forcing "the great detective," according to Watson's account, to run "through several dark alleys as fast as his legs would carry him."[51] Even the normally hostile *New York Times* was forced to admit that "outside influence" had become the crucial issue in the Frank case. According to the report in the *Times*, "Bob Howell's hand, which slapped Burns in the face, struck fire out of all Georgia. In a dramatic way, it focused attention on a growing opinion that money and 'outside influence' were being used to save a rich man from punishment for the murder of a working girl."[52]

The issue of outside influence went from bad to worse when subsequent events showed that Tom Watson was also right when he leveled charges of bribery against Burns. Burns was using the money of Lasker and Schiff and other wealthy Jews to bribe witnesses to recant their testimony. On April 27, Rev. C. B. Ragsdale "retracted his statement that he had overheard Jim Conley confess to Mary Phagan's murder, asserting that an unnamed Burns agent had paid him to make the claim."[53] Watson felt vindicated by the revelation,

but the full extent of Burns' largesse with Jewish money was just beginning to emerge.

Eventually the state became involved in an inquiry into Burns' activity since his arrival in Atlanta. After State Attorney Dorsey put Burns on the stand, the famous detective admitted that he had "spirited Annie Maude Carter out of Atlanta, making it impossible for state's officers to question her."[54] Burns also admitted that he had promised one witness a job as a Pullman porter. Burns coupled that promise with the threat "that if he did not renounce his assertion regarding the superintendent's allegedly suspicious behavior on the day of the murder, 'the Jews' would get him."[55] Dorsey then went to work on "the half-dozen retractions the defense had secured from factory girls who at the trial had sworn to Frank's moral turpitude,"[56] discovering that one of Burns' agents posed as an author and promised to share his commission with Carrie Smith if she were willing to sign an affidavit repudiating testimony damaging to Frank's case.

Eventually Burns and his associates were convicted of suborning witnesses and Burns had to close his office when the Atlanta City Council revoked his license. Even though Dorsey was never able to trace Burns' money to Lasker and Schiff, Burn's testimony did "irretrievable damage" (Herbert Haas's words to Lasker) to Frank's cause.[57]

Even though it came close to being named as a co-conspirator in the case, the *New York Times* did not back off. It continued to find fault with Georgia and its legal system, giving further credence, if that was needed, to Tom Watson's charge of "outside interference."[58] When Judge Hill denied the extraordinary motion for a new trial, the *Times* fulminated once again that "The trial of Leo M. Frank in Atlanta for the murder of Mary Phagan was from the beginning about everything that a murder trial ought not to be. Judge Hill of the superior court denied the extraordinary motion for a new trial, yet it is impossible to feel that the first trial was fair."[59]

The Burns debacle and the fact that Rabbi Marx had also been implicated in a bribery scheme caused a new eruption of discord among the councils of New York Jewry. "I have been disgusted at the farcical methods to which Burns has resorted," the American Jewish Committee's Louis Marshall wrote the *NYT*'s Louis Wiley. "Every one of his acts has been a burlesque upon modern detective ideas. It is deplorable that a case so meritorious as that of Frank should have been brought to this point of destruction by such ridiculous methods."[60]

"I am afraid," Samuel Untermeyer, Marshall's law partner, concluded, contemplating the indictments that were sure to be handed down against Burns and Lehon, "the whole business has been terribly botched."[61]

All of these revelations, of course, meant vindication for Tom Watson, who could crow "I told you so" and have the common man of Georgia nod in solemn agreement.

As troubling as the "outside influence" issue had been, it was not over when Burns had been exposed as the agent of as yet anonymous Jewish backers. The same forces that gave Burns the money he needed to bribe witnesses could now exert their influence on the governor of the state, a man in a flagrant conflict of interest. "There isn't a right-thinking man of us," Watson wrote, "who does not feel troubled because of Governor Slaton's connection with the lawyers of the defense."[62]

On October 14, 1914, the Georgia Supreme Court upheld Judge Benjamin Hill's motion denying Frank a new trial. The world of subsidized journalistic fantasy could enflame public opinion, but it was gaining no purchase on the judiciary. The Supreme Court claimed "There was no abuse of discretion on the part of the trial judge in refusing to grant a new trial, nor was there any error in overruling the motion on any of the grounds set out therein."[63] Nor did it know of any

> provision in the constitution of the United States or of this state. . . which gives an accused person the right to disregard the rules of procedure in a state and demand that he shall move in his own way and be granted absolute freedom because of an irregularity (if there is one) in receiving the verdict.[64]

Undeterred by either the Georgia Supreme Court ruling or their agent's failed bribery scheme, the Jewish campaign to exonerate Frank turned to what had always been their strong suit, orchestrating favorable publicity. Lasker tapped Christopher Powell Connolly, an Irish-Catholic journalist from Butte, Montana, to write Frank's story. Connolly was given unlimited access to the prisoner and his legal defense team, and Frank considered him his Zola, whose book *J'accuse* had cleared Dreyfus's name. Connolly launched the famous "Kill the Jew or we'll kill you" quote, but he introduced it in a way that was unverifiable, absolving himself of any accountability while at the same time insinuating the idea into an already inflamed public mind. "On the last day I was in Atlanta," Connolly wrote, "I went to the office of one of Frank's lawyers to say good-by. The telephone rang. 'If they don't hang that Jew, we'll hang you,' came the message."[65] From Connolly's pen the famous phrase entered the public mind as if it had been shouted by the mob at an intimidated jury, long after the jury itself had denied that this ever happened. At Connolly's hand, the man whom the prosecution had portrayed as a pervert and child molester became a "shy nervous intellectual."[66] Unlike the Burns scheme, Lasker picked a winner in Connolly. The *Collier's* article had its desired effect by introducing the Frank case to the entire nation.

"Outside the state of Georgia," Albert Lasker wrote, "the press of the United States, including the leading papers of every city in the South are editorially agitating public sentiment for the unfortunate Frank. Daily, hundreds of papers are editorially crying out that Frank's execution would

amount to judicial murder."[67] The New York papers, most significantly, William Randolph Hearst's flagship, the *Journal* (following in the footsteps of his Atlanta property) took the lead in pleading the case for the condemned man. "If Frank's life is saved," wrote Arthur Brisbane, "Frank will owe [it] not least to any one of the lawyers you have paid so liberally but to W. R. Hearst, a man of real power and of a kindness of heart that is not appreciated."[68]

The *Collier's* article coupled with sympathetic treatment in the Hearst papers and the *New York Times* had the desired effect: "Outside of Georgia, the perception that the state and its citizens were involved in an anti-Semitic persecution of an innocent man became universal."[69] Inside Georgia, however, the opposite was true. Largely as a result of the work of Tom Watson, Georgians came to see the Frank case as an attack on their state and their way of life that was being orchestrated by the rich Jews who owned the northern press and were using it as a weapon against the South. "Never before in the history of this country," Watson wrote on December 4, 1914,

> has any convicted criminal been given the freedom of the daily papers that Frank has enjoyed. . . . Simultaneously, with the appearance of this stuff in the Georgia papers, it appears in the northern papers which are owned by rich Jews. *The Baltimore Sun*, owned by the Abells, the *New York World*, owned by the Pulitzers, the *Times* owned by Ochs seem to receive Frank's statement by telegraph at the same time that he hands out copy to the dailies in Georgia.

Watson was quick to point out the hypocrisy of the press accounts. Normally, the North criticized the South for its treatment of the Negro. However, groups like the NAACP and other racial watchdogs of the North were silent when Frank's defense team launched into racial tirades which described Jim Conley as a cocaine-sniffing nigger, whose testimony couldn't be trusted because the man giving it was black. Apparently this type of racial slur was acceptable if it was used to get an acquittal for a Jew. Watson was quick to point out other forms of hypocrisy as well:

> In the Frank case, the great point emphasized by the Jewish papers is that the main witness against Frank was a Negro! . . . It seems that Negroes are good enough to hold office, sleep in our beds, eat at our tables, marry our daughters, and mongrelize the Anglo-Saxon race, but are not good enough to bear testimony against a rich Jew![70]

Watson was not alone in feeling this way. The circulation figures of *The Jeffersonian* proved that he was adept in articulating the frustrations which the common man felt. But it wasn't just the common man who was incensed at coverage of the Frank case in the northern press. Thomas Loyless, editor of the *Augusta Chronicle* accused the *Times* and Adolph Ochs of slandering the people of Georgia by making it appear "that Frank's race or religion had anything whatsoever to do with his conviction."[71] In mid-January, former

Georgia Governor Joseph Brown wondered aloud on the pages of the *Georgia Chronicle*, "Are we to understand that anybody except a Jew be punished for a crime?"[72] Brown's statement was a sign that lines hardening. It was now Georgia versus the World.

Georgians who thought that Frank deserved a new trial were traitors. As the *Kansas City Star's* McDonald had observed, "The managing editor, associate editor, city editor, assistant city editor and court reporter an Atlanta newspaper said to me they knew Frank was entitled to a new . . . [but] "We dare not; we would be accused of being bought by Jew money they answered.[73] On the other hand, the American Jewish Committee no mood to back down because they "understood that Supreme Court read the *New York Times* and could be influenced by a national hue and With the case headed back to the capital, Louis Marshall made the calculated decision that continuing coverage by crusading northern newspapers greater strategic value than not."[74]

However, even after the Connolly article appeared in *Collier's* and caused stir nationwide, enkindling new hope in Frank, the news on the judicial continued to be bad. Frank's last judicial hope now lay with the Supreme Court of the United States, and this is where Marshall and Frank's legal directed their attention. A delegation of AJC lawyers headed by Marshall paid a call on Supreme Court Justice Joseph R. Lamar, who found the unworthy of review. Then on November 26, the AJC turned to Oliver Wendell Holmes, in whom they found a more sympathetic reception.

On February 25, 1914, Frank's case was heard by the Supreme Court of United States, with Louis Marshall leading off with his version the "Kill Jew or we'll kill you" story of jury intimidation. "The crowd," Marshall the Court, "almost trespassed upon the jury box, hanging over the jury and their whispers were heard throughout the courtroom."[75] Watson attacked Marshall as one of "the outsiders who cannot or will not weigh the facts prove Frank's terrible crime. . . . If Frank's rich connections keep on b about this case, SOMETHING BAD WILL HAPPEN."[76]

Marshall and the AJC got no farther with the United States Supreme Court than they had gotten with the legal system in Georgia. By a margin seven to two, the Court upheld the denial of Frank's petition for a new and denied every point Frank's lawyers made. In his dissent, Holmes declared "Mob law does not become due process by securing the assent of a terrorized jury,"[77] but there was no basis to the claim that the jury had been terrorized. Anything that happened in the South which the northern press disliked could be characterized as mob law. But the seven-member majority on the Court was not impressed with this slur. "In our opinion," the Court concluded, "he is not shown to have been deprived of any right guaranteed to him by the Fourteenth Amendment or any other provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States."[78]

Frank took the verdict calmly, claiming that "I will never suffer the death penalty" because "Truth will ultimately prevail."[79] In the end, even though, as the *New York Times* put it, "Justice to Frank Doubted by Holmes,"[80] the Supreme Court refused to overturn the decision of the Georgia Court. There was only one hope left, and that hope resided, as Tom Watson feared, with Governor Slaton, who was approaching the end of his term as governor.

Having lost at the Supreme Court, Lasker, Connolly and Rosenwald focused their efforts on Governor Slaton, who was scheduled to leave office on June 22, 1915. From the time the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Spring of 1915 until late June, Slaton was bombarded with letters and telegrams from "United States Senators representing Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, as well as the governors of Arizona, Louisiana, Oregon, Michigan, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Texas and Virginia."[81]

In addition to the letters from prominent figures, Slaton received more than 100,000 letters from the nonprominent and petitions containing over two million signatures. Everyone seemed convinced that Frank was innocent, everyone that is, but the people of Georgia, and the man who articulated their position best, Tom Watson, who urged Governor Slaton to stand firm in the face of a publicity campaign waged by the "millionaire Jews" and their press agents.[82] On May 27, less than a month from Slaton's last day in office, Watson once again brought up the conflict of interest issue, claiming that it was "embarrassing to the majority of Georgians that John M. Slaton is a member of the law firm to which Frank's leading attorney belongs."[83] Watson then delivered a warning: The Governor of Georgia should consider

> that if the law is not allowed to take its course in the Frank case, we might as well abolish the law and save all future expense of similar mockeries of justice. . . . that if the Prison Commission or the Governor undertake to undo—in whole or in part—what has been legally done by the courts that were established for that purpose, there will almost inevitably be the bloodiest riot ever known in the history of the South.[84]

Both Watson and Slaton knew that Georgians were united in support of the death penalty for Frank. Georgians were offended by the meddling of outsiders. They were particularly upset about the machinations of rich Jews. Fred Morris, a lawyer and former University of Georgia football star, weighed in, claiming: "Mary Phagan was a poor factory girl. What show would she have against Jew money? When they found they couldn't fool the people of Georgia, they got people from Massachusetts, New York and California to try and raise trouble. Well, we throw the advice of these outsiders back in their teeth. To hell with what they think."[85]

A delegation from Marietta, Mary Phagan's hometown, told the Prison Commission: "we believe the evidence shows Frank guilty. People outside of

Georgia who have read biased, I might say subsidized, accounts of this case have been urging you to commute. But if you commute this sentence, capital punishment might as well be abolished. If the extreme penalty should ever be enforced, it is in this case."[86]

Outside of the building where the commutation hearings were held on Frank's fate, thousands of Georgians gathered to hear Fiddlin' John Carson sing his latest composition, "The Ballad of Mary Phagan," a performance which by the very fact that it took place underscored the widespread sentiment that Georgians had to hold the line against "outside influence" if they wanted to honor the memory of Mary Phagan and prevent the same thing from happening to their other daughters.

In the hearings, Hugh Dorsey hammered away at the line of argument which had sustained Frank's guilty verdict over the course of seven separate appeals. Addressing the issue of jury intimidation, specifically the cry "Hang Frank or we'll hang you," Dorsey declared that "the record shows that at no time from the beginning to the end of the trial did anybody cry out against Frank or offer to do him harm."[87] Dorsey concluded his argument with a warning: "I am fearful that if the verdict of juries in plain cases, as I conceive this to be, shall not be carried out against the influential as well as the friendless, it would be an incentive to lawlessness in our state, the consequences of which no man can calculate, and I am unwilling even passively to be a party to the encouragement of such a situation."[88]

On Monday morning, Georgians awoke to the news that Governor John Slaton had commuted Frank's sentence, and although some agreed with Slaton's decision, outrage quickly spread through the population and the city's normal routine ground to a halt as people digested what had happened. Before long, the outrage which the majority felt at the commutation found expression when at 8:30 AM a mob shouting "Pay the governor a call" started marching toward Slaton's mansion, six miles away.[89] The mob broke into hardware stores along the way in search of guns. Police Chief Beavers along with 50 mounted men confronted the mob halfway to Slaton's mansion, turning back roughly half of the men. Which meant that 2,000 armed men were headed toward the governor's mansion. What they planned to do had become apparent after another mob hanged the governor in effigy in the town square. Around the effigy's neck hung a sign proclaiming, "John M. Slaton, King of the Jews and Traitor Governor of Georgia."[90] Only the state militia and its machine guns and the fact that Slaton declared martial law saved him from the rage of the mob and the noose they had prepared for him.

The reaction to the commutation followed along the lines already established by the publicity campaign to save Frank. Slaton received "hosannas from the national press," and the *New York Times* led the way, proclaiming that if Governor Slaton

> looks beyond the boundaries of the State of Georgia, he can know and feel to how high a place he has raised himself in the esteem and admiration of the whole country. . . . Governor Slaton has saved Georgia from herself. He has made his name illustrious."[91]

Needless to say, the *New York Times* did not articulate the feelings of the majority of Georgians. That job fell to Tom Watson, who, like Hugh Dorsey, claimed that the governor's decision had undermined the rule of law. Watson once again brought up the issue of conflict of interest, claiming that "Either his firm should have withdrawn from the case, or he should have withdrawn from the firm."[92] But the big issue was the betrayal of the people of Georgia who had elected Slaton to office. Instead of representing the interests of the people who had elected him, Slaton sold out to the rich Jews from New York. The real issue, as Watson framed it, was money. "Jew money has debased us, bought us and sold us—and laughs at us."[93] In Watson's eyes, Slaton's commutation of Frank's sentence abolished the rule of law in Georgia establishing in its place "One law for the rich and another for the poor."[94] According to the new law those with "Unlimited Money and Invisible Power," can prey on young Georgia girls with impunity because "they have established the precedent in Georgia that no Jew shall suffer capital punishment for a crime committed on a Gentile."[95]

Watson and his readers found this state of affairs intolerable, but when confronted with the question of "what are the people to do?" the only answer Watson could come up with was "Lynch law": "Hereafter, let no man reproach the South with Lynch law: let him remember the unendurable provocation; and let him say whether Lynch law is better than no law at all."[96]

Watson was articulating the feelings of a significant percentage of the population of Georgia: a mob of 200 men opened fire on the governor's mansion at two o'clock in the morning of June 22, 1915, Slaton's last day in office. This was just the beginning of a long day for the outgoing governor. When Governor Slaton left the capitol after giving his farewell address, a mob descended on his car shouting "Lynch him!" At this point a man in the mob tried to assassinate the governor.

The governor was able to escape from the mob, but he did not return to his mansion. Instead, he and his wife escaped by train to New York City, where upon his arrival, he checked into the Waldorf Astoria hotel and held a press conference at which he was "accorded . . . the sort of welcome usually reserved for war heroes."[97]

In a move that seemed calculated to confirm the citizens of the state of Georgia in their suspicion that Slaton had sold out to New York money, Slaton and his wife then celebrated a night on the town with William Randolph Hearst after a dinner party at the publisher's palatial apartment. After a summer-long vacation and cross-country train trip, the Slatons joined up

with the Hearsts at San Simeon, Hearst's version of Xanadu on the California coast. From there, the Slatons sailed to Hawaii. If this was political exile, the Slatons seemed to be enjoying it.

As the stories of Slaton being feted by the rich New Yorkers filtered back to Georgia, the outrage spiked upward once again. The Georgians who were outraged at the commutation of Frank's sentence were even more outraged at the welcome their traitorous governor received in New York. A group of 150 Marriettans joined together on the day the commutation was announced to form the Knights of Mary Phagan and vowed revenge on both Slaton and Frank. Around the same time a smaller much more influential group of men came to the same conclusion and hatched a plan that was nothing if not audacious. They planned to abduct Frank from the state prison farm in Milledgeville, transport him halfway across the state, and then hang him in Marietta, Mary Phagan's home town. Tom Watson was informed of the conspiracy to murder Frank and kept up the drumbeat of publicity throughout the summer of 1915. On August 12, 1915, in response to a blatantly pro-Frank documentary produced by Marcus Loew, Watson wrote: "Let the rich Jews beware!. . . the next Jew who does what Frank did is going to get exactly the same thing that we give to negro rapists!"[98]

On August 17, the cabal carried out its threat. Frank was abducted from the state prison farm in Milledgeville, transported to Marietta and hanged. The lynching of Leo Frank set off an orgy of vituperation in the press of the sort the nation had not seen since the hanging of John Brown. Newspaper after newspaper condemned the South, in the words of the *Chicago Tribune*, as "a region of illiteracy, blatant self-righteousness, cruelty and violence. Until it is improved by the infusion of better blood and better ideas it will remain a reproach and a danger to the American Republic."[99] "If Georgia approves lynching," opined the *New York Times*, "then honors bestowed upon the lynchers would attest to the shameless courage of the Georgia public and its willingness to defy public opinion in the other States of the Union."[100] And for good measure, the *Akron Beacon Journal* added, "Georgia is a good place for every decent man and woman to stay away from."[101]

The outrage continued to grow in New York. Twenty thousand Jews showed up for a protest meeting at the Cooper Union, a crowd which overflowed the hall onto the surrounding streets. At a meeting at Faneuil Hall in Boston, Jews heard speeches whose rhetoric was "equaled in radicalism only in the days before the Civil War" and resurrected memories of the abolitionists.[102] Fired by this sort of rhetoric the crowds demanded retaliation, and suggestions ranged from boycotting peaches and Coca-Cola to promoting guerrilla warfare. Groups of detectives were dispatched to Marietta but they uncovered nothing because, "Every stranger who comes into town is under observation the moment he arrives. The surveillance is not obtrusive, but it is unmistakable. [The town's] mood is one of determination to protect the men

who, in its eyes, executed the law after it had been trampled on. It is resolved that not a hair on their heads shall be harmed."[103]

Tom Watson remained defiant in his defense of the lynching: "In putting the sodomite murderer to death, the Vigilance committee has done what the Sheriff would have done, if Slaton had not been of the same mould as Benedict Arnold. Let Jew libertines take notice. Georgia is not for sale to rich criminals."[104] Watson's defiance coupled with the fact that no one was indicted for Frank's murder caused *The Boston Post* to wonder, "Is Georgia in America?"[105]

Sobered by what had happened and now relieved of its duties as what amounted to Frank's propaganda ministry, *The New York Times* tried to make sense of Frank's killing and the role it had played in bringing it about. In an article entitled "Frank Lynching due to Suspicion and Prejudice," *Times* reporter Charles Thompson finally got to talk "honestly about the sentiment of Georgia,"[106] a verdict which implied that hitherto that had not been the case at the *Times*. Thompson gave three reasons for the lynching:

> First—the [citizens of Georgia] believed that the Jews of the country, hitherto not the object of any hostility or dislike, had banded themselves together to save a criminal because he belonged to their race and religion and thus ranged themselves in opposition to men of other races and religions. Against this belief no argument was effective, no denial was listened to.
>
> Second—The bitter resentment over what everybody in Georgia to whom this correspondent has talked calls "outside interference": and this does not mean only the "interference" of the New York newspapers by a long shot, though Tom Watson has done his level best to make it appear that the New York newspapers are attempting to govern the state of Georgia.
>
> Third—And this is the thing which turned the smoldering fire into a raging flame and maddened men who were merely angered—it is believed from one end of the State to the other that Governor Slaton was Frank's lawyer and pardoned his client after every court had upheld that client's conviction. The ignorant believed that Slaton was bribed, or that at best he received as Frank's lawyer a share of the fee paid to his firm: the more intelligent believe that he was merely influenced in his judgment by the fact that Frank was his firm's client.[107]

Thompson's article was a rebuke to Adoph Ochs, who was chagrined by what he read because it implied that Tom Watson was right and that ultimately it was the overreaction of influential Jews like Ochs which had led to Frank's hanging. Ochs had gone against his own better judgment in putting the *Times* at the service of Frank's cause and "The *Times*. . . had overstepped its bounds by persistently editorializing on his behalf."[108] Ochs had ignored

repeated warnings, at first from his stringer in Atlanta and then from W. T. Anderson, editor of the *Macon Telegraph*, a newspaper which had consistently opposed lynching. Anderson had written to Ochs on behalf "of the decent people of Georgia," claiming that "It was the outside interference of the Jews, led by the *Times*, that had made it necessary to lynch Frank. The Jews in fact were responsible for what had happened to him. . . . The men responsible are the Strauses, the Ochses, the Pulitizers and other leading Jews of New York and the East generally. These men now hold the comfort, safety, peace and happiness of the Jews of Georgia in the hollow of their hands."[109]

Ochs was shaken by the rebuke. Not only had he turned the *Times* into "a Jewish newspaper" by his naked advocacy of Frank's case, he had brought about Frank's death as well. Confronted with these arguments at an editorial meeting on the Frank case, Ochs appeared "wan and subdued."[110] As one of Ochs associates put it at this meeting, the "simple facts" of the case were inescapable:

> Mr. Ochs was the prominent newspaper publisher in the country. He was a Jew. The *Times* had printed more stuff for Frank than any other newspaper and [had] a special correspondent in Georgia. . . a majority of the people in Georgia approved of the law having been taken into the hands of the mob because they believed that money had been used to thwart justice.[111]

Unable to counter the charges leveled against him and the *Times*, Ochs decided that the *Times* was going to drop the Frank case. Ochs then spent the next few days at home "nursing his nerves."[112]

In his own post-mortem, Tom Watson claimed that the Frank case was punishment for the sinful economic exploitation of children. "The National Pencil Factory, owned by Frank's people, fought our Child Labor bill fiercely and helped to kill it—and in God's mysterious way, it cost the Superintendent his life."[113] In closing ranks behind Frank, the nation's wealthy Jews had "blown the breath of life into the Monster of Race Hatred; and this Frankenstein, whom you created at such enormous expense, WILL HUNT YOU DOWN!"[114]

As a result of the Frank case, the Jews declared war on the South. Louis Marshall of the AJC tried to get Watson tried for obscenity, but Watson remained defiant, informing the attorney general "you cannot remove me from the Southern district of Georgia. If I have to give up my life for having incurred the savage hatred of the rich Jews, it will be given up right here in the same region where my ancestors gave up theirs."[115] Marshall's attempt not only failed, in failing it probably bolstered Watson's political career, contributing to his eventual election to the United States Senate. It backfired in other ways as well.

On page one of the September 2 edition of *The Jeffersonian*, Watson called for the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan. "The North can rail itself hoarse,

if it chooses to do so, but if [it] doesn't quit meddling with our business and getting commutations for assassins and rapists who have pull, another Ku Klux Klan may be organized to restore HOME RULE."[116] The Klan, which Nathan Bedford Forrest had disbanded in 1869, had experienced a surge of renewed interest when D. W. Griffith turned Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* into *The Birth of a Nation*, which premiered in January 1915, when the clamor over the Frank case had reached its peak. The NAACP had tried to block distribution of the film, but those efforts came to naught when Griffith persuaded his college classmate Woodrow Wilson to view the film in the White House.

Less than two weeks before *The Birth of a Nation* opened in Atlanta, William Joseph Simmons and 34 other men climbed to the top of Stone Mountain, Georgia, and ignited a giant cross which had been soaked in pitch and kerosene, announcing the rebirth of the Klan. Simmons had already filed a petition with Georgia's secretary of state on October 16, signaling his intention to resurrect the Klan and become its imperial wizard. Leo Frank's role became apparent when it was revealed that several of the 34 men who climbed Stone Mountain that Thanksgiving evening in November 1915 were members of the Knights of Mary Phagan. The restored Klan reached the height of its power at the Democratic convention of 1924, but it too fell into decline as a result of a young woman's murder.

In 1926, David C. Stephenson, who had ousted William Simmons from the leadership of the Klan and was at that time Imperial Wizard, was convicted of second-degree murder in the death of Madge Oberholzer, whom with the help of other Klansmen, he had kidnapped, raped and abducted to Chicago from Irvington, Indiana. The case, which included some revolting perversions, created a widespread revulsion against the Ku Klux Klan. Throughout the 1930s, its influence weakened irreparably. In 1944, it was formally dissolved.[117]

The death of Mary Phagan led to the birth of other organizations as well. Leo Frank was president of the Atlanta chapter of B'nai B'rith. After his death, B'nai B'rith founded the Anti-Defamation League to combat anti-Semitism in the United States. The Anti-Defamation League would go on to work closely with the NAACP. Murray Friedman calls the Frank case "the defining moment in the partnership between blacks and Jews" even though he admits later that the case "set Jews and blacks against each other."[118] Friedman, who spent most of his adult life working for the American Jewish Committee, does his best to play down the frankly racist statements which Frank's attorneys made during his trial. He also mentions the fact that the NAACP "expressed resentment at what they saw as an organized effort to implicate Conley simply because he was black."[119] He also mentions that the AJC's Louis Marshall joined the board of the NAACP and served on its legal defense committee as a result of the Frank lynching. The aftermath of the Frank lynching brought Herbert Seligman on board the NAACP as well, as its "new Jewish director

of pubicity." Together with Joel Spingarn, these men "campaigned relentlessly against lynching" and "helped to awaken the nation's conscience."[120]

Friedman's book on the Black-Jewish Alliance was written, however, because another interpretation of events had arisen calling the very existence of that alliance into question. In their book *Plural but Equal*, black revisionists Harold Cruse and David Levering Lewis called the traditional narrative of Black-Jewish cooperation into question by accusing the Jews of promoting a hidden agenda, according to which organizations like the NAACP used front men like W. E. B DuBois to destroy any black leader not acceptable to Jewish interests. Cruse accuses Louis Marshall in particular "of using the NAACP to 'salve the bitter defeat he had experienced in the Leo Frank case.'"[121]

If so, then Marshall's move to the NAACP takes on a sinister hue. Suspicions of this sort first arose during the NAACP's attack on Booker T. Washington. They would deepen in the wake of the Frank case when the NAACP devoted even more of its energies to destroying Marcus Garvey. According to Cruse's reading of these events, there was no Black-Jewish Alliance. What went by that name was really covert Jewish revenge on the South for the role it played in the Frank lynching. The simplest way to visit revenge on the South was the plan first articulated by John Brown: bring the war to Africa by turning the nation's Negroes into revolutionaries. That meant destroying any black leader who wanted to steer his people in another direction. That meant destroying Booker T. Washington, because he wanted to turn the Negro into a skilled craftsman. And it meant destroying Marcus Garvey because he wanted to awaken in the American Negro a racial consciousness incompatible with the integration which Jewish organizations like the NAACP seemed determined to impose, as Cruse claimed, on everyone but themselves.

Tom Watson died in Washington of a cerebral hemorrhage on September 26, 1922. At his funeral in Georgia, the most impressive floral arrangement was an eight-foot-high cross of red roses sent by the Klan.

Chapter Six

The Spread of Bolshevism

When A. I. Shingarov, a member of the Russian parliamentary delegation sent to London at the beginning of 1916 to arrange for loans for the Czarist government, he was told by the French Baron Rothschild, "A great number of influential Jewish personalities now live in America and over there they don't like you." Jacob Schiff was one of those "influential Jewish personalities." Schiff's hatred of Russia had reached such proportions that he would lend money to England and France only on the condition that none of it would end up in Russian hands. "We are willing to lend money to England and France," Schiff told the French MP Bache, "if we can receive some assurance that Russia is willing to do something to resolve the Jewish question. Otherwise you'll be taking in money for Russia, and we have no desire to give Russia anything."[1]

The *Jewish Encyclopedia* claims that Schiff "exerted pressure on other banks, so that Russia didn't get any money." Schiff was not alone among the Jews in supporting revolutionary activity, nor were the recipients of that support invariably revolutionaries. According to an entry in his diary in May of 1916, the French ambassador to Russia, Maurice Paleologue, claimed that the Jews supported Rasputin as well. "A pack of Jewish financiers and dirty speculators, Rubinstein, Manuse and others," he wrote, "made a pact with him [Rasputin] and support him generously. According to their directions, he sends messages to the ministers, to the bank and to various influential persons."[2] Rasputin became, as a result, "a friend and benefactor to the Jews and supported without contradiction my attempts to improve their situation."[3]

The rumors about collaboration between Jewish revolutionaries and the German government began to surface. "In 1915," Salo Baron wrote, "the most shameful anti-Jewish propaganda was started in the army; all Jews in Poland and Galicia were declared the spies and enemies of Russia. A disgusting pogrom broke out in Molodechno. It has been established that this Jew-baiting originated at headquarters, and, of course, it could not but contribute to the disintegration of the army, in which there were about half a million Jews."[4] Baron is adverting here to the fact that Jews were considered a fifth column

both behind the lines and at the front. The English ambassador assumed that the wealthy Jewish Banker D. L. Rubinstein, who was later arrested for treason, was working for the German secret service.[5] According to the report issued by Police chief K.D. Kafow on January 9, 1916

> Jews engaged openly in revolutionary propaganda, but also in addition to criminal agitation . . . engaged in the artificial inflation of the price of daily necessities, and the withdrawal of money out of circulation. [The Jews] tried to create insecurity about the stability of the Russian currency.[6]

On the western front the Jews were suspected of being German spies: "the word on the street was that Jewish soldiers were cowards and deserters and that the Jewish population was full of spies and traitors."[7] When the army attacked, the Jews always dropped back. When the army retreated, the Jews were always in the forefront. The Jews often said that they hoped Germany would win the war.[8] In evaluating the reports, Solschenizyn concludes that, in spite of the bravery of individual Jews, "It would be unrealistic to conclude that all of these accusations were nothing but fairy tales."[9] Unable to ignore the rumors any longer, the Czar demanded a census of the Jews fighting on the western front, a move which alienated the Jews who had been loyal. He then ordered Jews removed from the front, which increased the alienation, driving the Jewish soldiers into the arms of the Zionists and revolutionaries.

The Germans did whatever they could to foster treason among the Jews of the east and tried to portray the war as a crusade against the last despotic and openly anti-Semitic regime in Europe. At long last Russia would be punished for the pogroms of Kishinyev and Gomel, the philosopher Samuel Hugo Bergmann, a Zionist, noted in his diary. He thanked the Lord that as an officer serving in the Austro-Hungarian army on the Russian front he would be able personally to avenge his people.[10]

Jewish enthusiasm for the cause of Germany during World War I knew no bounds. In 1915 Lissauer wrote a poem entitled "The Hymn of Hate against England" which was quickly put to music and became an immediate success. The "Hymn" made hatred of England a popular emotion in Germany. But Lissauer came to regret the song when he had to leave Germany for exile when the Nazis came to power. German Jews responded enthusiastically to the war, but Russian Jews had the opposite reaction, prompting many Russians to view all Jews as potential traitors. A German Jew by the name of Fritz Haber, a chemist and friend of Albert Einstein, responded to the Kaiser's call by inventing poison gas to be used against allied troops. He also developed Zyklon B, the deadly gas that was used on Jews during World War II.[11]

Many Russian Jews defected and began working for the Germans. According to Elon, the "Russian-born Nahum Goldmann, a future president of the World Zionist Organization, joined the German War Ministry as a propagandist.[12] (Two years later, Goldmann had changed his mind and

wrote in Martin Buber's pro-Zionist journal *Der Jude*, that Jews should have nothing to do with the war.) Max Bodenheimer became one of their most effective propagandists by repeating "his favorite argument to the effect that Jews had long been pioneers of German culture and commerce in the east. And while the mass of Russian Jews might well be primitive and lice-ridden, direct German rule would have a salutary effect on them." Bodenheimer recommended that the Germans promote "Jewish national self-determination in the East," lending credence to the Russians who claimed that Jews were a fifth column in league with the Germans. Not surprisingly, the Zionists living in the Pale of the Settlement "responded positively to this initiative, drafting an appeal to Jews of the East to rise up in arms against their oppressors.[13] As a result when large parts of the Pale came under German rule, Russian Jews welcomed the Germans as "liberators."[14] The Russian authorities, in turn, responded by deporting half a million Jews to the interior.

When Fritz Haber's poison gas failed to rout the Russians on the eastern front, the Germans turned to black operations involving their Jewish fifth column. The German Jew Schiff had supported the revolutionaries for some time, and at this point the Germans turned to Lenin, who was transported across Germany in a sealed train with the collaboration of German officialdom like a "bacillus," to use Winston Churchill's phrase. Most of the 160 passengers on the famous sealed train which arrived at the Finland station were Jews. Trotsky, who was not on the train, returned to Russia bearing an American passport and a large amount of money as just one of hundreds of Jews who streamed into Russia from the United States in the wake of the Bolshevik coup of October 1917. In London alone, 10,000 Jews expressed the desire to return to Russia.[15]

Once Trotsky and his Jewish friends unpacked their bags, they quickly found their way into influential positions in the new government. Jews were represented in the new government out of all proportion to their numbers in the population at large.[16] Much has been made, pro and con, of the numbers of Jews among the Bolsheviks, but the percentage of Jews in the leadership of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionary Party and the Anarchists was higher than in the Bolsheviks. The most significant detail, however, invariably gets left out, namely, that when it became apparent that the Bolsheviks were the winners in Russia's civil war, large numbers of Jews abandoned the other revolutionary parties and streamed into the Communist party to take the positions that formed the administrative heart of the new regime. A glaring example of this, especially in light of the notorious relationship between Jews and agriculture in Russia, could be seen in the newly formed Executive Committee of the Farmers; three of 30 committee members were farmers but seven were Jews.[17]

Before long Bolshevism began to be seen in Russian eyes as a Jewish phenomenon. In the ubiquitous lines outside stores, "the word Jew was on

everyone's lips." When Zinoviev and Kamenev were nominated for prominent government posts, voices were heard shouting, "Tell us their real names." The revolution of February 1917 was Russian not Jewish, but once the Christian bulwark against revolution fell, Jews took over, just as the Jesuits at *La Civiltà Cattolica* had predicted. Solschenizyn agreed with the Jesuits' assessment when he claimed that the revolution succeeded because "the Orthodox faith was too weak in us."

When the Bolsheviks finally succeeded in taking power in October 1917, Jacob Schiff, "the most well known leader of the anti-Russian forces in North America," expressed his approval, saying "I have always been a foe of Russian Autocracy, which had persecuted my co-religionists mercilessly. Allow me at this moment to congratulate the Russian people for the noble deed which they have brought to completion."[19]

Schiff, who had actively financed the revolutionaries for years, was not the only Jew who rejoiced. A Methodist Pastor by the name of Simon who happened to be living in Petrograd (aka St. Petersburg) at the time of the revolution testified before the American Senate that "Soon after the February revolution of 1917 groups of Jews were everywhere to be seen in Petrograd, on benches, soap boxes and other stands giving speeches. . . . The Jews had limited right to live in Petrograd, but after the Revolution they came in hordes, and the majority of the agitators were Jews."[20]

Once the communist hold on power was secure, Jews streamed into the new administration. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* said that "for the first time in Russian history Jews occupied high posts in the central and local administrations."[21] When the fledgling Bolshevik regime was threatened with a dire financial crisis, the Jews raised the money which rescued Soviet Communism at that crucial juncture. In April 1918, 22 million rubles were raised in the Moscow synagogue, Schiff and Rothschild contributing a million rubles each. Jewish ethnicity trumped class when it came to preserving the revolution against the hated Czarists.

Some Jews claim that Bolshevism wasn't Jewish because the Bolsheviks weren't religious. According to Nora Levin,

> Having abandoned their own origins and identity, yet not finding, or sharing, or being fully admitted to Russian life (except in the world of the party), the Jewish Bolsheviks found their ideological home in revolutionary universalism. They dreamt of a classless and stateless society supported by Marxist faith and doctrine that transcended the particularities and burdens of Jewish existence. Such Jews exhibited vehement hostility toward other Jews such as Bundists, Zionists, and observant Jews who proudly proclaimed or expressed their Jewishness, and became extremely zealous officials in the new regime.[22]

Trotsky, according to this reading of Jewishness, which vacillates conveniently between religion and ethnicity, depending on the circumstances, wasn't a Jew:

> Leon Trotsky, born Lev Davidovich Bronstein, a central figure in the early years of the Bolshevik Revolution, was typical of the Russified, Bolshevik Jew. In his autobiography, he speaks about "sailing away" from his petit bourgeois environment with its "instinct of acquisition," and his brief, meaningless contact with Hebrew, the Bible, and religious tradition. He was aware of national inequalities, the restrictions on Jews and other minorities, and the violent anti-Semitism of the Black Hundreds, but these "were lost among all the other phases of social injustice" and "intense hatred of the existing order, of injustice, of tyranny." "The national question [he wrote] so important in the life of Russia, had practically no personal significance for me. Even in my early youth, the national bias and national prejudices had only bewildered my sense of reason, in some cases stirring in me nothing but disdain and even a moral nausea." In a debate with Vladimir Medem, a Bundist leader, in 1903, when Medem asked him, "You consider yourself either a Russian or a Jew?" Trotsky answered, "No, you are wrong. I am a Social Democrat and only that."[23]

By rejecting their Jewish heritage, Bolsheviks like Trotsky felt that they had become models for the Jew of the future. They felt that their fellow Jews should emulate them by becoming "Jews by family origin only" and as a result should feel "no special ties to other Jews or any interest in specific Jewish problems." According to this view, anti-Semitism was "a disease of capitalism which would disappear with the destruction of capitalism."

Solzehnitsyn, however, claims that Trotsky became an idol to the American Jews "not for no reason but precisely because he was a Jew."[24] Trotsky was "the Prometheus of October" not because he belonged "as such" but because "he was a child of this promethean people, who could have done much more for humanity if he hadn't been chained to the rock of stupid evil." Trotsky's Jewishness brings up the issue of collective responsibility. If Jews can disclaim responsibility for communism by claiming that Trotsky wasn't a "real Jew," can't the Germans do the same thing, by disowning Hitler? Hitler, after all, had been born in Austria, not Germany. Couldn't the Germans just as easily say, "these weren't real Germans, they were just the scum."[25]

Salo Baron acknowledges Jewish participation in the Communist party but plays down its significance, claiming that it was only "anti-Semites in and outside Russia [who] glibly equated communism with the alleged Jewish world conspiracy."[26] Baron's explanation for Jewish predominance in the party is 1) oppression and 2) higher education levels: "Many Jewish intellectuals were attracted to its professed international ideals, as well as to its socialist radicalism which promised to put an end to the tsarist oppression."[27] If so,

the oppression had consequences. Even in invoking Jewish suffering, Barnes adverts to the dark side of Jewish participation in the new communist regime.

> Perhaps in subconscious retaliation for the many years of suffering at the hands of the Russian police, a disproportionate number of Jews joined the new Bolshevik secret service. The impression these facts made upon the ordinary Russian is rightly stressed by Leonard Shapiro: "For the most prominent and colorful figure after Lenin was Trotsky, in Petrograd the dominant and hated figure was Zinoviev, while anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator."[28]

Solschenizyn claims that the Cheka, whose nominal head was the Pole Felix Derzhinsky, was run by Jews and foreigners like Latvians because Russians were reluctant to torture other Russians. After a visit to the Kremlin, one Russian exclaimed, "Everywhere I looked I saw, Latvians, Latvians, and Jews, Jews, Jews. I was never an anti-Semite, but here their number was so obvious."[29] Jews were heavily involved in food supply, and under the leadership of Lazar Kaganovich, in his campaign to starve the Ukrainian farmers into submission, "the Jews got to satisfy their sexual desires while stealing grain."[30]

Jews were also overrepresented in the party that killed the Czar and his family. After the English denied political asylum to the Czar his fate was sealed. The Bolsheviks saw him as a symbol of the possibility of counterrevolution among the Russians, who still venerated him as their ruler. Significant in this regard is not only the Jew Sverdlov's avidity to do the killing but the off-handed remarks off Trotsky, who didn't know about the murder of the Czar and his family until after the fact. "I checked the business off in my mind and didn't ask anymore questions. . . . The execution of the Czar's family was not only necessary to terrorize the enemy and to take away all hope but it was also necessary to shake up our own ranks as well to show them that there was no turning back now, that we were going to have either total victory or absolute defeat."[31]

The Jews would suffer for their deeds, first at the hand of Stalin in the purges of 1937 and then at the hands of Hitler, but both events were only an indication of how eagerly the Communists had initially welcomed Jews into their ranks. "The Bolshevik ruling class had an urgent need for executive assistance, which would remain loyal without question. And the Bolsheviks found many of those people among the young, secular Jews, in concert with Slavic and international comrades."[32]

During the 1930s, it became taboo to mention Jewish participation in the Bolshevik regime, but during the 1920s, the fact was too obvious to be denied and a source of pride to the world's Jews. "If the participation of the Jews in the revolution is tabooed," the poet Naum Korshavin wrote, "it will become

impossible to talk about the revolution at all. There were times when one was proud of this participation. . . . The Jews took part in the Revolution in numbers far out of proportion to their numbers in the population at large." The simple fact is that "Thousands of Jews joined the Bolsheviks, because they saw in them the most determined defenders of the Revolution and the most reliable internationalists." In "the lower segments of the party there was an overwhelming majority of Jews." D. S. Pamink emphasized that "The birth of Bolshevism was the result of peculiarities of Russian history . . . but the organization of Bolshevism arose in part from the activity of Jewish commissars."[33] The Socialist S. Zinjulnikow wrote, "At the beginning of the revolution the Jews. . . served as the basis for the new regime."[34] The best authority on the issue was Lenin himself, who according to the testimony of Semyon Diamantstein, thanked Jews for their efforts in saving the Communist regime:

> The Jews, who made up the mid-intelligentsia in Russian cities came to the service of the revolution. They broke the general strike which confronted us right after the October revolution and which was very dangerous for us. The Jewish element. . . sabotaged this sabotage and rescued the revolution, when it was in danger.[35]

Lenin, according to Diamantstein, "didn't think it was prudent to mention this in the press . . . but he did emphasize the fact that it was thanks to this reserve of well educated and more or less sober and intelligent new civil servants that he succeeded in taking over the state apparatus and in restructuring it."[36]

Lenin, who was instrumental in making anti-Semitism illegal in the Soviet Union, recorded a speech attacking anti-Semitism, but the speech was never printed because the revolution now depended on Jews, especially in middle management, and Lenin didn't want the speech published because it would have substantiated the claims of the enemies of the revolution. It was proof that the Whites were correct in claiming that Jews and Bolsheviks were identical.[37] Many Jewish writers deny this, claiming that only Jewish "renegades" played a leading role in Bolshevism, but the revolutionary spirit more than religious observance occupied the mainstream of Jewish consciousness throughout the ages. The most significant connection between Judaism and Bolshevism is Messianic politics, promoting the idea of social justice leading to heaven on earth.

The subsequent revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary reinforced the connection between Jews and Bolshevism which had been established in Russia. "In Hungary Jews made up 95 percent of the leadership in the Bolshevik movement" even though "the legal situation of the Jews in Hungary was free of the limitations in Russia. The Jews already had positions in Hungarian cultural and economic life that could lead one to talk about Jewish hegemony."[38] Ethnicity trumped class even though it contradicted

ideology. Accused of treason, Dmitry Rubenstein, the wealthy Jewish banker, moved to Stockholm, where he became the financial agent for the Bolsheviks.[39] Revolution spread westward in the wake of war, and as in the east Jews were, rightly or not, universally perceived as the agents of revolution. As one observer put it, "not all Jews are Bolsheviks and not all Bolsheviks are Jews, but it doesn't take long to figure out how eagerly the Jews took part in the abuse of Russia at the hands of the Bolsheviks."[40] In the end, the four years of misery and bloodshed that characterized World War I led not to peace but to decades of revolution and even bloodier counterrevolution.

REVOLUTION SPREADS WEST

As the Empires of the East collapsed during the final year of the Great War, revolution spread west. On November 5, 1918 the German navy mutinied in Kiel, refusing to fire on the British fleet. Five days later, the Kaiser fled to Holland, where he announced his abdication. As in France and Russia, the revolution was welcomed initially with optimism as the German version of the Glorious Revolution. Elon mentions German revolutionaries who "wished the uprising to emulate the English revolution, the 'model' of all true upheavals, which had abolished old idols without brutally smashing them and had respected individual rights. A mature and sensible people should now do likewise."[41]

As in France and Russia, an orderly revolution on the English model proved elusive. Anarchy spread in the wake of a lost war; the new regime panicked and lashed out at revolutionaries, invariably Jews from the east. Demobbed soldiers murdered Rosa Luxembourg because "she embodied the mythical threat of what was called 'Jewish Bolshevism.'"[42] The disproportionate participation of Jews in the German Soviets or workers' councils that sprang up after the war

> provided grist for the mills of conservatives and anti-Semites. The visibility of Jews on the soldiers' councils gave rise not only to the legend that the revolution was part of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy but also to the assertion that Germany had lost the war only because the Jews had "stabbed it in the back."[43]

Elon says German Soviets "featured a disproportionate number of Jews" but contends "the reason was simple: there were relatively few Jewish army officers and, among the lower ranks, Jews were generally better educated than others. They naturally attracted attention as public speakers."[44]

As in Russia, Jews filled the vacuum after the collapse of the Reich, reaching "the highest positions of authority" in the Weimar Republic.[45] Proclaimed on November 9, 1918, the Weimar Republic quickly gained a reputation as the "*Judenrepublik*." Twenty-four Jews were elected to the Reichstag, but more importantly, Jews became even more prominent in German culture.

This would not have been a problem if the Jews had, as Mendelssohn recommended, continued the cult of Goethe, but Jewish dominance during the Weimar Republic often meant redefining German culture as something most Germans found repugnant. Freud's subversion of psychology was one example; Schoenberg's subversion of tonality was another. Redefinitions of the canons of artistic expression went hand in hand with redefinitions of sexual morality. "Berlin," says Elon, "was the epicenter of Weimar culture. . . vibrant with sex and intellect."[46] Magnus Hirschfeld was one of the Weimar Republic's most famous sexual revolutionaries, as was Wilhelm Reich. Elon does not mention the resentment Jewish cultural subversives like Hirschfeld and Reich created; nor does he mention that Hitler was able to put this resentment to political use. Hitler used Hirschfeld as the example of the Jew bent on subverting the morals of the German nation. If the homosexual Englishman Christopher Isherwood, who went to Berlin in the '30s to have sex with German boys, felt Hirschfeld's *Institut fuer Sexualwissenschaft* was a "scientific" front for a homosexual bordello, it's not difficult to imagine that the average German thought that it was an example of what the National Socialists decried as "*Kulturbolschewismus.*"

In 1918, most Germans were more concerned with ordinary Bolshevism. On November 9, three weeks after his release from jail for organizing a strike at a machinegun factory, Kurt Eisner, a Jew from Berlin, got 50,000 workers to walk off their jobs in Munich, the capital of Catholic Bavaria. By evening, the king of Bavaria had fled, and those workers controlled the Wittelsbach palace, most army barracks, and all government buildings. Eisner then declared Bavaria a Soviet republic and became its prime minister. By then, the average Russian knew that the Bolsheviks were collaborating closely with the German government. Eisner's critics soon referred to Bavaria as the "Jewish republic," a sign its days were numbered. Munich's wealthier Jews, fearing reprisals, distanced themselves from Eisner, who could not go abroad without a bodyguard. When he realized his government was destined to fall, Eisner decided to resign, but on his way to the Bavarian assembly on February 21, 1919, he was assassinated. The assailant "was a young ultranationalist aristocrat by the name of Anton Arco-Valley who had recently been thrown out of a proto-Nazi organization for having concealed the fact that his mother was Jewish."[47]

In the ensuing weeks, panic was followed by anarchy as soldiers, still armed with weapons from the war, roamed Munich terrorizing the local population with random shootings and systematic looting. "Nowhere," Elon writes, "were Jewish revolutionaries so visible and prominent as they were in Bavaria. . . . Conservatives saw them as so many Dantons and Robespierres. Anti-Semites reviled them as 'Jew pigs' and Russian agents."[48]

On April 14, another Jew came to power. Eugene Levine, the new prime minister, was Russian born, even more alien to Bavaria than the Berlin-bred

Eisner. Imitating the Bolsheviks, Levine rounded up counter-revolutionaries for execution. Between Eisner's assassination and May, when the White Guards, supported by troops sent by the government in Berlin, began the bloody counter-revolution, Munich was gripped by lawlessness. The anarchy was blamed largely on Jewish revolutionaries who were seen as puppets of the Bolshevik regime in Russia. Levine was eventually executed, but the reign of terror he established as the hallmark of the "Jewish republic" had lasting effects. "The existential panic it left behind corrupted ethical standards, eroded manners, convulsed culture and polarized society."[49]

In April 1919, when Levine came to power, all diplomats left Munich, except the papal nuncio, Eugenio Pacelli, who then became the target of revolutionary activity. The nunciature was attacked in a drive-by shooting that pockmarked it with 55 bullet holes. Soon, revolutionaries broke into the nuncio's residence. Pacelli confronted the intruders, who leveled a gun at his head and demanded money and food. "I have neither money nor food," Pacelli replied, exhibiting remarkable *sang froid*, "For as you know, I have given all to the poor of the city."[50] After Pacelli reminded the revolutionaries it was never a good idea to murder a diplomat, they withdrew, but not before throwing a gun at him, denting his pectoral cross. Rychlak says many of the revolutionaries, impressed by Pacelli's courage, returned days later to apologize. They also returned the automobile they had stolen.

Shortly thereafter, Pacelli visited the Wittelsbach palace, headquarters of the Levine government. In a report to Cardinal Gaspari, the Vatican Secretary of State, Pacelli said he came across a group of women there, led by "Levine's lover, a young Russian, a Jew, and divorced."[51] The wretched excesses of the Soviet Republic in Munich, he continued, "outraged the people and caused a dramatic increase in anti-Semitism." As in Russia, all Jews were blamed for the excesses of the revolutionary few.

In a critique confected from materials gleaned from Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope*, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen claimed Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII, was guilty of anti-Semitism because he mentioned the leaders of the revolution in Bavaria were Russian Jews. As Goldhagen puts it, "the evidence of Pius XII's anti-Semitism comes from an unimpeachable source: Pius XII himself." Cornwell quotes Pacelli's letter describing a scene of "'absolute hell' from the Communist insurrection in Munich of April 1919."[52] Goldhagen then quotes Cornwell's translation of Pacelli's letter, referring to "a gang of young women of dubious appearance, Jews like all the rest of them, hanging around in all the offices with lecherous demeanor and suggestive smiles."[53]

Goldhagen considers this damning evidence, but perhaps not damning enough, because he embellished Cornwell's translation by adding the word "all" to the phrase "Jews like all the rest of them," which in Cornwell's book was simply "Jews like the rest of them." This would seem trivial except Goldhagen repeats the word "all" in quotes throughout his work, emphasizing that Pacelli

generalized from the Russian revolutionaries to "all" Jews. We know that was not Pacelli's intent because he never used the word "all." In fact, he never said, as Cornwell asserts, "Jews like the rest of them."

Cornwell's translation is itself false. In the original Italian, Pacelli described, *"una schiera di giovanni donne, dall'aspetto poco rassicurante, ebree come i primi, che stanno in tutti gli uffici, con arie provocanti e con sorrisi equivoci."* The key phrase is not "Jews like the rest of them" as Cornwell claims, and certainly not "Jews like all the rest of them" according to Goldhagen's ideologically motivated embellishment, but rather "Jews like the first group," "*ebree come i primi*." The only time the word "all" (tutti) appears, it refers to offices, "*tutti gli uffici*," not Jews. Goldhagen says Pacelli referred to "Jews like all the rest of them" when what Pacelli really said was "Jews like the first group," referring to people he had already mentioned. Goldhagen amplifies his statement later, claiming Pacelli avers "the Communist revolutionaries. . . were 'all' Jews." That's not what Pacelli said. Goldhagen uses the word "all" in quotes to back up his case, but he made it up.

After deliberately amplifying what was already a falsification of Pacelli's words, Goldhagen says "this passage," upon which virtually the entire weight of his proof rests, "is Pius XII's only relatively extensive utterance about Jews that has come to light."[54] Instead of considering Pacelli's voluminous writings, none of which remotely point to anti-Semitism and much of which indicate his efforts to save Jews, Goldhagen bases his argument on one mistranslated letter which he deliberately embellished, saying "it bears the stamp of authenticity, an expression of the then-future pope's true views of Jews." Goldhagen sanctimoniously assures us "it was not a fleeting opinion, a whimsical lapse into rank anti-Semitism, but an abiding sentiment that may be reflected in other similar statements, oral or written, the evidence of which would have expired with his interlocutors or would be secured in the locked archives of the Vatican."[55] In other words, the most damning evidence Goldhagen can muster is that there is no evidence. Failing to produce any evidence, Goldhagen assures the bewildered reader that "the evidence" is "secured in the locked archives of the Vatican."

The only evidence Goldhagen musters is a statement of fact—the Bavarian Soviet Republic was run by Russian Jews—which he altered to make it sound incriminating. Pacelli, according to Goldhagen's reading of this one letter, was the author of "vicious anti-Semitic stereotypes" virtually indistinguishable from "the kind that Julius Streicher would soon offer the German public in every issue of his notorious Nazi newspaper *Der Stuermer*."[56] Frustrated by his inability to make his case, Goldhagen thus makes up in invective and innuendo what he lacks in documentation. But in doing this, he unwittingly leads the reader to truth. "Implicit in Pacelli's letter," Goldhagen continues, "is the notion of Judeo-Bolshevism—the virtually axiomatic conviction among

Nazis, modern anti-Semites in general and within the Church itself that Jews were the principle bearers and even the authors of Bolshevism."[57]

Behind the equivalence between Nazism and Catholicism which Goldhagen tries to prove, another equivalence suddenly emerges, namely, the relationship between Jews and Bolshevism. In the heat of his passion to convict Pius XII, Goldhagen inadvertently introduces the issue that contextualizes Pacelli's letter in precisely the way Goldhagen does not want to contextualize it. As more than one commentator has noted, the main reason people were concerned about Jews during the 1920s is because they saw them, rightly or wrongly, as the forefront of the communist menace threatening Europe. Writing in *Outlook*, Mordecai Briemberg notes "numerous historians. . . have been struck by the fact that hatred of Jews is almost always coupled with hatred of communism."[58] Hitler realized early on that attacks on Jews alone reaped him no political benefits. The Jews had to be linked to Bolshevism precisely because German Jews had been so successful in assimilating. The perception that they were assimilated Germans meant they would only be perceived as a threat if they were linked with a menacing foreign ideology and a menacing foreign power, something like Russian communism.

By mentioning Bolshevism Goldhagen undermines his argument. Anti-Semitism during the 1920s in Europe was not directed against the existence of the Jews but rather against the behavior of Jews, who were widely seen as the force behind Bolshevism. Ignoring this, Goldhagen turns his guns on the Catholic Church, claiming, "For centuries the Catholic Church . . . harbored anti-Semitism at its core, as an integral part of its doctrine, its theology and its liturgy."[59] In other words, responsibility for the Holocaust is to be laid ultimately, not at the feet of of the Bolsheviks and not even at the feet of the Nazis, but at the feet of the Catholic Church that supposedly made the Nazis possible.

Goldhagen made similar claims in *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, which he later contradicted in *A Moral Reckoning*.[60] Both subtly exculpate the Nazis as the perpetrators of Jewish genocide and propose other candidates for that role—in the first instance, "ordinary Germans," in the second, "ordinary Catholics," but Pius XII in particular. Were the Jews murdered by "ordinary Germans" because they were German or by "ordinary Catholics" because they were Catholic? He can't have it both ways. Goldhagen is trapped by the extreme nature of his thesis in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* and put into a bind whereby he must repudiate the thesis of his first book in order to propose the thesis of his second book.

There are other problems. If Germans *qua* Germans were responsible for the Holocaust, Goldhagen has no way to explain why so many non-Germans in eastern Europe joined avidly in the killing of Jews once the Germans occupied their territory. Ruth Birn mentions the Arajs Kommando in Latvia as one example of a local, non-German ethnic group that was more avid to kill

Jews than the Nazis who ostensibly commanded them. If ordinary Catholics *qua* Catholics were responsible for the Holocaust, Goldhagen has no way to explain why Hitler persecuted Catholics, in particular Catholic clergy, from the moment he took power. The concentration camp at Dachau was full of German Catholic clergy, so much so that it evolved its own liturgical life, which, since bishops were interned there, included the ordination to the priesthood of Karl Leisner.

Goldhagen also states, "during the Weimar and Nazi period, anti-Communist diatribes and caricatures conflated Jews and Bolsheviks,"[61] without indicating that this conflation was not limited to Nazi propaganda. Most people were concerned about communism following World War I, and many felt Jews played a crucial role in spreading it. People resented Jews in the '20s primarily because of their behavior, their perceived connection with Bolshevism, and the perception that Jews as Bolsheviks promoted revolutionary activity throughout Europe. Even Hitler couldn't make his anti-Jewish diatribes stick without associating Jews with Bolshevism. By first mentioning "Judeo-Bolshevism" and then prohibiting further inquiry into the historical record, Goldhagen undermines his argument and simultaneously attempts to save it by declaring off limits the most significant locus of Jewish behavior. Instead he asserts apodictically, as Finkelstein points out, that

> anti-Jewish animus [is] "divorced from actual Jews," "fundamentally not a response to any objective evaluation of Jewish action," "independent of the Jews' nature and actions," etc. Indeed, according to Goldhagen, anti-Semitism is strictly a Gentile mental pathology: its "host domain" is "the mind."[62]

As a result "there can be no question of Jewish guilt or innocence." But then Goldhagen says "there was nothing that Pius XII dreaded more than Bolshevism." He then wonders whether it would "be unreasonable to believe that his stance toward the Germans' persecution of the Jews was colored in some measure by his apparent identification of communism with Jews."

Goldhagen first indicates anti-Semitism has nothing to do with Jewish behavior. Then he says Pius XII was an anti-Semite because he drew a connection between Jews and Bolshevism, which is to say he was upset by the connection between Jewish behavior and Communist behavior. But Goldhagen never says whether Jews were, in fact, involved in Bolshevism, much less whether they played "a disproportionate role" in its history.

We thus arrive at the heart of the political role the Holocaust plays in contemporary discourse. The Holocaust was a unique historical event—so unique, according to Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, that it was "a radical break with everything known in human history. . . completely at odds with the intellectual foundations of modern western civilization. . . as well as the. . . ethical and behavioral norms that had governed modern western

societies."[63] Since the Holocaust had no prior history, the behavior of Jews could have no connection to the way Jews were perceived in Europe during the '20s or at any other time. So, nothing Jews do or don't do can cause people to either like or dislike them. Their behavior has no effect on other people's behavior because the fundamental fact of life is irrational anti-Semitism based on "a millennium old urge that powerfully infected and shaped European history," to give Charles Krauthammer's formulation.[64] So, Palestinian animus toward Jews has nothing to do with how the Israelis have treated them for five decades. And the pogroms in Russia in the 1880s following the assassination of the czar had nothing to do with the perception that Jews were in the forefront of revolutionary terrorism there. And the specter of Bolshevism that haunted Europe during the '20 had nothing to do with Hitler's rise to power, because nothing causes anti-Semitism. It just is.

The historical record tells a different story. The feeling that Bolshevism was a Jewish phenomenon was hardly confined to German anti-Semites. Bolshevism was a major concern in Europe, and Jews were seen, rightly or wrongly, as the driving force behind it. In the February 8, 1920 *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, Winston Churchill wrote:

> There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one and it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews. Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek—all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combating Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses.[65]

In a letter to former Prime Minister Arthur Balfour in 1918, the Dutch diplomat Oudendyke wrote:

> Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organized and worked by Jews, who have no nationality and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things.

The US ambassador in Moscow, David R. Francis, reported to Washington: "the Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 percent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists, and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution."[66]

Even after he claimed that only "anti-Semites in and outside Russia glibly equated communism with the alleged Jewish world conspiracy,"[67] Salo Baron then substantiated the role Jews played in the Communist government, claiming that :

> They could easily point out that the first president of the Central Committee of the Party was Jacob Sverdlov, a Lithuanian Jew, that this Committee included four other Jews in its total membership of twenty-one, and that the long-time president of the Third International was Grigorii Evseevich Zinoviev (Apfelbaum). Among the leading diplomats of the period was A. A. Yoffe, Russia's chief delegate at the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference and subsequently ambassador in Berlin. Yoffe unabashedly used his diplomatic immunity to spread communist propaganda in Germany, then in a desperate mood because of its defeat in the First World War. Later Maxim Litvinov (Wallach) helped in various capacities to reassert the position of the Soviet Union as one of the great world powers. A Galician Jew, Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), helped reorganize the Russian press and laid the foundations for communism's highly effective world-wide propaganda. From the scholarly point of view it was N. Riazanov (David Borisovich Goldenbach) who, as head of the new Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, became the outstanding historian of the Marxist movement.[68]

And, realizing ethnic Russian communists often felt solidarity with other Russians, Lenin appointed Jews and Poles as commissars and to run the VE-CHE-KA or Cheka, the secret police responsible for revolutionary terror. Even Baron notes "a disproportionate number of Jews joined the new Bolshevik secret service.[79] This, of course, was evident to the ordinary Russian.[70]

The short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic was even more brutal than the one that seized power in Bavaria. Richard Pipes notes, "In Hungary, they [the Jews] furnished 95 percent of the leading figures in Bela Kun's dictatorship [and were] disproportionately represented among the Communists in Germany and Austria and in the apparatus of the Communist International."[71] Tibor Szamuelly, one of Kun's Jewish henchmen, traveled through Hungary in a special train that

> rumbled through the Hungarian night and where it stopped, men hung from trees, and blood flowed in the streets. Along the railway line one often found naked and mutilated corpses. Szamuelly passed sentence of death in the train and those forced to enter it never related what they had seen. Szamuelly lived in it constantly; thirty Chinese terrorists

> watched over his safety; special executioners accompanied him. The train was composed of two saloon cars, two first class cars reserved for the terrorists and two third class cars reserved for the victims. In the latter the executions took place. The floors were stained with blood. The corpses were thrown from the windows while Szamuelly sat at his dainty little writing table, in the saloon car upholstered in pink silk and ornamented with mirrors. A single gesture of his hand dealt out life or death.[72]

Szamuelly, like Bela Kun, was known as a Jew and a Bolshevik. His behavior was bound to create animus against other Jews, whether Bolsheviks or not. This is the real tragedy of the period leading up to World War II. The Jewish Bolsheviks' behavior created animus against all Jews. Indeed, since religious Jews were more visible because of their clothing and the lives they led, they were more likely to bear the brunt of the anti-Semitism the Bolsheviks created; secularized Jews were often invisible as Jews because of their secularity. Like Jews in Hollywood later, the Jewish Bolsheviks tended to change their names to disguise their Jewishness, making themselves less visible and less likely to be the victims of attack when the inevitable reaction to their bloody excesses finally came.

The description of Szamuelly's brutality was published in Paris in 1919, the same year Pacelli wrote to Gaspari about the Russian Jews at the Wittelsbach Palace in Munich. The communist revolution was then a very real threat, given more urgency because the Jews who promoted it were not just in Russia. The possibility of a Soviet invasion of Europe seemed remote, but the overwhelming sympathy of Jews to the revolution created suspicion across Europe, where they were perceived as a potential fifth column.

The Frankfurt School, which would wreak havoc in America after World War II, was an offspring of the German and Hungarian revolutions. The Institute of Social Research, as it was originally called, was endowed by a Jewish grain merchant, Herman Weil, who returned to Frankfurt, the city of his birth, after making a fortune in Argentina. Rogalla von Bieberstein calls Weil a "salon bolshevist" who inherited his fortune.[73] The *Institut fuer Sozialforschung* was to politics what Hirschfeld's *Institut fuer Sexualwissenschaft* was to sex. Both were shut down when Hitler came to power; both were transposed to the United States. Hirschfeld's materials ended up at the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Indiana. The Frankfurt School ended up as the New School in New York. Gershom Scholem called the Frankfurt School one of Germany's most influential "Jewish sects," but its influence went far beyond 1920s Germany. Theodore Adorno would play a leading role in introducing 12-tone music to post-World War II Germany, proving that whatever was derided as *Kulturbolschewismus* in the '30s was promoted in Germany in the '50s. Adorno also played a leading role in the American Jewish Committee's attack on Catholic ethnics in America through its "authoritarian personality"

project. The Frankfurt School had its biggest effect during the cultural revolution of the '60s when Erich Fromm's books on psychology and Herbert Marcuse's books on politics became required reading on college campuses.

The Frankfurt School's impact on eastern Europe was almost as significant because of Georg Lukacz, "the greatest Marxist intellectual of the 20th century."[74] Lukacz was born into the Lowinge family of Jewish bankers in Budapest, who, like Bela Kun (ne Kon or Kohn), later magyarized their name. After receiving his doctorate at the University of Heidelberg, Lukacz joined Bela Kun and became the Minister of Culture for the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1918. His ruthlessness earned him the sobriquet "the Robespierre of Budapest."[75] He was condemned to death in absentia after the republic collapsed. In 1924, Lukacz was made director of the *Institut fuer Sozialforschung* in Frankfurt. For the next five years, until Lukacz was called to Moscow, where he remained until 1945, the Frankfurt School became a clearinghouse for the ideas of Jewish revolutionaries, from which "the St. Augustine of communism" could promote "messianic politics."[76] Ernst Bloch, who became famous for *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* and the slogan "*Ubi Lenin, Ibi Jerusalem*," argued for the "destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire" with its "Christ-less Catholicism."[77] He also argued that "messianic longing for a redeemed humanity" dominated Jewish thinking. Lukacz returned to Hungary when communists took power after World War II and played the role of the reform communist there during the 1956 uprising.

The bloody excesses of Bela Kun in Hungary, of Kurt Eisner and Eugene Levine in Germany, and the Bolsheviks in Russia were bound to cause a reaction. The tragedy is that Jews were blamed *en masse* for the excesses of the Jewish Bolsheviks. "What may appear to Mr. [Chaim] Weizmann," one British diplomat wrote, "to be outrages against Jews, may be—in the eyes of the Russians—retaliation against the horrors committed by the Bolsheviks who are organized and directed by the Jews."[78] Nora Levin notes that when Jews acted as "passionately committed Bolsheviks in whatever they did, they reinforced existing anti-Jewish feeling, especially among adherents of Russian Orthodoxy."[79]

The same was true of Latvians, Ukrainians, and virtually every other ethnic group in Eastern Europe. When the Nazis arrived in the early '40s, they found many non-German "willing executioners" because of the outrages the Bolsheviks had committed after the revolutionary takeover of Russia in 1917. As we noted earlier, Ruth Birn mentions the Arajs Kommando in Latvia, followers of Viktor Arajs, all of whom were Latvians active throughout the German occupation. The Arajs Kommando "did nothing but kill Jews," and were so enthusiastic that they sickened the SS assigned to command them. Birn notes "camps in the occupied Soviet Union were run with a minimum of German personnel." Some "functioned without German personnel at all and with only minimal supervision." She notes that Goldhagen ignores

these facts because they undermine his thesis that Germans were "the central and only perpetrators of the Holocaust."[80] But he also ignores the excesses of Bolshevism that, more than any other single factor, fueled the animus of eastern Europeans against Jews.

Not all Bolsheviks were Jews, not all Jews were Bolsheviks. Ernest van den Haag later came up with a rule of thumb: one out of every ten Jews was a revolutionary, but five out of every ten revolutionaries were Jews. Many Jews tended to view the revolution in Russia favorably, especially when compared to other groups, like Catholics. Glazer and Moynihan compare reactions in *Beyond the Melting Pot.* In June 1919 the *Catholic World* declared: "The excesses of the Bolshevik revolution are . . . not the exaggeration of otherwise worldly tendencies. They are the absolute subversion of all moral principles, the destruction of religion and the overthrow of civilization." In September 1920, the *American Hebrew* declared: "The Bolshevik Revolution eliminated the most brutal dictatorship in history. This great achievement, destined to figure in history as one of the overshadowing results of the World War, was largely the product of Jewish thinking, Jewish discontent, Jewish effort to reconstruct."[81]

If the beleaguered peoples of eastern Europe tended to conflate Jews and Bolshevism, so did the Jews, who tended to see the Russian revolution as a Jewish event, or at least an event with great significance for Jews. In October 1929, the *Jewish World* wrote

> there is much in the fact of Bolshevism itself, in the fact that so many Jews are Bolshevists, in the fact that the ideals of Bolshevism at many points are consonant with the finest teachings of Judaism, some of which went to form the basis of the last teachings of the founder of Christianity—these are things which the thoughtful Jew will examine carefully.[82]

Ten years earlier in 1919, Rabbi J. L. Magnes claimed in a speech in New York City that in Germany the Jew

> becomes a Marx and a Lassalle, a Haas and an Edward Bernstein; in Austria Victor Adler, Frederick Adler; in Russia, Trotsky. Compare for an instant the present situation in Germany and Russia: The revolution there has liberated creative forces and admires the quantity of Jews who were ready for active and immediate service. Revolutionaries, Socialists, Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Majority or Minority Socialists, whatever name one assigns to them, all are Jews, and one finds them as the chiefs or the workers in all revolutionary parties.[83]

M. Cohen wrote in the *Communist* of Kharkov of April 1919

> One can say without exaggeration that the great Russian social revolution has been made by the hand of the Jews. Would the somber, oppressed masses of Russian workmen and peasants have been capable by themselves

> of throwing off the yoke of the bourgeoisie? No, it was especially the Jews who have led the Russian proletariat to the Dawn of the International and who have not only guided but still guide today the cause of the Soviets which they have preserved in their hands.[84]

Nora Levin notes the general sympathy of Jews for the revolution, saying Jews

> greeted the March revolution with great joy and hope. Jews spoke of it as "the deliverance of a people," "a great tidal wave of democracy," and "a miracle. . . that will be recorded as one of the greatest events in the history of Israel." A magazine for Jewish children compared it to the Passover liberation of Jews from Egypt.[85]

Levin notes "Jewish religious beliefs and practices were at variance with Bolshevism" and

> the impetus for political action came chiefly from secular movements in Jewish life—Zionism and the Jewish labor and socialist movement. Both were movements of reaction against religious orthodoxy and against the intensified oppression and powerlessness of Jews in tsarist Russia, which had reached an intolerable pitch after the pogroms of 1881-82 and 1903-6. But they had worked out irreconcilably different philosophies and programs as they analyzed the Jewish predicament.[86]

The large intellectual and psychic space that the evaporation of religious belief left behind was filled with a fiery secular messianism:

> These Jews were not only burdened by the exaction and strains of an illegal political life but also by the complex psychological adjustments needed to take on a new identity and dissolve out the old. . . .Trotsky's reactions were similar to those of other Jewish Bolsheviks: Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Radek, Litvinov, Kaganovich, and others—all russified, cosmopolitan, hostile to the point of vindictiveness in their attitudes toward Jewish national culture, Zionism, and religious tradition. Lenin seems to have fully and wholeheartedly accepted these non-Jewish Jews for what they felt themselves to be: international socialists. However, they were always identified as Jews by anti-Bolsheviks everywhere, by the masses of people in the Soviet Union, and by the Communist parties inside and outside of the Soviet Union.[87]

They have sometimes been described as "marginal men," "doubly alienated," and "self-hating," creating their own world of revolutionary agitation and formulas for a socialist utopia. These Jews had no Jewish support or following in any segment of organized Jewish life in Russia. Nor did Jews as a whole support Bolshevik ideas or the Revolution when it came. However, individual Jews loomed prominently in the Sixth Bolshevik Congress (July 26-August 3, 1917), in the Central Committee elected by the Congress, and in the top and secondary leadership of the party in the early years of the Soviet regime. They

stamped Bolshevism as "Jewish" in the prevailing view both of supporters and opponents of Bolshevism.[88]

What was true of the Bolsheviks was *a fortiori* true of their revolutionary predecessors. The Jewish areas of Russia were hotbeds of revolutionary activity in the second half of the nineteenth century. While not all revolutionaries were Jews, many were. The revolutionary movement could not have survived without their technical and practical skills as smugglers, printers, explosives experts, and masters of living the "underground" life. Haberer says "Jews constituted an important, if not crucial, national element in turning the region into a hotbed of terrorist violence."[89]

It would be naive, or as Haberer says, "shortsighted" to claim Jews just happened to be revolutionaries just as Abe Foxman later would claim Jews just happened to be involved in pornography. Both are forms of revolutionary activity, and Jews were drawn to them precisely because of the hold Messianic Socialism acquired over them once they abandoned traditional religious practice. Irving Kristol, in youth a follower of Trotsky and now a neoconservative, expresses the Messianic, universalist vision that neoconservatism and Trotskyism share. Jewish revolutionaries, says Kristol:

> did not forsake their Jewish heritage to replace it with another form of cultural identity or ethnic belonging. What they sought can best be described as an abstract and futuristic idealism of assimilation *qua* emancipation in a denationalized and secularized democratic society, ideally of universal scope. Leaving the world of their childhood did not necessarily imply its total abandonment in one act of irreversible forgetfulness. For many this departure under the sacred halo of socialism was the next best solution to their own existential problems—a solution that was enormously attractive since it also held out the utopian promise of the "genuine emancipation" of all Jews in a socialist republic of universal brotherhood devoid of national, religious, and social discrimination or even distinctions.

After the war and the failure of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, Weimar Germany could not free itself from the downward pull of political violence. In June 1922 Walter Rathenau, Jewish heir to the AEG fortune, was assassinated four months after agreeing to become Germany's foreign minister. If there were ever a German Jew in the mold Mendelssohn had created, it was Rathenau. Yet as a completely assimilated German Jew, he had an impossible dual role, which he articulated, telling the Zionist Kurt Blumenfeld, "At night I am a Bolshevik; by day I seek an ethically regulated society." Blumenfeld and Albert Einstein urged Rathenau to resign, claiming, "a Jew should not run the foreign affairs of another people."[91] The Nazis claimed Rathenau as a Jew had sabotaged the war effort. "German Jews were caught in a vicious circle: the more they embraced the republic, the more it was discredited as a

Judenrepublik."[93] Elon claims, "every unresolved problem and all the world's evils from the crucifixion of Christ to capitalism, communism, syphilis and the lost war were projected onto a tiny minority representing 0.9 percent of the population."[91] To play up the irrationality of anti-Semitism, Elon ignores evidence of Jewish leadership in the revolutionary movement. Golo Mann wrote that his classmates cheered news of Rathenau's assassination.[90] Anti-Semitism became an issue in Bavaria precisely because of the role Jews played in the revolutionary movement there.

That resentment, coupled with the devastating economic consequences of the Versailles Treaty, found political expression when Hitler and Ludendorff orchestrated the Beer Hall Putsch on November 8, 1923. The authorities had no desire to revisit the anarchic days of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, so when Hitler and his supporters marched on city hall, the police opened fire. Sixteen National Socialists died, and Hitler was sentenced to a year in prison at Landsberg, where he wrote *Mein Kampf*, which proclaimed his racial theories and the idea that Jews had a genetic penchant for revolution.

Hitler rose to power by convincing a significant portion of the German people that Jews and Bolsheviks were one and the same. National Socialism was a reaction to communism. Goldhagen's statement that anti-Semitism has nothing to do with Jewish behavior renders an entire era incomprehensible. More comprehensible is Saul Friedlander's claim that "hatred for communism played a greater role in the rise of Hitler than anti-Jewish attitudes."[94] Hitler was stymied by Jewish assimilation and German acceptance of it; he could not have turned people against the Jews without the threat of Bolshevism and the experience of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, which he referred to as "temporary Jewish rule."[95] In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote "in 1918 it was still not possible to talk about programmatic anti-Semitism. I can still remember the difficulties one encountered as soon as the word Jew was mentioned. You were either looked at as if you were crazy or you encountered the stiffest resistance."[96] In 1933 Hitler told Max Planck, "I have nothing against the Jews *qua* Jews. But the Jews are all communists, and these are my enemies, and it is against them that I am fighting."[97] As evidence that anti-communism trumped racism, von Bieberstein quotes Hitler's saying *"Lieber sind mir 100 Neger im Saal, als ein Jude."* "Better a hundred Negroes in the room than one Jew."[98] In a diary entry for February 10, 1937, Hans Frank wrote, "I confess my belief in Germany. . . which is in truth God's tool for the extermination of evil. We are fighting in God's name against the Jews and their Bolshevism. God protect us."[99] Hitler always maintained the Jew was his enemy primarily because the Jew spread revolution. In a table talk entry dated June 7, 1944, he still maintained "without Jews there would be no revolution."[100] Nazi theoretician Alfred Rosenberg said: "Bolshevism is in its essence the form of Jewish world revolution. . . . There is no such thing as Bolshevism without Jews."[101]

A reaction was inevitable. "The greater the successes of the communist movement," Jonathan Frankel wrote in 1988, "the greater the anti-Communist hostility to the Jews became."[102] Hilaire Belloc claimed, "the revolution in Russia was the historical starting point of a renewal of the animosity against the Jews in western Europe."

High on Hitler's list of subversive Jews responsible for the decline of Germany was Kurt Tucholsky, who "drove conservatives and Nazis downright berserk with his biting satires of every patriotic piety."[103] Franz Werfel, a Jewish writer from Prague who escaped to Hollywood where he wrote *The Song of Bernadette*, claimed Tucholsky and other Jews were responsible for the rise of the Nazis because they so savagely attacked German cultural icons. Werfel did not exclude himself from his indictment. "Applauded by the laughter of a few philistines, we stoked the inferno in which humanity is now roasting."[104] Elon disagrees with Werfel. "Had there been no Tucholsky, no Werfel, no Wolff," he writes, "Hitler would have moved to seize power anyway."[105] As before, Elon passes over the effect the revolutionary Jew had on the public, and Hitler's ability to manipulate those fears politically. Is Elon seriously suggesting Hitler would have come to power had there been no Kurt Eisner? No Eugene Levine? No Bela Kun? No Trotsky? Or no cultural bolshevists like Magnus Hirschfeld, Sigmund Freud, and Wilhelm Reich? If so, he argues against the logic of his own book.

Werfel was not alone in seeing a connection between Jewish behavior and Hitler's rise to power. Ruth Fischer claimed that Munich would never have become the birthplace of Nazism without the help of Jewish revolutionaries like Eisner and Levine.

The same was true of Austria. In *The Truth about Austria*, Guido Zernattos claimed "the most important basis for modern Austrian anti-Semitism was the part which the Jewish intellectuals played in the leadership of the social democratic party."[106] In *Juedischer Bolschewismus*, Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein shows convincingly that Bolshevism was primarily a Jewish phenomenon and that it created a wave of anti-Semitism, the reaction that swept Hitler into power in Germany.

The same was true in America: Nazism was seen as the reaction to communism, which was seen as predominantly if not essentially Jewish. According to von Bieberstein, Father Charles Coughlin, the radio priest from Royal Oak, Michigan, criticized Nazism, but saw it nonetheless as "a defense mechanism against communism."[107] In this, he differed little from Henry Ford, who feared Jews primarily because he felt they were the leading force in spreading revolution throughout the world. Jewish writers like Philip Roth turn fear of Bolshevism into something suspicious, as if linking the two were itself proof of anti-Semitism:

> As an anti-Communist rather than a pro-Nazi organization, the Bund was as anti-Semitic as before, openly equating Bolshevism with Judaism in propaganda handouts. . . holding fast to the purposes enunciated in their official declaration on first organizing in 1936: "to combat the Moscow-directed madness of the red world menace and its Jewish bacillus carriers". . . . Gone were the wall banners proclaiming "Wake up America—Smash Jewish Communists!"[108]

By stating his case this way, Roth gives the impression anyone who linked Jews and communism was a raving Nazi anti-Semite, but this was not the case. In May 1919, Woodrow Wilson proclaimed the Bolshevik movement was "led by Jews."[109] In 1919, Arnold Zweig, who was a Zionist and a Communist, wrote "Jewish blood" gave birth to socialism "from Moses to Lindauer."[110] Elie Wiesel wrote, "We have to make revolution, because God told us to. God wants us to become communists."[111] In 1848, Adolf Jellinek wrote, "reactionaries denounce Jews as the *perpetuum mobile* of the revolution."[112] In *Der grosse Basar*, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a leader of the '68 Revolution, referred to Trotsky as "embodying the essence of the Talmudic Jew."[113] In 1934, in *Katholizismus und Judentum*, the Hungarian Jesuit Bela Bangha wrote, "revolutionary Marxism" corresponded "in its essence to a particular form of the Jewish soul and his intellectual posture."[114] In December 1918, the *American Literary Digest* asked "Are *Bolshewiki* mainly Jewish?"[115] In June 1920, under the title "The Jewish Peril," the *Christian Science Monitor* referred to an alleged world-wide Jewish conspiracy as demonstrated by the newly discovered and widely believed Protocols of the Elders of Zion. On the same day, the *Chicago Tribune* referred to Bolshevism as "an instrument for Jewish control of the world."[116]

Jews were no less inclined to speak this way than the *goyim*. In 1921 A. Sachs wrote, "Jewish Bolshevism has demonstrated to the entire world that the Jewish race is not suffering from degeneracy."[117] In 1990 in *Stalin's War against the Jews*, Louis Rapoport wrote "men of Jewish heritage" laid "the foundation for communism and Socialism."[118] Franz Werfel, who wrote *The Song of Bernadette* and who participated in the 1919 communist insurrection in Vienna, wrote an article entitled "Israel's Gift to Mankind," in which he said "Moses Hess, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle" were the "church fathers of Socialism."[119] Jacob Toury claimed socialism grew out of traditional Judaism among the uprooted as a substitute religion. An article entitled "The Jewish Revolutionary" in *Neue Juedischen Montsheften* in 1919 stated "no matter how the issue is exaggerated by the anti-Semitic side and no matter how anxiously it is denied by the Jewish bourgeoisie, the huge Jewish participation in the contemporary revolutionary movement is a simple fact."[120] One year later, Franz Kafka, the famous German-speaking Jew from Prague, wrote, "You

don't forgive the Jewish socialists and communists. You drown them in the soup and slice them up when you're roasting them."[121]

Polish Nobel laureate Isaac B. Singer, who spoke Polish with difficulty and won the Nobel Prize in literature for writings in Yiddish, claimed "the communists in Warsaw were almost exclusively Jews, and that they brought fire and sword to all parties. They also claimed [after the October revolution] that social justice could only be found in Russia."[122] Bundespresident Friedrich Ebert claimed Jews were responsible for the revolution in Germany and that "practically every Jew was a crypto-Bolshevik."[123] In 1904, the German Zionist Franz Oppenheimer remarked, "nothing is more certain than that the contemporary Jew in eastern Europe is a born revolutionary."[124] What followed from this all but universal recognition of Jewish participation in Bolshevism was an unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism. What made a racist organization like the Thule Society a dangerous threat was the widespread consensus "there was no such thing as Bolshevism without Jews."[125]

As Erich Haberer makes clear, Jews were the backbone of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The social dislocation that followed defeat after World War I allowed the revolutionary movement to achieve its greatest successes. The Jews could avenge themselves on the traditional Christian monarchies that had persecuted them. The Jews, according to Lerner "were enthusiastic representatives of the collapse of traditional communities because those communities discriminated against Jews."[126] Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter maintain "the goal of the Jewish radicals was to alienate the Christians from their society just as the Jews had been alienated from those same cultures."[127] In 1849, in *Israels Herold*, Karl Ludwig Bernays explained "The Jews took revenge on a hostile world in a completely new way. . . by liberating mankind from every religion and any kind of patriotic sentiment."[128] In the November 30, 1917 issue of *The Jewish Chronicle*, Trotsky was described "as the Avenger for Jewish suffering and humiliation" under the Czars."[129]

Von Bieberstein's survey of contemporary literature on the revolutionary movement in the period around World War I indicates Jewish involvement was bound up with the Jewish attraction to Messianic politics. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the English racial theorist who married into the Wagner family and supported Hitler, reproached "Jewish atheists" for "planning an impossible socialistic and economic messianic kingdom without any regard for the fact that in process of doing this they would bring about the destruction of the civilization and culture which we have so laboriously erected."[130] Ernst Bloch, who described himself in 1918 as a "race conscious Jew," described the promethean project of the revolutionary Marxists as a "second incarnation."[131] Similarly, Eugen Hoeflich, the literary critic from Vienna who later changed his name to Mose Y. Ben-Gavriel, wrote "the Bolshevik Jew wants to set Europe in flames, not to fill his pockets but because he is driven by the purest

idea, an idea which manifests an error which will lead to tragic consequences, which came about from a mass psychosis born of the war."

The Russian Revolution had nowhere near the psychological effect on public opinion that its daughter revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary had on the populations of eastern Europe. Bela Kun and Georg Lukacz did for the Jews in Hungary what Kurt Eisner and Eugene Levine did for the Jews of Germany; they created a huge wave of anti-Semitism. "Jew" became synonymous with "revolutionary," and soon labels like "*Umsturzjuden*," "*Revolutionsjuden*," as well as "*RevoluZion*" made the rounds. Led by Bela Kun, the Hungarian Soviet Republic spread fear and loathing among the native Hungarian population, which denounced it as the "*Judenrepublik*." According to Lichter and Rothman's *Roots of Radicalism*, 30 of the 48 commissars in the Hungarian Soviet Republic were Jews. Of 202 top officials, 161 were Jews.[132] The *London Times* described the Kun Regime as the "Jewish Mafia" in 1919. "Bolshevism in Hungary," according to Nathaniel Katzburg, was "largely a Jewish enterprise."[133] Hence, the soviet republic in Budapest was denounced as "rule of the Jews" and "*Judenrepublik*." Unsurprisingly, a wave of pogroms swept Hungary when the soviet republic fell.

The same was true of Austria, where the dramatist Arthur Schnitzler in his diary described the revolutionaries as "a mixture of literary Jewboys, plundering rabble, and idiots."[134] The revolution in Hungary made headlines around the world. The net result was a rise in anti-Semitism, and not just in Hungary. In his book on the holocaust in Hungary, Rudolph Braham claimed the "chiliastic passions"[135] that promoted world revolution led inexorably to counter-revolution, and that the short but brutal communist regime left behind a bitter legacy which had devastating consequences for Hungarian Jews.

The Catholic Church, in particular the Jesuits, was the main opponent of the revolutionary movement. Catholics were prominent in pointing out the large Jewish participation in the revolutionary movement. An article in the October 21, 1922 *Civiltà Cattolica* entitled "*La rivoluzione mondia e gli ebrei*" (World Revolution and the Jews), described communism as "the perversion of a Semitic fantasy" emanating "from the Jewish race."[136] In his 1926 book *Judentum und Christentum*, Father Erich Pryzwara, SJ, used quotes from Martin Buber and other Jewish thinkers to trace socialism to its roots in Jewish messianism, forcing him to the melancholy conclusion that the Jew "is driven to become the tireless revolutionary of the Christian world by an inner necessity." The Jew is "driven to his tireless activism by his deepest religious convictions. He is truly the restless Ahasver."[137]

In similar fashion, the Polish bishops traced the Bolshevik fury that had been unleashed on eastern Europe in the wake of World War I back to the "traditional hatred" which Jews had always felt for Christendom. During Poland's war with the nascent Soviet Union in 1920, the Polish bishops released

a pastoral letter in which they announced that "the true goal of Bolshevism is world conquest. The race which has the leadership of Bolshevism in its hands, . . . is bent on the subjugation of the nations. . .especially, because those who are the leaders of Bolshevism have the traditional hatred toward Christendom in their blood. Bolshevism is in reality the embodiment and incarnation of the Antichrist on earth." Like the Communist Parties in Germany and Hungary, the Communist party in Poland was overwhelmingly Jewish. Sixty-five percent of the Communists in Warsaw were Jews. In the 1920s, the percentage was even higher, which again fueled anti-Semitism.

One of the classic instances which we are given of "modern" anti-Semitism is the pastoral letter on morals issued by Cardinal Hlond, the primate of Poland, on February 29, 1936. The part beginning "It is true that Jews . . . have a corruptive influence on morals, and that their publishing houses are spreading pornography" is invariably quoted as proof of Hlond's anti-Semitism, but no mention is made of what follows. Far from being an anti-Semitic diatribe, Hlond's pastoral letter, as we saw in the introduction, is a classic instance of "*Sicut Judaeis non*," something which becomes apparent when the passage is quoted in its proper context:

> So long as Jews remain Jews, a Jewish problem exists and will continue to exist. This question varies in intensity and degree from country to country. It is especially difficult in our country, and ought to be the object of serious consideration. I shall touch briefly here on its moral aspects in connection with the situation today.
>
> It is a fact that Jews are waging war against the Catholic Church, that they are steeped in free-thinking and constitute the vanguard of atheism, the Bolshevik movement, and revolutionary activity. It is a fact that Jews have a corruptive influence on morals, and that their publishing houses are spreading pornography. It is true that Jews are perpetrating fraud, practicing usury, and dealing in prostitution. It is true that, from a religious and ethical point of view, Jewish youth are having a negative influence on the Catholic youth in our schools. But let us be fair. Not all Jews are this way. There are very many Jews who are believers, honest, just, kind, and philanthropic. There is a healthy, edifying sense of family in very many Jewish homes. We know Jews who are ethically outstanding, noble, and upright.

After reciting the dangers that Jews pose to a Christian society like Poland, Cardinal Hlond warns the Poles that racism imported from Germany poses a danger to Polish culture and that no one has the right to harm the Jews. In doing this he is simply restating *Sicut Judaeis non* in its entirety:

> I warn against that moral stance, imported from abroad [he is clearly thinking of Germany] that is basically and ruthlessly anti-Jewish. It is

> contrary to Catholic ethics. One may love one's own nation more, but one may not hate anyone. Not even Jews. It is good to prefer your own kind when shopping, to avoid Jewish stores and Jewish stalls in the marketplace, but it is forbidden to demolish a Jewish store, damage their merchandise, break windows, or throw things at their homes. One should stay away from the harmful moral influence of Jews, keep away from their anti-Christian culture, and especially boycott the Jewish press and demoralizing Jewish publications. But it is forbidden to assault, beat up, maim, or slander Jews. One should honor Jews as human beings and neighbors, even though we do not honor the indescribable tragedy of that nation, which was the guardian of the idea of the Messiah and from which was born the Savior. When divine mercy enlightens a Jew to sincerely accept his and our Messiah, let us greet him into our Christian ranks with joy.
>
> Beware of those who are inciting anti-Jewish violence. They are serving a bad cause. Do you know who is giving the orders? Do you know who is intent on these riots? No good comes from these rash actions. And it is Polish blood that is sometimes being shed at them.[139]

Cardinal Hlond was not expressing racial hatred; he was warning his Polish flock about the dangers of Bolshevism, which, as all of Europe had learned during the 1920s, was a largely Jewish movement. Cardinal Hlond was opposing Jewish revolutionary activity on the one hand, but he was also opposing the vicious reaction to Jewish revolutionary activity that was known as Nazism and had taken over Germany at that time. The Church was consistent in its oppostion to revolution on the one hand, and in defending the Jews against physical harm on the other. Both parts of this teaching are necessary. If either one is ignored, trouble follows.

Since the German bishops shared the views of their Polish confreres, they got caught up in the same apocalyptic mood. The most famous episcopal opponent of Nazism, Clemens Graf von Galen, bishop of Muenster, wrote a pastoral letter defending Hitler's incursion into the Soviet Union because it would rid the world of the "plague of Bolshevism."[140]

The Jewish inclination toward Messianic politics explains the overrepresentation of Jews in revolutionary movements throughout the 20th century. Once Poland achieved statehood in the wake of the Versailles Treaty, the Jewish population in the Soviet Union dropped to around two percent, which dramatized the overrepresentation of Jews in the revolutionary parties in Russia. The Bolsheviks, with 11 percent Jews, were the least Jewish of all the revolutionary parties, even though Jewish overrepresentation was five times as high as the Jewish population in Russia. The Social Revolutionary Party by comparison was 14 percent Jewish, and the Menshevik Party was 23 percent Jewish.

If we turn to the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the overrepresentation of Jews is even more striking. Of the 21 members of the Central Committee of the Communist party in Russia in August 1917, six, or 28.6 percent, were Jews. The percentage was even higher among the Mensheviks, where eight of the 17 members of the Central Committee were Jews. Of the list of the seven leading members of the Bolshevik leadership compiled by Culture Commissar Anatoli Lunatcharsky, four were Jews. When the Austrian foreign minister, Ottokar Graf Czernin wrote about the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk in early 1918, he reported the Soviets were "practically without exception Jews with crazy ideas."[141] Jews achieved this overrepresentation in the Soviet regime because Russians tended to be "patriotic" and therefore not ruthless enough in attacking fellow Russians, but also because the Jews, again unlike the Russian "peasants and workers," were highly literate. By way of illustration, the author of *Rossija I Evrei, Russia and the Jews*, told the following joke: "If six commissars are sitting at a table, what's under the table? The answer, the twelve knees of Israel."[142]

The percentage of Jews on the staff of the hated Cheka was even higher. As late as July 1934, eight years after Stalin's takeover, 34 percent of Cheka leadership was Jewish, a figure 17 times higher than the Jewish population of the Soviet Union. By 1939, after the purge of Jews, the percentage sank to 4 percent.

On April 20, 1920, Allen Dulles, later head of the CIA, wrote, "as a result of the leading role which Bavarian Jews played in communist groups, the tolerance of the pre-war era has changed and a new strongly anti-Semitic movement has come into being."[143] Von Bieberstein writes, "a minority of radical Jews, fighting for the dictatorship of the Proletariat, set loose an avalanche of aggressive anti-Semitism."[144] Fearing precisely this reaction, the Frankfurt lodge of the B'nai B'rith instructed Bavarian Jews to distance themselves from Kurt Eisner and his Bavarian Soviet Republic. In an article on anti-Semitism in Britain in the *Jewish Journal of Sociology* in 1989, Geoffrey Alderman wrote, "anti-Semitism flourished in the '20s as a result of the fear of Bolshevism."[145] In his 1996 book *Jews and the Russian Revolution*, Harvard historian Richard Pipes claimed one of the "most disastrous consequences" of the Russian Revolution was "the identification of Jews with communism."[146] Reinhard Maurach, a legal observer at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, emphasized what he called a "combination theory," according to which "the Jewish problem merged with the Bolshevik problem" to form the basic outline of Nazi doctrine.[147]

Solzehnitsyn says that beginning in the 1930s, any mention of the role or number of Jews in the Russian revolutionary movement was avoided and people reacted with sensitivity when it was brought up: "This intentional suppression of the historical truth," he continues, "is both immoral and

dangerous, because it prepares the ground for later exaggerations of the opposite sort."[148]

Jewish historians like to bring up the fact that Communists under Stalin eventually turned on the remaining Jewish Bolsheviks in the '30s. Even before that, Communists, both Jewish and Russian, tried to eradicate traditional Jewish life or bring it under party control during the '20s. Eventually Stalin purged most of the original Jewish Bolsheviks, with notable exceptions. Stalin retained Lazar Kaganovich to starve the Ukrainians into submission and to run the system of concentration camps now known as the Gulag Archipelago. In *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Goldhagen claims the concentration camp was a uniquely German invention. But even Hitler noted that the British invented such camps during the Boer War and that the Soviet Union put them into practice before Hitler did. Goldhagen does not mention that Jews ran them for Stalin. It's worth asking whether Pius XII, whom certain people call "Hitler's pope," served Nazism the way Kaganovich served Stalin and communism. Or whether we, unlike people who lived during the '30s and '40s, would make such a comparison solely because we have been swayed by the current campaign to defame Pius XII, Pius XI, and members of the German hierarchy like Bishop Graf von Galen of Muenster, who warned German Catholics that Hitler's racial ideology was incompatible with Catholicism. The following anecdote makes the point as effectively as extensive documentation:

> Karl Radek and Grigory Zinoviev. . . had come to Germany in 1918 to stoke the fires of revolution. Like many other leading Bolsheviks (Sverdlov, Kamenev and Trotsky, for example), both Radek and Zinoviev were Jews, as was the foremost figure of the German Revolution—Rosa Luxembourg—and the head of the new revolutionary government in Hungary, Bela Kun. And, of course, the inspirer of all their revolutionary exertions, Karl Marx himself, had come from a long line of famous rabbis in Trier.

Radek was addressing the crowd.

> "We have had the Revolution in Russia and the Revolution in Hungary, and now the Revolution is erupting in Germany," he roared, "and after that we will have the Revolution in France and the Revolution in England and the Revolution in America." As Radek worked up his passion, Zinoviev tapped him on the shoulder and whispered, "Karl, Karl, there won't be enough Jews to go around."[149]

It's also worth asking whether the preceding two paragraphs are anti-Semitic. Suppose this anecdote had been found in Pacelli's handwriting "in the locked archives of the Vatican"? Would it be evidence Pius XII was an anti-Semite? "The notion of Judeo-Bolshevism—the virtually axiomatic conviction among Nazis, modern anti-Semites in general and within the Church itself that Jews were the principle bearers and even the authors of Bolshevism"—Goldhagen's

criterion of anti-Semitism—is not implicit in this statement, (as Goldhagen claims it is in Pacelli's letter); it is explicit. Does that make its author an anti-Semite? If so, then David Horowitz is an anti-Semite because he not only tells the anecdote in *The Politics of Bad Faith*, he says that although it is "apocryphal" the truth it points to is "telling," because "for nearly two hundred years, Jews have played a disproportionate role as leaders of the modern revolutionary movements in Europe and the West."[150]

No Jew of any stature ever issued a similar warning against communism. Jewish commentators instead saw the revolution in Russia as akin to Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage. Similarly, while many Jews, most prominently Goldhagen, accuse Catholicism of complicity in the Nazi Holocaust, no Jew of any stature apologized for Jewish participation in the Communist Holocaust, which took many more lives. David Horowitz, though, comes close:

> In our time, 100 million people have been slaughtered in the revolutions of the left with no positive result, while millions more have been buried alive. Beyond the iron curtains of the socialist empires, whole cultures were desecrated, civilizations destroyed and generations deprived of the barest essentials of a tolerable life. Yet the epithet "counterrevolutionary" still strikes progressives, who supported these empires, as a term of opprobrium and moral disgrace. What this record shows, on the contrary, is that "counterrevolution" is a name for moral sanity and human decency, a term for resistance to the epic depredations of dreamers like them.[151]

Chapter Seven

Marcus Garvey

On March 23, 1916, a stocky Jamaican named Marcus Garvey arrived in New York City. Garvey was the precocious son of a hard-headed, litigious mason, who had been inspired by reading Booker T. Washington's autobiography, Up from Slavery. Washington's book set Garvey's "brain. . .afire" with plans for redeeming the Negro race which included "uniting all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and Government absolutely of their own."[1] "Where is the black man's government? . . . Where is his King and his kingdom?" Garvey asked.[2] When Garvey realized that he "could not find them," he came to understand that "there was a world of thought to conquer"[3] and that he could conquer that world by applying the tenets of nationalism then reaching a fever pitch in Europe to the Black people of the world and propose Africa as the Negro equivalent of what Theodore Herzl had hoped to set up in Palestine.

Garvey's plan was Black Zionism, and he was the Black Moses who was going to set up a Negro state in Africa. Lying on his back at midnight in England during the summer of 1914, Garvey decided "that I should name the organization the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League. Such a name I thought would embrace the purpose of all black humanity."[4] On July 20, 1914, Garvey established his organization in Kingston, Jamaica. By 1915, Garvey concluded that he could not bring his plan to fulfillment unless he included America's former slaves. Garvey "unhesitatingly and unreservedly" praised people of color in the United States as the "most progressive and the foremost unit in the expansive chain of scattered Ethiopia."[5] What American Negroes had going for them, Garvey decided, was white racism—what he saw as the "honest prejudices of the [white] South"[6] which forced black people to build their own segregated institutions and develop a race consciousness that could in time gain respect from their oppressors. This was a fundamental construct of what became Garveyism—the postulate that racial liberation and empowerment were inherent in racial opposition and alienation.

Garvey's plans to meet with Booker T. Washington were thwarted, however, by the death of the Wizard of Tuskegee. America now had no universally recognized spokesman for the Negro people. Given his vision in England in 1914, it's difficult to imagine Garvey not entertaining the thought that he was ordained to fill that vacuum.

Garvey decided to meet with W. E. B. DuBois, head of the NAACP instead. On April 25, 1916 Marcus Garvey arrived at NAACP offices at 70 Fifth Ave. at the beginning of a speaking tour that would carry him to 38 states.

Neither Du Bois nor anyone else at the NAACP paid the visitor from Jamaica much attention. Du Bois was out of the office when Garvey arrived, and Garvey hoping for another meeting left his card.

Years later Garvey would claim that when he left Du Bois's office, he was "unable to tell whether he was in a white office or that of the NAACP."[7] When relations between the two men deteriorated, Garvey would later criticize Du Bois as "a white man's nigger."[8] The claim was partially based on the fact that DuBois was a mulatto, but it was also based on the fact that many of the NAACP's Negroes were quadroons and octoroons, men like Walter White, who looked so white that the NAACP used them as spies in the South.

Garvey was ever the race man, but his racism blinded him to the insight that white in this instance meant Jewish. The NAACP was a creation of wealthy New York Jews, whose desire to do something about lynching in the South took on new urgency in light of the death of Leo Frank. In 1915 Louis Marshall, head of the American Jewish Committee and the author of the failed motion to win him a new trial, joined the board of the NAACP. Seven years after Frank's death, Marshall was still smarting from the insult he had to bear when the Supreme Court rejected his plea for a new trial.

"There has been perhaps no crime committed in our day that can compare in lawlessness with the lynching of Leo Frank, whom I represented before the Supreme Court of the United States," Marshall wrote in 1922 during the debate on the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.[9]

Marshall was appalled by the lynching of Leo Frank, saying that it moved him "to form the resolution to do whatever it lay in my power to do to assist in putting an end to so monstrous an iniquity as lynching."[10] The NAACP was against lynching, so it seemed only natural that he would join the board of that organization. But that decision was to have fateful consequences for both the nation's Jews and the nation's blacks, as well as the nation as a whole. Instead of using the AJC to fight lynching, Marshall chose the NAACP as his vehicle and so became involved in using the nation's Negroes as proxies in the Jews' war against anti-Semitism. Marshall, in other words, joined the board of the NAACP to get revenge on the South by turning the Negro into the nation's revolutionary *avant garde*. Harold Cruse, perhaps because he was a communist and as a result more aware of how that group of Jews tried to use

the nation's Negroes as their *avant garde*, eschews revolutionary terminology in describing the NAACP's philosophy, but the accusation of duplicity is there nonetheless. Louis Marshall according to Cruse,

> was inspired to complement the program of the NAACP by virtue of the legal ax he had to grind with the Supreme Court over constitutional principles when the Court turned down his appeal arguments in favor of Leo Frank. . . . Black civil rights and the NAACP represented the legal instrumentalities by which Marshall could salve the bitter gall of defeat he had experienced in the Leo Frank case, *Frank v. Mangum*.[11]

Cruse claims that Marshall, as head of the AJC, would never have accepted the constraints which Jews placed over black aspirations at the NAACP. But Marshall's role at the NAACP compounded the conflict of interest that began to grate on Negro nerves. "At no time or place, on no issue or circumstance, in the duration of this alliance, were Jews of any parochial persuasion ever called upon to sacrifice Jewish interests on behalf of civil rights,"[12] but the Negroes in this alliance had to forego economic ethnic solidarity (the very thing that made the Jews powerful) if they wanted continued Jewish support.

It was precisely economic ethnic solidarity which Marcus Garvey began proposing to Harlem shortly after his arrival there in 1916. And it was W. E. B. Du Bois, acting as the agent of the NAACP, who opposed Garvey's vision of Black Zionism once he began to attract significant crowds. Murray Friedman claims that black and Jewish interests were identical during the '20s and the '30s, but the behavior of the NAACP belies this. The first manifestation of the so-called Black-Jewish Alliance was Du Bois's attempt to destroy Booker T. Washington. The second manifestation was Du Bois's attempt to destroy Marcus Garvey. The conclusion seems inescapable. Du Bois's job was to promote integration and destroy any black leadership in competition with the NAACP. According to Cruse, that meant an attack on anyone who proposed economics as the foundation of black ethnic solidarity. Cruse sees irony in the fact that this was precisely the basis of the ethnic solidarity which Marshall as the head of the AJC was proposing for Jews at the same time he was thwarting it for Negroes.

According to Friedman, Jews and Negroes were united in the scientific attack on racism, but as evidence for this alliance Friedman again cites Du Bois, the NAACP, and the school of anthropology which the German Jew Franz Boas founded at Columbia University. Du Bois got hired as the editor of the NAACP magazine because his book *The Philadelphia Negro*, published in 1899, linked him to Boas's school of environment-based sociology. The scientific attack against racism, according to Friedman, "proved enormously significant within the academy at a time when it was still widely accepted by white Americans that blacks were genetically inferior and therefore undeserving of full citizenship rights."[13] Friedman claims that "DuBois's book broke new

ground in its emphasis on environmental factors rather than genetics as the primary cause of black poverty and crime."[14] According to Murray Friedman, "The two United States leaders of this [the environmental sociological] movement early in the century were Du Bois, the black intellectual, and Franz Boas, a German-Jewish anthropologist. Du Bois attributed his own early interest in Africa to a lecture delivered by Boas at Atlanta University."[15]

The Boasian school would produce some of the most famous names in American sociology during the 20th century, including Edward Sapir, Melville Herskovitz, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead, whose fantasy about adolescent free love in the South Pacific, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, was done under Boas's direction. The Boasian school also had as one of its disciples at the University of Chicago, Louis Wirth, who would go on to be extremely influential in the area of social engineering in housing. Wirth would also go on to write at least eight chapters of Gunnar Myrdal's book *The American Dilemma*, which would serve as the theoretical justification of *Brown v. School Board*, the 1954 Supreme Court decision mandating school integration.

Boas saw environmental sociology as part of the revolutionary tradition which began with the French Revolution, which later found expression in the German Revolution of 1848. Boas, according to Friedman, "was born in Minden, Westphalia, and grew up in a home where notions of liberty and equality—the ideals of the 1848 revolution in Germany—were still a living force."[16] Like Ottilie Assing, Boas found American soil more congenial to revolutionary ideas than his native Germany. After landing a teaching position at Columbia University, Boas, with the backing of influential German Jews in New York, was able to launch the scientific attack on racism. In 1911 he wrote *The Mind of Primitive Man*, one of the books which helped establish the new field of anthropology, in which he wrote that

> the variations in cultural development can as well be explained by a consideration of the general course of historical events without recourse to the theory of material differences of mental faculty in different races. . .a similar error underlies the common assumption that the white race represents physically the highest type of man. . . anatomical and physiological considerations do not support these views.[17]

Boas' thought was pure, left-wing Hegelianism, which ran parallel to Marx's version of left-wing Hegelianism, and it became the inspiration for the NAACP policies every bit as much as Marx's theories became the inspiration for the Communist party.

Writing around the time when Madison Grant's book on race was a best-seller, Boas felt that the concept of race was inherently ambiguous. "In an article entitled "What is Race?" published in *The Nation* in 1925, Boas rejected the idea that race consciousness and racial hatred reflected instinctual drives

in human nature. Each race contained so many variations, he argued, that it was impossible to generalize about them."[18]

One year after its founding, in 1910, Boas became active in the NAACP, writing one of its pamphlets, "The Real Race Problem from the Point of View of Anthropology." In the fall of 1933, Boas summoned a group of intellectuals to "devise ways and means for effectively counterattacking Nazi propaganda in the United States, and particularly Nazi racial theories."[19] A few years later, Boas would try to dissuade W. E. B. Du Bois from traveling to Nazi Germany on a research grant. Eventually, Gunnar Myrdal would take Boas's ideas and incorporate them into his book *An American Dilemma*. Friedman claims that Myrdal "was neither Jewish nor American," but, even after indicating that Myrdal did not in fact write *Dilemma*,[20] he fails to tell us that Louis Wirth, who wrote large sections of *Dilemma*, was both, and that Myrdal had been brought in to give credibility to what was largely a Jewish project, because, as Friedman himself points out, "the scholarly critique of society that evolved into sociology had, like psychoanalysis, earned the reputation of being a Jewish science."[21]

Garvey arrived in Harlem before Boas's influence began to be felt; he arrived at the high tide of racial consciousness in America, on the brink of America's involvement in the Great War, and at the beginning of the greatest internal migration in American history, the movement of the former black slaves out of the agricultural regions of the South into the big cities of the North. The conditions for the emergence of racial consciousness among American Negroes were never more propitious.

The migration out of the South would last for another 40 to 50 years and would redefine the race issue in America. Two factors would play a role as in the migration during and following World War II. Negroes wanted to escape the Jim Crow system of enforced penury, otherwise known as sharecropping, which accompanied the South's Redemption, and secondly, the industrial North needed cheap labor to replace the millions of soldiers who had gone to Europe to fight in the Great War. Railroads and the wage differential did the rest. Between 1916 and 1918 somewhere in the neighborhood of 500,000 southern Negroes headed north. Between 1910 and 1920, the number of Negroes living in Gary, Indiana increased by more than 1,200 percent. Chicago's Negro population increased from 44,103 to 109,594. During the same decade, the Negro population rose nearly 150 percent while the white population increased by only 21 percent.[22]

This was the era before the imposition of immigration restriction, which began in 1924, and so many of the new black immigrants came, as Marcus Garvey did, from the Caribbean. They came to cities like Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and Boston, but New York (and Harlem in particular), was unique both in what it offered its black immigrants and the Negro culture it produced.

In Harlem the Negro also met revolution in its modern form. Many Negroes—Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright—were attracted to communism, and it was primarily through exposure to New York's Jews that the Negro made contact with the various forms of revolutionary activity promoted there. With Max Eastman, who was not Jewish, as his mentor, the Jamaican immigrant Claude McKay began working for *The Masses* where he ended up in conflict (including a fist fight on the sidewalk outside *The Masses* offices) with Mike Gold, author of *Jews without Money.* Unlike the other cities we have mentioned, New York's Harlem, which began turning black around 1905 and by 1930 had 328,000 blacks living there, had a sizeable West Indian population, and this became the backbone of Garvey's UNIA movement.

McKay was feted by Lenin in Russia in 1922 during the deliberations of the Third International as the symbol of Negro revolution in America, a role which he received because he was black and because he was there but which he abandoned shortly thereafter in favor of a literary career and ultimately conversion to Catholicism under the guidance of Bishop Sheil of Chicago.

More often than not, Jews were the Negroes' mentors in the school of revolutionary thought. A. Philip Randolph was introduced to the writings of Karl Marx by Morris R. Cohen, a young professor of philosophy at City College of New York, an institution which would become a hotbed of revolutionary thought in the 1930s. Irving Kristol, father of neoconservativism, would listen in on heated political discussions at Alcove B, the Trotskyite lunch table at CCNY, along with Daniel Bell and other Jewish thinkers, mainly sociologists, who would go on to fame in the 1950s. In 1925 when Randolph organized the sleeping car porters into the nation's first black union, he got help from Jewish union leaders, as well as from Jewish politicians like Emmanuel Celler, as well as financial help from uptown Jews like Herbert Lehman, and spiritual advice from activists like Rabbi Stephen Wise.[23] Randolph's organization would become one of the main pillars of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, when Bayard Rustin took it over. Friedman refers to Randolph and Rustin as "as keystones of the black-Jewish labor alliance."[24]

The third form of revolutionary activity being proposed to Harlem's black diaspora was the liberalism of the NAACP, represented by W. E. B. Du Bois, the Harvard educated mulatto from Barrington, Massachusetts who was the editor of *The Crisis.*

Unlike the other destinations chosen by the Negro migrants, Harlem was unique because of the opportunities if offered. In Harlem, more than any other northern city, the Negro met the Jew. During the 1920s, General Colin Powell's family migrated from Jamaica to Harlem, where he went to work for a Jewish shopkeeper and learned enough Yiddish to address Israel's prime minister in that language years later. Irving Louis Horowitz, who grew up in Harlem, would later say that he spoke English like a black sharecropper. He also said growing up in Harlem led him to his love of Jazz.

There was imitation on the other side of the ethnic equation as well, as Negroes started imitating Jews. From 1915 to 1931, "at least eight congregations of black Jews were organized in Philadelphia, New York, Washington and other eastern cities."[25] One of those black Jews, a man by the name of Ford, went to Detroit, where he changed his name to Fard or Farrad and founded the Nation of Islam. But the main religion promoted by the Jews, and the one the Negroes found most attractive, was modernity. No one place epitomized the new era of the northern Negro better than Harlem. Harlem was where the sharecropper met the modern world, which as Yuri Slezkine has pointed out was largely a Jewish creation.[26]

Because of Jewish influence in the theater and the press, the Jews could promote their own vision of the Negro and ascribe to him a meaning that would undermine and eventually countermand the image which the South had been promoting in novels like Dixon's *Clansman.*

The Harlem Renaissance was one of the better known offspring of the meeting between Jews and Negroes which took place in Harlem. If the Negro emerged as a cultural icon during the 1920s, it was largely because the Jews promoted him as such, and many thinkers—from Henry Ford to Harold Cruse—felt that the Jews never lost sight of their own ethnic self interest when they created the "New Negro Vogue."[27] Henry Ford felt that the Jews promoted Jazz to destroy America's native born musical culture. He felt the same way about the Jewish dominated New York theater. Harold Cruse, writing at the other end of the political spectrum, felt that Jews "sought to make themselves the interpreter of the Negro to American society."[28] This took the form of patronizing Negro art forms like Jazz and then colonizing them. Cruse, who spent most of the 1950s in a vain attempt to get one of his musicals produced on Broadway, felt that the Jewish take on Negro art was unmistakably clear:

> The original Negro jazz was "puerile," "shapeless and chaotic." It was left to Jewish musicians and composers to polish up this pristine black music and render it sophisticated enough for presentation to the general public.[29]

Oswald Garrison Villard, who could hardly be classified as occupying the same place in the political spectrum as Henry Ford, came remarkably close to Ford's conclusions when he as editor of *The Nation* published an article on "The Jew in the American Theater." Recently forced out of his position as chairman of the NAACP by Joel Spingarn in collaboration with Du Bois, Villard published an article which contemplated the fact that "by 1923 American Jews had achieved domination of the theater as a corporate institution" with mixed feelings. The rise of Jewish influence meant "comparative neglect on the part of the Jew of the artistic in favor of the commercial factors of the theater."[30]

Murray Friedman viewed Jewish patronage of Black artists and writers in a positive light, but the examples he cites—Amy (wife of Joel) Spingarn's support of Langston Hughes, Joel Spingarn publishing Du Bois at his newly created Harcourt, Brace, and World publishing house—all indicate that support in the arts was achieved at a price, a price which both Cruse and David L. Lewis felt was too steep, because

> The blacks contributed the raw aesthetic ingredients of the cultural vogue in music, dance, theater and entertainment, but ended upon the short end of the material rewards, having no economic and corporate control over the vogue, which exercised an autonomously creative function that was less than negligible.[31]

To Cruse and Lewis, the Jewish patronage of Black artists that characterized the Harlem Renaissance appears ambiguous at best. Instead of being a celebration of black culture, it was "a diversionary track intended to keep blacks away from Garveyism in favor of the milder legalism of the NAACP."[32]

The end of World War I created a revolutionary situation throughout Europe and the United States. Convinced that the success of the revolution in Russia was a prelude to its spread throughout the world, Lenin promoted successful revolutions in Hungary and Bavaria. Only his defeat at the hands of Pilsudski and the Poles prevented him from marching into Berlin for a triumphant union with the revolutionaries waiting for him there.

That same revolutionary fervor soon spread to the United States. With Woodrow Wilson bedridden as a result of a stroke, dealing with the wave of unrest generated by the revolutions in Europe fell into the hands of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, whose raids exacerbated an already tense situation. As always in America, revolution and social unrest became compounded and confounded by that country's racial situation. The sight of Negroes in uniform sparked lynchings in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South. Once again the South was haunted by fears of a Negro uprising, and the NAACP did its best to fan those fears, bringing about the lynching of a number of blacks.

From the time they began in June 26, 1919 until they sputtered out in the fall, the race riots of the Red Summer of 1919 would claim the lives of 76 Negro men and women. These riots were not limited to the South. The worst race riot began in Chicago on July 27, 1919, when a black boy strayed into the all white section of the beach at Lake Michigan and was drowned. Blacks roamed the city looking for revenge, and the whites retaliated with force of their own. In *The Crisis*, Du Bois fanned the flames of unrest by urging Negroes to prepare for white attack by arming themselves.

During the entire summer of 1919, *The Crisis,* under Du Bois's editorial leadership, stoked the fires of Negro rage. Before long the old vicious circle began to reassert itself in the South. Fear of uprising among the Negroes led

to lynchings, which were then publicized by the NAACP, leading in turn to more fear of Negro uprisings in the South. The NAACP did nothing to break this cycle. Their inflammatory reporting exacerbated the situation. "In Georgia," we are told, "a man was lynched because he was supposed to have said that the Negroes of Georgia were going to do what Negroes had done in Chicago."[33]

Lewis claims that "Du Bois and the NAACP were civil rights militants, not social revolutionaries—defenders of the Constitution, not exponents of class war—and like the association he sometimes unpredictably represented, the editor occasionally could appear exceedingly sensitive, if not squeamish, about charges of espousing political subversion and social unrest."[34] Lewis bases his claim on statements which appeared after the government cracked down. "The editor," he tells us, referring to Du Bois, "made it clear, repeatedly, that the Bolshevik Revolution was not in his eyes what it was in Asa Philip Randolph's—'the greatest achievement of the 20th century.'"[35]

Du Bois would insist in a June 1921 editorial, "The Class Struggle," that "we do not believe in revolution. We expect revolutionary changes to come mainly through reason, human sympathy and the education of children, not by murder."[36] "Curbing revolution," Du Bois continued, was as an excuse to deny Negroes "freedom to think."[37] The chief villain was J. Edgar Hoover, author of *Radicalism and Sedition among Negroes as Reflected in their Publications.* High on Hoover's list of subversive publications was Du Bois's *The Crisis*, especially the issues which had come out before Du Bois's turn to the right in the wake of the Palmer raids.

In fact, "Du Bois's *Crisis* provided Palmer's Department of Justice with abundant and unambiguous evidence of sedition and conspiracy."[38] Du Bois wasn't alone in doing this at the NAACP. Joel Spingarn was more committed to fanning the fears of Southerners and taking the war to Africa than Du Bois. His statements urging the Negroes to arm themselves led not only to "the new fighting spirit among Negroes," but efforts to shut down the NAACP as well.[39]

In August 1919, the attorney general of Texas subpoenaed the books, papers and correspondence of the Austin branch of the NAACP on the grounds that the NAACP was not chartered to do business in the state. To avert a precedent which could shut down the NAACP throughout the South, John Shillady of the national office wired Governor Hobby to ask for a meeting. Hobby referred Shillady to the attorney general, but by the time he arrived in Austin all Shillady could manage was a meeting with the state's acting attorney general during which he "tried to explain that the NAACP was not engaged in organizing Negro uprisings against whites."[40]

On the morning following the meeting, Shillady was attacked and beaten by a group of six to eight men, including a judge and a constable who freely admitted their part in the attack. Both men claimed that Shillady had come to Texas to incite insurrection among Texas's Negroes. When the NAACP

demanded that Shillady's assailants be brought to trial, Governor Hobby sided with his assailants, writing that Shillady deserved the beating he had "received by red-blooded white men" who did not want "Negro-loving white men" in Texas.[41] After administering the beating, Shillady's assailants informed him: "We attend to our own affairs down here, and suggest that you do the same up there."[42]

One year later, Shillady, who never recovered from his beating, resigned from his duties as the NAACP's executive officer. James Weldon Johnson later discovered that "a prominent Negro clergyman of Austin had brought about the attack on Shillady by informing a Texas Ranger that the NAACP was banding together to excite sedition and race riots."[43] This indicates that the NAACP's reputation as a revolutionary organization determined to foment uprisings among the Negroes of the South was not just limited to the white population. It was almost universal in the South and shared by many Southerners who were not white.

The trouble had begun in 1918 when the Justice Department warned the NAACP about the "tone" of its journal. Ignoring the warning, Du Bois had written an article urging Negro soldiers "to marshal every ounce of brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle" against racism than they had fought against the Hun when they returned to the United States after the war was over.[44] This was precisely what the South and large segments of the North feared, and this fear led the Post Office to impound the May 1919 issue of *The Crisis*. The spectre of returning Negro soldiers, now trained in the use of modern weaponry, was scary enough for both the North and the South. When that group was incited further by Du Bois's prophecy that "we are doomed eventually to fight for our rights,"[45] the situation became intolerable for moderates on the board like Oswald Villard, who "severely criticized" Du Bois in *The Nation*, calling his opinion "dangerous and mistaken, a counsel of madness that would lead 'nowhere but to bloodshed without result.'"[46]

Villard wasn't the only one who was "horrified at the violent tone of the editorial."[47] Representative James F. Byrnes of South Carolina held *The Crisis* and other Negro publications responsible for the race riots which had occurred during the summer of 1919 and demanded that the Justice Department look further into the matter to see if they had violated the espionage act by inciting Negroes to riot and take part in mob violence. By the end of the summer, even the Negro press had joined in accusing the NAACP of promoting "Bolshevism."[48] The purpose of the NAACP, according to Joseph C. Manning, who had led the fight against disenfranchisement in the South, was to convert the Negro to Socialism. The situation for the NAACP worsened considerably when Dean L. B. Moore of the Negro Howard University, claimed that "a colored woman representing the National Association had advised colored men to go after what they wanted with a shotgun."[49]

The NAACP tried to finesse the issue by claiming in their 1919 convention in Cleveland that Bolshevism would become more and more attractive to American Negroes if the white establishment failed to implement the reforms which the NAACP was proposing. Villard sprang to the defense of the NAACP in *The Crisis*, claiming. "What the Negro now asked was merely good Americanism, not the doctrines of Bolshevists or anarchists, but that of the founders of the American Republic,"[50] but the damage had already been done.

The NAACP had become fixed in the minds of the establishment as a revolutionary organization. Attorney General Palmer claimed that "there was a well-concerted movement" among certain Negroes to become "a determined and persistent source of radical opposition to the Government, and to established rule of law and order."[51] Palmer then made a thinly veiled reference to Du Bois, as "holding degrees conferred by Harvard University" and editor of a journal which was "always antagonistic to the white race and openly defiantly assertive of its [the Negro's] own equality and superiority."[52] In April 1920, a *Crisis* agent was beaten and sentenced to six months in jail after the state of Mississippi banned the sale of any magazine "tending to disturb relations between the races." The situation in the North wasn't much better. The Lusk Committee of New York State denounced *The Crisis* as dangerous and trying to involve the Negro in revolutionary radicalism.

During this time of revolutionary ferment, Marcus Garvey continued to attract larger and larger crowds. Marcus Garvey, like virtually every other Negro leader in Harlem after World War I, had good things to say about revolution, especially if the revolutionaries were black:

> Garvey proudly recalled for his followers, though not always with complete accuracy, the stirring heroism of such leaders of American slave rebellions as Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, and Nat Turner. . . and the intrepid exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture against the French in Haiti were not neglected in the effort to make Negroes conscious and proud of their racial heritage.[53]

Then in the summer of 1919 Garvey seized on an idea that would give symbolic but concrete form to the racial unity of the world's 400,000,000 Negroes when he incorporated the Black Star Line on July 27, 1919. When a battered Canadian ship known as the Yarmouth but soon to be rechristened as the SS Frederick Douglass docked at the 135th St. pier on September 14, 5,000 cheering Negroes greeted its arrival as "one of the greatest events in the modern history of the Negro race."[54]

Fellow Jamaican Claude McKay had hoped to bring Garvey's growing black following to communism, but Garvey had a better grasp of political reality in America after the Palmer raids and disappointed McKay by expelling revolutionaries like W. A. Domingo from his organization. According to

Lewis, "the watchword for Garveyites was now 'race first'" because "the growing number of followers certainly understood Garvey's appeal to ethnic pride better than they would have the economics of Marx and Lenin."[55]

On August 1, 1920 Garvey followed up on the triumph which the Black Star Line created among American Negroes by convoking the first International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. It was an expression of black nationalism, the likes of which the world had never seen. On August 3, 1920, 25,000 Negroes packed into the old Madison Square Garden after watching a parade through Harlem that afternoon that featured Garvey himself decked out to look like Toussaint L'Ouverture, preceded by thousands of men in uniform and thousands of women in their Black Star nurses uniforms. An entourage of 500 automobiles brought up the rear. Writing some 80 years after the fact, Lewis called the first UNIA convention "the greatest demonstration of colored solidarity in American history, before or since."[56]

Standing before this throng in Madison Square Garden, Garvey announced dramatically that he had two telegrams in his hand, one which he had received from a Jew and another which he intended to send to an Irishman:

> Reading the message from Louis Michel, a California Zionist—"there is no justice and no peace in this world until the Jew and the Negro both control side by side Palestine and Africa"—he waited for applause to die down before reading the second message, his own, to President Eamon de Valera: "We believe Ireland should be free even as Africa shall be free for the Negroes of the world. Keep up the fight for a free Ireland."[57]

If nationalism and national self-determination were good enough for Jews and Irishmen, Garvey seemed to be saying, then they were good enough for the world's 400,000,000 Negroes. "If Europe is for the Europeans," Garvey continued, "then Africa shall be for the black peoples of the world. We say it; we mean it. . .The other races have countries of their own, and it is time for the 400,000,000 Negroes to claim Africa for themselves. . . . we mean to retake every square inch of the 12,000,000 square miles of African territory belonging to us by right Divine. . . .We are out to get what has belonged to us politically, socially, economically and in every way. And what 15,000,000 of us cannot get, we will call in 400,000,000 to help us get."[58]

Lewis adds that "there is even a slight possibility that Du Bois may have been in the audience that night."[59] If so, he did not like what he heard. Confronted by a stupendous political fact like the first UNIA rally, the NAACP could no longer ignore Garvey. Less than a month after the convention ended, the September 1920 issue of *The Crisis* acknowledged Garvey's existence for the first time, in a piece entitled "The Rise of the West Indian." *The Crisis* hailed Garvey as a "new ally in the fight for black democracy,"[60] but privately Du Bois was saying other things. When contacted by a white man's business association in August 1920, Du Bois claimed that Garvey's followers "were

allies of Bolsheviks and of the post-Easter Rebellion Sinn Feiners."[61] Du Bois was offended by what he called Garvey's "Pigmentocracy,"[62] by which he meant Garvey's suspicion of mulattos, quadroons, and octoroons. Du Bois also attacked Garvey for his anti-Americanism, accusing him of ingratitude for the generosity which his adopted country had shown him.

But the real issue was integration. In the wake of the Red Scare of 1919, Garvey abandoned revolution and became a race man instead. In doing so, he found a formula which would appeal to Negroes in a way that the pale abstractions of the Leftists did not. From 1918 until 1920, the numbers of Negro migrants which came out to hear Garvey speak at Liberty Hall in Harlem increased dramatically in size. Black racism leading to black ethnic separatism was consistent with the American political system in a way that black revolution was not. It conformed not only to the conventional understanding of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decision mandating "separate but equal" educational facilities; it conformed to the ethnic separatism which was the unwritten law of the neighborhood in big cities throughout the North. It complemented as well the white racism of the newly resurgent Ku Klux Klan and resurgent nationalism in Europe in countries like Italy and Germany. Beyond that, it was completely comprehensible to the new Negro migrants of the cities of the North, who saw ethnic neighborhoods everywhere they turned and saw no reason why they shouldn't espouse the same principles in their communities.

Garvey would later say that he had no problem dealing with the Klan "and other honest white people."[63] But Garvey had a major problem with the NAACP, because that organization had decided that it was not interested in the ethnic pluralism which characterized the neighborhoods of cities like New York any more than it had been interested in promoting the economic gradualism of Booker T. Washington. The NAACP was interested in "integration," especially in the South, because they understood that integration would mean the end of the South as an independent culture. The same was true of all of the other "white" ethnic groups in the North. As Harold Cruse later pointed out, the Jews were interested in the integration of every ethnic group but their own, and in the Negro, people like Louis Marshall, now on the board of the NAACP and still smarting from his defeat at the hands of Southerners like Tom Watson, had found the vehicle for that subversion.

Heimreich says Garvey, who first articulated the cause of black nationalism and separatism, brought down the Black-Jewish Alliance, but the opposite was the case. The Black-Jewish Alliance brought down Marcus Garvey. Friedman accuses Garvey of "a robust antisemitism"[64] and goes on to claim that "the emergence of Marcus Garvey was a decidedly ominous development for black-Jewish relations,"[65] but that was largely because of the way the Jews had defined the terms of the alliance, which was based on an irrevocable commitment to "integration," no matter what the ultimate consequences for

the Negro were. Garvey incurred the wrath of the Jewish-controlled NAACP because he had the temerity to propose the same program for blacks which Jews were proposing for Jews. Friedman notes the similarities between the Zionism of Herzl and the Black Zionism of Garvey, but fails to note the irony implicit in the fact that Jews ended up persecuting Garvey because he was too "Jewish."[66] According to Friedman,

> Garvey seemed preoccupied with Jews and Judaism. His call for an African exodus bore a striking similarity to the ideas of Jewish thinkers like Pinsker and Herzl. . . . In 1920, Garvey told a UNIA meeting: "A new spirit, a new courage has come to us simultaneously as it has come to other peoples of the world. It came to us at the same time as it came to the Jew. When the Jew said, 'We shall have Palestine!' the same sentiment came to us when we said, 'We shall have Africa.'"[67]

Friedman gets closer to the truth when he writes that Garvey "quarreled frequently with the NAACP, and more often than not, his grievances concerned the leadership roles of Jews in what he believed should have been an all-black organization."[68] The issue was not only the "leadership roles of Jews" at the NAACP, the issue was "integration," which Garvey saw as debilitating for any group which saw that as its highest aspiration. White racism was the best thing that could happen to America's blacks, according to Garvey, because it created racial solidarity, which was the foundation of economic solidarity, which was the basis of political power. Garvey could see that the Jews understood this, which is why he urged Negroes to imitate Jews. What he could not tolerate was the double standard implicit in organizations like the NAACP, which promoted integration for every group but the one which controlled the organization. Before long the feelings were mutual and the battle was joined as the NAACP, using Du Bois as its agent, set out to destroy Garvey and his movement.

In the meantime, the federal government had also turned against Garvey. The NAACP may have urged the overthrow of state governments in the South, but it was docile to federal power, as evidenced by its pro-war stance. Both Spingarn and Du Bois coveted commissions as officers. Two of the 25,000 Negroes listening to Garvey's speech on August 3, 1920 were FBI agents. That agency had been alerted to Garvey as a threat after the general counsel of the United Fruit Company had written to the secretary of state warning him that Garvey's activities "might repeat the French experience in Haiti."[69] Fearing the same thing, Britain's foreign office had already banned distribution of copies of Garvey's newspaper the *Negro World* throughout British Africa after the opening of UNIA branches in Capetown and Johannesburg. Garvey wrote to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes disavowing any subversive intent, but the white power structure remained suspicious.

In November 1920, Du Bois, who had been working behind the scenes to undermine Garvey's movement, made a significant tactical blunder when he advocated interracial marriage and race mixing as the solution to America's racial unrest. Howls of protest emanated from representatives of the entire political spectrum, and Garvey's howls were among the loudest. As a result, Du Bois and his colored aristocracy, otherwise known as the "talented tenth," begin to sense that they were losing their influence over the mind of the Negro masses. When President Warren Harding gave a speech in Birmingham, Alabama and announced "racial amalgamation there cannot be," he was greeted with cheers, and some of the loudest cheers came from Marcus Garvey, who attacked Du Bois as guilty of having committed "racial treason."[70]

As some indication that Du Bois's espousal of race mixing was more than just an isolated gaffe, Lewis cites a conversation years later between Walter White and Joel Spingarn, in which White admitted to Spingarn that "unmixed" Negroes, like Garvey and the people drawn to his cause, "were inferior—infinitely inferior now," Spingarn quoted him as saying, "whatever they might possibly become in the future."[71] Garvey had been exiled to England by the time this exchange took place in 1934. But, not surprisingly, Spingarn claimed "this is very confidential," because it lent credence to Garvey's claim that he was the victim of a quadroon/octoroon conspiracy.[72]

By the end of 1921, Garvey had successfully established himself as a viable alternative to Randolph's black socialism, McKay's black communism, and the integrationism promoted by the NAACP, whose talented tenth seemed to have slipped into irrelevance once the black masses showed themselves willing to mobilize under Garvey's banner of black nationalism. It was then that Garvey's troubles began in earnest.

After the 1920 rally, Garvey had reached the peak of his power. Things went downhill after that largely because of problems with the Black Star Line. The shipping venture had turned into a money-gobbling disaster, largely because Garvey had bought broken-down ships at exorbitant prices. In late October 1919, after a rousing send-off given by 6,000 members of the UNIA who had assembled at Harlem's 135th Street pier, the battered hulk now rechristened as the SS Frederick Douglass set sail for Cuba with $4.8 million dollars of whiskey on board to avoid confiscation when the Volstead Act went into effect on January 20, 1920. The battered Douglass made it as far as 23rd St. in Midtown Manhattan when it had to turn back because it lacked the proper insurance.

Setting sail once again, the Douglass was plagued by mechanical problems associated with its antiquated boilers. Because it had not been loaded properly and was listing dangerously, the Douglass had to throw much of the cargo overboard off the coast of New Jersey, where it was picked up by smugglers in boats, lending credence to the belief that the crew was involved in the theft of the cargo.

By the time the Douglass limped into Havana Harbor on March 3, most of the whiskey was gone, having been either stolen or drunk by the crew, exposing Garvey, who had signed a full-liability shipping contract to an enormous loss.

After three equally disastrous voyages, the rusty Frederick Douglass, which had cost the Black Star Line a total of $194,803.08 in two years of operation was sold for $2,320.90 to settle a judgement of $1,625. The financial record of the other Black Star Line ships was equally disastrous. The Shadyside, an excursion boat that the Black Star Line hoped to use to ferry Harlemites up the Hudson during the oppressive months of the New York summer, swallowed another $31,000 of Black Star money before it ran aground and was abandoned. In less than a year and a half, the Kanawha took in $1,207.63 income after swallowing another $134,681.11 of Black Star money.

By the end of 1920, Du Bois knew enough about the Black Star Line's financial woes to publicize them in *The Crisis* and eventually use them to bring about Garvey's downfall. In December 1920 Du Bois published an attack on the Black Star Line in *The Crisis* that asked why the Black Star Line had been accepting deposits on tickets to Africa on a ship which they did not own. Desperate to get a ship that could reach Africa, the Black Star Line had fallen in with a dubious broker by the name of Anthony Rudolph Silverston (aka Silverstone) who promptly appropriated $10,000 of Black Star money intended to be a deposit on the ship. "Silverston," according to Lewis, "later sought to claim this $10,000 as his personal property. . .despite the fact that the Black Star Line was repeatedly dunned for payment of the wily broker's promissory note. . . Was there any wonder that Garvey belatedly began to suspect treachery in the Black Star camp?"[73]

By bringing up the issue of the deposit on the tickets, Du Bois broached the issue of fraud in public for the first time. Garvey had fallen in with Silverstone because he needed the ship now rechristened as the Phyllis Wheatley for his plan to relocate blacks to Liberia. There is no indication that he did not intend to use the Phyllis Wheatley for this purpose, which would mean that his intent was not to defraud. Garvey's failure to carry out his scheme for resettlement could be laid sooner and more logically at the feet of his own business ineptitude or the machinations of Silverstone, or Du Bois's machinations with the President of Liberia.

Before long the government and the NAACP began acting in concert. During April of 1921, Du Bois was working behind the scenes to thwart Garvey's Liberian construction and resettlement scheme, communicating frequently with Liberia's President King during this period. President King, at Du Bois's urging, made his antipathy to Garvey and his schemes clear in his communications with the State Department in Washington. In its June 1921 issue, *The Crisis* published a statement by President King, announcing that

"under no circumstances will [Liberia] allow her territory to be made a center of aggression or conspiracy against other sovereign states."[74]

In August 1921, William J. Burns, the director of the FBI, wrote to the New York shipping board and asked them not to sell the Black Star Line the ship which Silverstone, who had already taken $22,500 for the sale, had promised. The shipping board, which claimed that Garvey's UNIA was "the Communist party which is affiliated with the Russian Government" and that Garvey himself was "a ratical [sic] agitator" who "advocates and teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence,"[75] then took six months to issue its sale contract and when it did demanded a performance bond that amounted to twice the purchase price of the ship. The delay in the purchase of the ship lent credence to Du Bois's claims that the BSL was collecting deposits for tickets on a ship it did not own, but the fact that the BSL was unable to obtain ownership was due largely to the machinations of Silverstone and the shipping board. There was no fraudulent intent on the part of the Black Star Line.

As if Garvey didn't have enough troubles, competing Negro organizations like the dubious "Friends of Negro Freedom," began organizing "Marcus Garvey Must Go" protests, claiming among other things that Garvey was a "monkey chaser," an American Negro term of opprobrium used to refer to blacks from the Caribbean and Africa and that UNIA stood for "Ugliest Negroes in America."[76] Playing his own version of the race card, Du Bois denounced Garvey as a "West Indian Agitator,"[77] in a letter to the State Department in Washington which also solicited damaging information which Du Bois could publish in *The Crisis*. Garvey didn't help his case by aligning himself with white racists like Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi and praising groups like the Ku Klux Klan: "Between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey National Association for the Advancement of 'Certain' People, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose toward the Negro."[78] Garvey made statements like this, according to Lewis, because "he was fed up with integrationist hypocrisy,"[79] especially the sort promoted by the NAACP.

When Marcus Garvey was arrested for mail fraud in January 1922 he was generous in assigning the blame for his troubles to a long list of persecutors. Before the indictments, Garvey had used the pages of *The Negro World* to claim that "Bolshevist agents"[80] had been paid to attack the Black Star Line. Equally guilty was the "white shipping industry," which had devoted a million dollar campaign to "boycott and pull [the Black Star Line] out of existence."[81] By January 1922, he was claiming that certain "Negro Advancement Associations" had "paid men to dismantle our machinery and otherwise damage it so as to bring about the downfall of the movement."[82]

When a year passed without a trial, a group of Negroes wrote an open letter on January 12, 1923 to U. S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, demanding that Garvey be brought to justice. The letter demanded "that the

Attorney General use his full influence completely to disband and extirpate this vicious movement, and that he vigorously and speedily push the government's case against Marcus Garvey for using the mails to defraud."[83] A number of the Negroes had ties to the NAACP, only deepening Garvey's suspicions.

Once Garvey cited the NAACP as one of the conspirators determined to bring him down, it was only a matter of time before he would bring the Jews into the same picture. Garvey's suspicion that he was the victim of an NAACP/Jewish inspired conspiracy was strengthened when he learned that the presiding judge at his trial was Julian Mack, in Friedman's words, "a member of the German-Jewish aristocracy who also served on the board of the NAACP."[84] When Garvey's motion to have Judge Mack dismissed for conflict of interest was denied, he became even more convinced that he was the victim of an "international frame-up," declaring: "I am being punished for the crime of the Jew Silverstone [an agent for the line]. I was prosecuted by Maxwell Mattuck, another Jew, and I am to be sentenced by Judge Julian Mack, the eminent Jewish jurist. Truly I may say 'I was going to Jericho and fell among thieves.'"[85]

Garvey's trial finally began on May 18, 1923. Having failed to unseat Judge Mack, in spite of the fact that he "admitted having contributed to the NAACP,"[86] Garvey proceeded to fire his own lawyer and represented himself, proving right the old adage about the man representing himself having a fool for a client. Garvey proved his inexperience in the law and courtroom procedure by automatically objecting to every motion of the prosecution, an action which dragged out the trial and antagonized the jury, which returned a guilty verdict four weeks after the trial began. Any doubts which Garvey might have entertained about Mack's bias in the case must have disappeared at the sentencing. Garvey was sentenced to five years in federal prison, the maximum sentence, even though

> There was nothing to indicate that the BSL had been formed for anything other than what it purported to be, a Negro improvement venture. . . . Clearly the collapse of the corporation could be attributed chiefly to poor judgment in the purchase and maintenance of the decrepit Black Star fleet, and here the real criminals were white culprits who had unloaded rusty hulks on unsuspecting and inexperienced Negroes.[87]

Lewis calls Judge Mack "a model of judicial patience and wise impartiality," but the fact that Mack, also in Lewis's words, was "second only to Louis Brandeis in the American Zionist movement" and "widely reputed to be both a cofounder and active member of the NAACP," causes no suspicion of bias to rise in his mind, even thought Lewis finds that "The verdict was somewhat strange in that the other three Black Star defendants were acquitted of any complicity in the crime."[88] This is, indeed, a strange outcome for a conspiracy trial.

In spite of the fact that "the feeling began to grow among Negroes that Marcus Garvey was the hapless victim of white justice and this tended to enhance his prestige both in the United States and abroad,"[89] and in spite of the Jewish/NAACP connection, which the judge himself did not deny, Lewis claims that "Garvey's conviction was a self-inflicted tragedy" and accuses Garvey of anti-Semitism because

> Behind Mack's NAACP membership and presidency of the American Jewish Congress Garvey divined sinister, clandestine forces bent upon destroying black people's best hope of advancement. From this curious moment onward into the late 20th century, black Zionism would carry a distinct malodor of ideological anti-Semitism.[90]

In spite of his conviction and the concerted attack against him, Marcus Garvey's movement was stronger than ever when he spoke in Madison Square Garden on the night of March 16, 1924. The 1924 UNIA convention had even more pomp and pageantry than the 1920 convention, something which caused W. E. B. Du Bois more than a little annoyance since it seemed that Garvey was on "the verge of successes that would confound his detractors."[91] Du Bois attacked the conference publicly by calling Garvey "the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and in the world."[92] He was "either a lunatic or a traitor."[93] The fact that Garvey unveiled his Liberian resettlement plan at the 1924 convention allowed Du Bois to continue to work behind the scenes with the U.S. State Department as well. Cronon portrays Garvey's claim that the machinations of W. E. B. Du Bois led to the collapse of the Liberian project as paranoid fantasy:

> He blamed his old enemy Dr. W. E. B Du Bois, who was visiting Liberia at the time as the American representative to the presidential inauguration, for the collapse of the venture, charging that Du Bois had sabotaged the work of the Garvey association in order to further his own Pan African movement. Later Garvey's almost pathological hatred of DuBois, whom he called "purely and simply a white man's nigger."[94]

But Du Bois was in fact conspiring to destroy Garvey's plan. On July 10, 1924, Consul General Ernest Lyons wrote from Baltimore to inform Du Bois that "no person or persons leaving the United States under the auspices of the Garvey Movement in the United States will be allowed to land in the Republic of Liberia."[95] Two weeks after the date of Lyons' letter, a UNIA advance party arrived in Monrovia and was immediately placed under arrest and deported on a German ship. When *The Daily Worker* printed Robert Minor's suspicions about Du Bois's collusion with Liberia against Garvey, Du Bois lied about his involvement, calling the story in the *Daily Worker* "an unmitigated lie."

The government continued its harassment as well. In a move that seemed designed to thwart the 1924 UNIA meeting, a grand jury indicted Garvey for perjury and income tax evasion shortly after the convention began.

But Garvey's racial appeals were having success among Negroes: a group which called itself the Negro Sanhedrin made up of three hundred black delegates from 63 organizations met in Chicago in 1924.

The Negro Sanhedrin was based on the Paris Sanhedrin of 1807, which Napoleon convoked to get the Jews on his side so that he could invade Russia. The Negro Sanhedrin was inspired by Garvey and its proceedings—as set down in "The Negro Speaks for Himself," edited by Alain Locke—were a clear rebuke of the Jewish paternalism promoted by the NAACP. In spite of the clearly Jewish inspiration for this meeting, the Jews ignored it, admitting tacitly, according to Cruse, that the "fight for the civil rights of blacks was ultimately a long-range civil rights defense of the status of Jews in American society."[96] The Jews remained adamant in their refusal to support the Negro whenever he proposed a program that was too close to the program of ethnic and economic solidarity promoted by the American Jewish Committee and other like-minded organizations.

On February 2, 1925, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals rejected Garvey's appeal of his mail fraud conviction, and six days later Garvey arrived at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta to begin serving his sentence. Reacting to the growing sense that Garvey had been railroaded, President Calvin Coolidge granted Garvey a pardon in late 1927, but since Garvey was not an American citizen and had been convicted of a felony, he was immediately deported as an undesirable alien. After a triumphal progress through the Caribbean, which not even State Department harassment could deter, Garvey made his way back to Jamaica and eventually to England where he died all but forgotten in 1940.

Once he was safely out of the way, *The Crisis*, in an editorial which appeared in 1928, declared "We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey."[97] However, their enmity against Garvey's "fundamental issue of life"—namely, "the appeal of race to race, the appeal of clan to clan, the appeal of tribe to tribe"[98]—would continue unabated in organizations like the NAACP, even though Zionism would continue to make the same appeal to Jews.

Chapter Eight

The Scottsboro Boys

On March 25, 1931, Victoria Price and her companion Ruby Bates hopped on a freight train in Chattanooga, Tennessee bound for Huntsville, Alabama. Both women were white; both were dressed in men's clothing, but Price was considerably older than Bates, who was still a minor. Price and Bates were not alone on the train, nor was it unusual to find that freight trains, in the heart of the Depression, had become the poor man's passenger rail. Two hundred thousand people could be found riding the rails at any one time during the '30s, and hobo jungles had sprung up at freight yards across the country to accommodate the nation's poor and dispossessed on their way to look for work or to no place in particular.

Accommodations on freight trains in the South were not segregated, which led to what might be called segregation from the ground up. When a gang of white youths met a gang of Negroes on the freight train which was traveling from Chattanooga to Huntsville, a fight ensued, as the train was slowly picking up speed, the Negro youths who eventually triumphed threw the white boys off the train one by one, until finally there was only one left and the train was now moving at 35 mph. Rather than throw him off the train to what would have been severe injury and possibly death, the black youths let the last white boy stay on the train, and then they turned their attention to the other two youths, who, it turned out were women in men's clothing.

What happened at this point has been a matter of conjecture for the past seventy-some years. When the train pulled into the small town of Paint Rock, Alabama, a posse was there to meet it. Angered by their treatment at the hands of the black youths who had thrown them off the train, the white boys had informed the station master, who telephoned the police, and when the train stopped in Paint Rock, the posse surrounded the train and apprehended nine young black men. It was then that the posse discovered the two women dressed like men. Victoria Price, the older of the two, immediately charged the Negroes with rape. The two women were taken to a local doctor to be examined; the Negroes were taken to jail, and the stage was set for what would eventually become the most famous trial of the 1930s in America, the

trial of a group of Negro youths who came to be known as the Scottsboro Boys.

The Scottsboro Boys trial was a golden opportunity for the NAACP because the NAACP specialized in litigation. The NAACP had experienced one of its greatest victories in January 1923 when the U.S. Supreme Court declared that 12 sharecroppers accused of murder and insurrection in Elaine, Arkansas, had been denied a fair trial. This decision provided vindication for Louis Marshall, whose motion to overturn the conviction of Leo Frank had been denied eight years earlier. By April of 1925 all of the original defendants had been released, prompting W. E. B. Du Bois to claim that the release of the Elaine 12 was "a complete victory for the NAACP."[1]

By 1931, when the nine Negro boys were apprehended in Paint Rock, Alabama, legal victories rang hollow in a world where unemployment, hunger, and the spectre of starvation—in short, economics—had become the real issues. The NAACP itself had narrowly avoided economic extinction when contributions plummeted in the wake of the stock market crash of 1929. By 1930 the situation had become desperate, prompting William Rosenwald to offer to donate $1000 per year for the next three years if four other donors agreed to do the same. Herbert Lehman, Mary Fels, Felix Warburg, and Harold Guinzberg, publisher of the *Viking Press*, matched Rosenwald's grant, and the $16,350 which the Rosenwald plan brought in allowed the NAACP to weather the financial crisis of the '30s. Murray Friedman points out that Edsel Ford was the only non-Jew to respond to Walter White's SOS, which prompted Du Bois to admit that "only the strength of communal Jewish resources permitted such a degree of financial support."[2]

Not even the fact that New York Jews had to band together and save the NAACP during the Depression could move that organization away from its resolute avoidance of dealing with economic issues. The fact that the Negro in the '30s was affected by the financial crisis more than white Americans had no effect on the NAACP's philosophy of judicial activism. As a result, in the aftermath of the stock market crash of 1929, the Communist party gained the upper hand over the NAACP because they were willing to talk about the economic dimensions of racial discrmination in a way that the NAACP was not. Thirty years later, Harold Cruse would claim that the Depression revealed the bankruptcy of the NAACP approach.

> The economic disaster of 1929 had revealed clearly that the guiding white philosophy of noneconomic liberalism was an insidiously debilitating leadership ideal to have been imposed on a nonwhite minority group seeking racial parity under American capitalism. Worse than that, noneconomic liberalism was a seductive entrapment into a fixed psychology of dependence, underdevelopment of social intelligence, and intellectual subservience. At best the free market of capitalist economic activity was free for whites only, and even then it was free only for those

> whites who controlled the ascending ladder of command posts in the class hierarchies of entrepreneurial advantage. . . . At least a helot, or slave, or serf merits the right to be fed, but a freed serf without a master becomes the worst victim of the economics of scarcity. The Great Depression was an era of artificial scarcity in which the price of civil rights was the Freedom to Starve to death without regard to race, creed color or national origin.[3]

Although litigation was its strong suit, the NAACP was reluctant to get involved in the Scottsboro Boys case, largely because it was reluctant to defend a group of Negroes who had been accused of raping two white women. Interracial sex was the third rail of political and social life in the South, and the NAACP knew that better than most organizations. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, followed the Scottsboro Boys case in the newspapers. Those reports convinced him that "The last thing they wanted was to identify the Association with a gang of mass rapists."[4]

The Communist party, however, saw their opportunity and seized it. Charles Dirba, the assistant secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and a member of the Communist party's Central Committee, recognized the political value of the trial immediately and sent a telegram to the Central Committee urging them to get involved. As a result the Communist party through its legal arm, the International Labor Defense, took over the case.

The Communist party rightly saw the Scottsboro Boys trial as an opportunity to recruit members from the Black Belt. The Party had been trying to turn Negroes into revolutionaries, ever since Claude McKay had showed up in Moscow in 1922 and the Fourth Comintern Congress, meeting in Moscow, discussed America's race problem for the first time. Party leaders, for the most part totally unfamiliar with the situation in the American South, had no idea how to create a program that could capitalize on the unrest there. Since Claude McKay was from Jamaica he knew only a little more about the situation in the South than Radek or Zinoviev did. But he was certainly black—blacker than W. E. B. Du Bois, who would take another 40 years before he decided to join the Communist party, and it was as a black man that McKay made a hit in Russia. Cruse would later say that McKay was selected as a "special delegate" representing American Negroes "merely because he was the only Negro in Moscow at that moment."[5] McKay, who eventually contracted syphilis in either Moscow or Berlin and had to travel to Paris for treatment, was interested in revolution more for the sexual or artistic opportunities it offered, something that was evidently apparent to the official American Communist party delegation, which demanded that McKay be deported back to the United States after they arrived in Moscow. McKay, like "Millions of ordinary human beings and thousands of writers," went to Russia because he was "stirred by the Russian thunder rolling around the world."[6]

But when he got there Radek wanted to know if he had a plan, and McKay had to admit that he didn't.

Revolutionaries had been wanting to turn the Negro into a revolutionary and "take the war to Africa" ever since Toussaint L'Ouverture and John Brown, but no one, least of all the American blacks, knew how to do it.

As a result the Negro lost his place at the head of his own revolution, and that place was taken by the Jews, who, although they were not black, did know a lot about how to start revolutions. Since no one really understood the relationship between ethnos and class when it came to the American Negro, the Jews got to impose their position on the situation because they were in charge of the revolutionary movement. Forty-some years after the fact, Harold Cruse rails against this decision for destroying whatever political power the Negro was about to gain under Marcus Garvey. What McKay should have told Radek, according to Cruse, is

> that the American Party was not a party of the American workers as such but an organization in which leftwing political power was exercised and predicated on national groups. . . particularly the Jewish group that later came to dominate leftwing affairs in a degree all out of proportion to its number. Jews were also able to play a three-way game inside the Communist leftwing. . . Leftwing Jews were able to drop their Jewishness and pick it up whenever it suited them. They were able to function as American whites without prejudice, especially in the cultural fields. They were able, as Jews, to wield power through the Jewish federation. Later they were able to function as pro-Zionist nationalists within the left.[7]

Because McKay was unable to propose a plan to Radek on how to turn Negroes into revolutionaries, "The Communist Left . . . allowed Jewish leaders who came out of the Jewish Federation to become experts on the Negro problem in America."[8]

Unlike Cruse and McKay, W. A. Domingo, who like McKay and Garvey also came from Jamaica, felt that if Negroes wanted to become revolutionaries "it was necessary first to go to America and learn such advanced thought from the Russian Jews" because "With the exception of the few who work in the garment industry in New York and come in contact with the wholesome radicalism of Russian Jews, the majority of Negro men and women are deprived of the stimulating influences of advanced political thought."[9] According to Cruse, the case of W. A. Domingo shows how Russian Jews diverted blacks from their natural self-interest, into supporting essentially Jewish positions, because

> this advanced political thought was, of course, Menshevik and Bolshevik Marxism. However, these Russian Jews knew exactly how to use this advanced political thought for themselves as Jews first and Marxists second. By his very act of toadying and genuflecting before

> the revolutionary superiority of white Socialist philosophy, Domingo revealed that he preferred to be a revolutionary Marxist first, a West Indian second, and a Negro last.[10]

Unlike Claude McKay, Domingo had become an unwitting stooge of the Jews by failing to see that the Communist party was really a cover for Jewish ethnocentrism. McKay would learn this lesson first-hand when he clashed with Mike Gold, author of *Jews without Money*, when both men were on the board of the *Masses* and McKay had to resign. McKay was unprepared for the conflict because he had gotten along well enough with Max Eastman and his sister Crystal but never understood Jews as anything other than a subset of white folks. According to Cruse, the Jews wrecked revolution in America by their ethnocentric myopia. They failed to see the cultural revolution that was possible among American blacks, and, failing to see what was possible, imposed on America a Russian/Jewish vision that was doomed to failure: "All that the Michael Golds accomplished was to inject a foreign cultural and political ideology into a basically American cultural phenomenon, and engender confusion upon confusion."[11]

> The situation led inexorably to the period of Jewish dominance in the Communist party. It culminated in the emergence of Herbert Aptheker and other assimilated Jewish Communists, who assumed the mantle of spokesmanship on Negro Affairs thus burying the Negro radical potential deeper and deeper in the slough of white intellectual paternalism.[12]

Political life in America was irredeemably ethnic, but that situation was confused by the racial terms, black and white, which more than anything else in the years of the Black-Jewish Alliance allowed Jews to disguise their real intentions and pursue Jewish ethnic goals under the cover of pursuing racial equality. Jewish Communists were, according to Cruse, especially good at this because

> these Jewish Communists were often more arrogant and paternalistic than the Anglo-Saxons, more self-righteous and intellectually supercilious about their Marxist line on America, than any other minority group striving for an ideal standard of radical Americanism.[13]

Nothing made this more apparent than the Scottsboro Boys case. In defending the Scottsboro Boys, the Communists reached the point of highest public visibility in their campaign to portray themselves as the defenders of the downtrodden Negro. But the Communists' cynical exploitation of the Scottsboro case also brought about the unraveling of the very thing they hoped to achieve by exposing the ethnic double standard at the heart of the new version of the Black-Jewish Alliance. At the beginning of the trial, Jews claimed to be ethnically invisible individuals whose patronizing behavior could be overlooked in light of their expertise as revolutionaries. By the time

the trial ended, they were seen as ruthless political opportunists willing to send their clients to the electric chair if political advantage could be gained.

By the time the Scottsboro trial wound down at the end of the decade, Negro communists like Harold Cruse had come to the conclusion that the ethnic double standard was too big to ignore. The Negroes could no longer tolerate the fact that *The Communist* of September 1938 could publish an article by V. J. Jerome honoring "A Year of Jewish Life," but if a black party member were to come out with a similar piece honoring "A Year of Negro Life" he would be expelled from the party for instigating a Garveyite plot. In spite of their claim that revolutionary ideology superceded any form of ethnic idenity, Communist Jews used the party to uphold "the historical priority of Jewish cultural identity."[14] Nothing symbolized this double standard better in Cruse's mind than the fact that "As late as the 1930s, the top Communist leader. . . in the Harlem Communist party was Jewish."[15]

The same verdict could be applied to the ILD's handling of the Scottsboro Boys trial, which was heavy-handed and ethnocentrically Jewish and succeeded in alienating the very people—i.e., the jury—that the ILD lawyers needed to win over. Unfortunately, the position of the NAACP, while marginally better, wasn't qualitatively much different. The jurisdictional squabbles between the NAACP and the ILD over who was going to represent the Scottsboro boys only exacerbated the situation in the eyes of Alabamians, who were reduced to calling down a pox on the houses of both groups.

The feud between the NAACP and the ILD did little to change the minds of southern observers. First there was the confusion over who was a communist and who was not. At first Walter White said that the NAACP had ""no objection to Communists. . . aiding the defense of the boys,"[16] but then Herbert Seligman announced that the NAACP would not associate in any way with the Communists at the trial. On June 7, William Pickens of the NAACP accused the ILD of engaging in "communistic activity and propaganda among colored people in the South, based on the pretext of defending these boys."[17] Pickens implied that the communists' cynical attempt to turn the trial into a recruiting campaign had put the boys' lives at risk: "If the boys should be lynched, it would further play into their hands and give them material for still more sensational propaganda among the more ignorant of the colored population."[18]

The communist press reacted predictably by referring to the NAACP as "lickspittles of the capitalist class,"[19] but their reaction was overshadowed by what was becoming a generally held consensus in the South. Two groups of New York Jews were using the Scottsboro Boys as a way of gaining market share among the Negroes of the South. Both the ILD and the NAACP were seen as Yankees meddling in the affairs of the South. The NAACP/ILD squabble prompted one commentator to opine that only the "liberal, white people of the South" should handle the case, since the NAACP and the ILD

seemed "engaged in a joint battle to secure the exploiting possibilities of the case rather than to defend the boys themselves."[20]

The Birmingham Age-Herald was even stronger in its condemnation. "It is now clear that these darkies do not mean a tinker's damn to the organizations which have supposedly been moving heaven and earth on their behalf."[21] The entire episode was a "nauseating struggle between the Communist group and the negro society, not so much that justice may be done as that selfish interests may be advanced though the capitalization of the episode."[22]

By the time the Scottsboro Boys went on trial, the Communist party and its front groups like the ILD had superceded the NAACP as the voice of the downtrodden Negro. To avert a possible lynching, the first trial began 12 days after the boys' arrest. The defense attorneys assigned by the court were Milo Moody, a "doddering, senile" septuagenarian who hadn't tried a case in years, and Stephen R. Roddy, a Chattanooga real estate attorney who was "so stewed" on the first day of the trial "that he could hardly walk straight."[23]

The unspoken principle which provided the deep grammar for the trial had already been articulated in *The Clansman*: whenever a white woman accuses a Negro of rape, the Negro is guilty. Since race had attained a metaphysical status in the South, it challenged morality as the criterion of human action. This meant that white women, because of their racial endowment, were *ipso facto* virtuous. Somehow that didn't seem completely plausible, and so it was left to the successors of Thomas Dixon, to come up with the proper formulation of the relationship between race and morals.

In their apologia for the southern point of view, Crenshaw and Miller in *Scottsboro: the Firebrand of Communism*, claimed that

> Since the first slave was brought into this country by New England traders the white race has insisted that the Negro respect the white woman, regardless of her position in society, and when he violates the person of a white woman he has committed "the unpardonable sin" in the eyes of the Southern white."[24]

Since sexual activity can be consensual, rape trials often have to deal with the character of the woman leveling the accusation. However, race intervened in the issue as the South defined it and rendered such inquiry impermissible. "The character of these Huntsville girls," Crenshaw and Miller wrote, "whatever it might be, is not the concern of the authorities or of the courts."[25]

According to the racial code of the South, the character of the white woman was subordinate to her race. If she accused a member of an inferior race of rape, her word superseded the word of the accused man on racial grounds alone. In 1932 the Winston-Salem, North Carolina *Journal* noted that

> in the South it has been traditional . . . that its white womanhood shall be held inviolate by an 'inferior race.'" And it mattered not whether the woman was a "spotless virgin or a 'nymph de pave.'" There could be no

> extenuating circumstances. If a white woman was willing to swear that a Negro either raped or attempted to rape her, "we see to it that the negro is executed," declared Arkansas poet John Gould Fletcher.[26]

When Victoria Price was allowed to tell her side of the story on the stand during the first trial, the defense attorneys' cross-examination was so perfunctory that the issue of her character did not arise. Nor did the issue of the physical evidence supporting her claim of whether she had been raped arise because the doctors who examined Price and Bates were not cross-examined. When the Scottsboro Boys themselves took the stand, three said a gang rape did occur, but six denied it. In the end, no closing statement was offered by the defense attorneys.

Not surprisingly, the jury returned a verdict of guilty for three of the defendants, which elicited "a loud roar of approval" from the crowd outside the courthouse "that was clearly heard by the second jury," which was still deliberating on the fate of the rest of the defendants.[27] In the end, eight of the nine Scottsboro Boys were sentenced to death. The judge had to declare a mistrial in the case of ninth defendant, a 12-year-old boy by the name of Roy Wright, because 11 of the jurors held out for death despite the request of the prosecutor for life sentence in light of his tender age.

The Scottsboro trial stirred up the old fears, which had been circulating through the South since the time of the Toussaint L'Ouverture rebellion in 1798. In spite of the guilty verdict, the South, having learned that the northern press had veto power over its verdicts as a result of the Frank case, was convinced that the trial had attracted a horde of revolutionaries, who had moved into Alabama to stir up the Negroes. The fears of white Alabamians were, of course, justified because once the ILD got control of the second series of Scottsboro trials, it demanded complete subservience to the leadership of the Communist party, USA. William L. Patterson, the National Secretary of the ILD, had lived for three years in the Soviet Union during the 1920s. When he returned to the United States he was a complete party man who felt that "The Soviet Union is the only country in the world were there is no discrimination, the only country where there is equality for all races and nationalities,"[28] and that it was his job to implement the party line in America. On May 14, 1931, the Communist party's Central Committee issued its "Organizational Directives on the Scottsboro Case," which outlined in detail the tactics to be used. In formulating its tactics, the ILD was simply carrying out the party line set during the meeting of the Sixth Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1928, when the 32-member Negro Commission:

> concluded that American negroes constituted an oppressed nation dwelling within the heart of the Deep South. Consequently, the Commission decided that the only solution to the American "race problem" was the secession of all black people from the United States. "The Communist

> party must stand. . . for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt." The architect of this resolution was Otto Kusinen, a Finnish born theoretician of Stalin, who had never met more than a handful of Negroes in his entire life. Privately, many of the American delegates regarded the program as so much nonsense.[29]

The New 1928 Party Line—"Self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt"—effectively cut the Negroes in the South off from their brothers in the North, many of whom had just left the South, and aligned them, because of the *a priori* application of class theory, with antagonistic Southern whites, who were seen as "workers." Since both the poor whites and poor blacks were "workers," there was supposed to be a natural affinity between them that overruled any racial antagonism. This was the logic of revolutionary struggle in the South, as articulated by Jews and Finns in Moscow for whom the Deep South meant Odessa. It had the sort of Russian/Jewish *a priori* nature that infuriated Harold Cruse, who felt that:

> By 1929 . . . an unyielding, narrow-minded rigidity permeated the Party's thought on all questions. The West-Indian-American Negro braintrust could not utter a single theoretical idea about themselves unless they first invoked the precedent of the Moscow "line," so that everybody would know in advance that they had not the slightest intention of disagreeing with it.[30]

If the tactics of the ILD in racial matters inspired this sort of animosity in a left-wing Negro 30 years later, it's not difficult to imagine the effect they were having on white Southerners in the aftermath of the first Scottsboro trial. During the summer of 1931 a series of events confirmed the direst predictions of Alabamians who argued that the Scottsboro Case was a dangerous vehicle of communist agitation. Toward the end of 1931, a Communist by the name of Donald Burke opened an office for the Communist party, USA, in Birmingham and began distributing leaflets and organizing meetings in Birmingham's black district because "The Scottsboro case renewed the Party's hopes that it could organize a significant number of Negroes in the area."[31] Burke and three assistants distributed leaflets in Scottsboro, Huntsville, Paint Rock and other areas of Alabama, calling on white and Negro workers to "smash the Scottsboro lynch verdict."[32] On April 29, 1931, the ILD and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights called an "all-Southern Scottboro Defense Conference" to meet on May 24 in Chattanooga. Whatever gains the ILD hoped to get from organizing the "oppressed black peasantry" were offset by the hostility these efforts aroused in the white Southerners, who felt that revolution was imminent. The fact that Communists were now openly advocating revolution among the area's Negroes "alarmed and disturbed conservative Southerners."[33]

When the Chattanooga conference failed to mobilize the local Negroes, the ILD sent a number of Communist organizers into Tallapoosa County, one of the rural, cotton-growing counties in central Alabama where the majority of the population was black. In early June 1931, four white men and one Negro from Chattanooga moved without announcement into the most predominantly Negro section of the county around Camp Hill. When a Negro tenant farmer informed Sheriff J. Kyle Young that Communists were meeting in the Mary Church near Camp Hill, Young approached Ralph Grey, to question him about the "radical meetings" which were reportedly being held to protest the Scottsboro case. During their meeting, Grey opened fire on Young and his deputies, setting off a panic that lasted for weeks. By 2:00 AM of the day following the shooting, every white man within 20 miles had armed himself, and a posse which numbered more than 500 men began rounding up suspects in a atmosphere of panic and alarm. Files Crenshaw gives the South's view of what was happening when he states that "Thirty four Negroes were arrested in connection with the uprising."[34] Crenshaw adds that a Negro church and five Negro residences had been burned down in the fall of 1931. Mayor Thomas Russell blamed the arson on "Communist sympathizers." Crenshaw also claimed that another Negro minister in Tallapoosa County received several anonymous threats that his church would be burned down if he continued his "crusade against communism."[35]

The Alabama department of the American Legion called the attention of the state to the "horde of communists" who had descended upon Alabama "spreading a flood of propaganda opposing our form of government and social conditions, our race relationships and all the bases upon which our society rests, advocating race equality and destruction of law and authority by force and violence."[36]

Before long the panic created rumors which took on a life of their own. Reading a report announcing "Negro Reds Reported Advancing" in the Saturday morning edition of the *Birmingham Age-Herald*, 150 armed men formed a blockade at the highway bridge north of Tallapoosa only to learn that the two dozen approaching cars belonged to a funeral procession on its way to a country graveyard north of Dadeville. "Somewhat embarrassed, the men allowed the procession to go on and gradually began returning to their homes."[37] Superindendent Robert Russa Moton of Tuskegee sent several carloads of prominent Negroes to the area to prevent Tallapoosa Negroes from "going red."[38] Moton warned Alabama Negroes "against permitting themselves to be stirred up by agitators from outside. . . who come with plausible arguments and fair promises creating suspicion and ill will between the races."[39]

On August 4, Alabamians' fears that the Reds were stirring the Negroes up to insurrection seemed confirmed when three young women were raped by a Negro who "harangued" them about how white people had mistreated his

people. One local newspaper felt the rape could be traced to the influence of communist agitators bent on stirring up insurrection.

In retelling the rape story, Crenshaw praised "Negro organizations in Birmingham [which] offered every assistance at their command in the search for the slayer . . . and expressed the belief that the murderer was no product of Alabama" and "possibly came to the state for the purpose of making trouble in the furtherance of propaganda to which both races in the South were opposed."[40] Crenshaw also praised the Interracial Commission in Atlanta for issuing a "warning that Communist agitators, by pretending friendship for the Negro, were using him simply as a means to an end."[41] After claiming that the suspect had come from Chicago, Crenshaw cautioned against "condemning a whole race for the actions of a few of its criminal members" because the real issue was outside communist agitation: "The murder of the two girls and the uprising in Tallapoosa County could both be traced to the influx of the reds beginning with their defense of the Scottsboro 'Negro rapists.'" As long as these "black fiends" remained alive, they would be "used by the reds to incite our colored people to riot, rape and kill."[42]

Crenshaw recounts other rapes and claims that they resulted from ILD agitation. When three Negroes were arrested in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on a charge of attacking and slaying Vaudine Maddos, a 20-year-old white girl, in an isolated community near the Bibb county line, the ILD got involved "to inflame the public mind,"[43] and as a result the suspects—Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, A. T. Harden, 16, and Elmore Clark 28—were lynched. In his report, Tuscaloosa Sheriff R. L. Shamblin claimed that "feeling aroused by the ILD lawyers" was "directly responsible for this violence."[44] For the Left, the Scottsboro Boys trial had become a symbol of racial injustice; for the White South it became a symbol of Communist subversion.

The first victims of Communist agitation were the Scottsboro Boys themselves. One Harvard graduate from northern Alabama claimed "I might have been for aquittin' them at the first trial. . . but now after all this stink's been raised we've got to hang 'em." The main group responsible for the stink was the Communists, who had been talking "about how white folks oppress the niggers and about communism."[45]

The struggle to turn the Negro into a revolutionary would continue throughout the 1930s. Garvey, who had expelled the communists from the UNIA, could have posed an alternative, but Garvey was in exile in England. Cruse claims that "Garvey's plans ended in fiasco because of opposition in Africa, his own egoism and financial incompetence," but he fails to add that the machinations of the NAACP played the major role in Garvey's demise. The vacuum Garvey's expulsion left behind could not have been filled by the NAACP, which brought about Garvey's downfall, and so it unwittingly opened the door for the openly revolutionary Communist party, which began its campaign to turn the Negro in the Black Belt of the South into the

vanguard of revolution in the United States with the trial of the Scottsboro Boys.

The Scottsboro Boys trial, like the Leo Frank trial almost 20 years before, was a source of pride to liberal Southerners, who claimed it showed that the South no longer needed "Judge Lynch." Alabamians were upset when they learned that "outsiders" did not share their views about the triumph of the legal system in the South over lynching. More characteristic of how those outside Alabama viewed the trial was the disgusted outcry of a New York college student. "What kind of mindless savage are you?" he asked Judge A. E. Hawkins. "Is condemning eight teenagers to death on the testimony of two white prostitutes your idea of 'enlightened' Alabama justice?"[46]

The South, above all else, feared the return of Reconstruction, a time when "Unscrupulous outsiders" used "the bayonets of Negro troops" to "put the black foot upon the white neck."[47] Reconstruction was synonymous with "outside influence," which invariably led to a return to lynch law.

The Chattanooga Daily Times claimed that the "outside interference" of "Northern organizations" into the South's legal processes "can serve no purpose other than to make it more difficult to stop lynchings in the South."[48] Oftentimes it was only the assurance of a speedy trial that quieted the mob bent on lynching the suspect. When the communist propaganda surrounding the Scottsboro trial ridiculed the courts of Alabama as engaging in officially sanctioned lynching, it undermined the very thing the South was trying to uphold, namely the rule of law as an alternative to lynching.

Gradually, fear of communism became the real issue, and the nine defendants' guilt or innocence receded into the background. Judge Hawkins told Roddy that "the Communists are more of an issue than are the facts of the case."[49] The issue of communism had made it impossible for the governor to pardon the eight young men. The Rev. Asbury Smith, pastor of one of the largest Negro churches in Baltimore, claimed "that the rapid swing of Negroes away from their traditionally conservative position was due almost entirely to the Communist campaign for the Scottsboro boys."[50]

"Alabamians were unanimous. . . in their firm conviction that the Communists had seized the Scottsboro case for purely mercenary motives." The Alabama Interracial Commission charged that there was "brilliant leadership, sleepless energy and apparently unlimited money behind the malevolent [Communist] activity." These "apostles of revolution" pretended friendship for Negroes, but this was only a means to reach their selfish ends. Without a doubt, declared the commission, "Race hatred, race discord, murder rape [and] lynchings" were the Communists' "immediate object."[51]

Undeterred by the reaction they were creating, the Communists pressed on with their efforts to revolutionize the Black Belt Negroes. To better coordinate their activities, the ILD moved its offices into the Birmingham headquarters of the Communist party. Aware of this and other moves by the communists,

the Klan began to revive and distribute handbills and placards announcing how "the Klan Rides again to Stamp out communism" and warning Negroes to be wary of Bolsheviks.[52]

During late 1931 and early 1932, when it was reviewing the first Scottsboro trials, the Alabama Supreme Court was inundated by an flood of intemperately-worded invective that had the effect of hardening them in their resolve to resist "outside agitation." "These messages," said Chief Justice John C. Anderson on January 21, 1932 "are highly improper, inflammatory, and revolutionary in their nature," and were "sent with the evident intent to bulldoze this court."[53] When Joseph Brodsky quoted from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' dissent in the Leo Frank case, Knight responded by saying "I have the deepest reverence for Justice Holmes, but I wonder if he had lived a little closer to the South whether he would have written these decisions, had he known how jealously we have striven to uphold our rights and protect our womanhood."[54]

Once again the communists overplayed their hand and brought about the opposite of what they said they wanted. On March 24, by a margin of six to one, the Alabama Supreme Court upheld the conviction of all but one of the nine defendants. Chief Justice Anderson told the NAACP's Walter White that Communist propaganda had "possibly injured the defendants."[55]

The Scottsboro Boys case went to the United States Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the defense, overturning the verdict of the Alabama Supreme Court.[56] The New York Times hailed *Powell v. Alabama* as a landmark in American jurisprudence. The Supreme Court decision, however, never allayed "the general suspicion . . . that the ILD was perfectly willing to sacrifice the [Scottsboro] boys for whatever were deemed to be the Party's best interests."[57]

Energized by the Supreme Court decision, the Communists redoubled their efforts in the Black Belt, and as result there was a new outbreak of racial violence in Tallapoosa County. When word spread through Tuscaloosa in June that "the Communists had come to town,"[58] to defend three Negroes charged with raping and killing a 21-year-old white woman, an angry mob formed near the courthouse, threatening to lynch the ILD lawyers, who needed the National Guard carrying rifles with fixed bayonets to get them out of town alive. Appalled by the prospect of another Scottsboro Boys style trial in Tuscaloosa, the sheriff's deputies executed the three men in front of a firing squad in a isolated section of the county. The ILD lawyers, in other words, brought about the lynching that they claimed they were there to prevent.

The local *News* blamed the "disturbances" on the "International Labor Defense, preaching their poisoned communistic propaganda among our contented Negro population."[59] The local press also held the ILD responsible for the suspects' deaths. The *Tuscaloosa News* claimed that "the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense are stained with the blood of the three Negroes."[60] As Episcopal Bishop William G. McDowell

observed, the ILD's decision to defend accused Negro rapists was widely construed as an assault on the South's entire social structure. "Apparently the war is on."[61]

Crenshaw claims that in its *Norris v. Alabama* decision the U.S. Supreme Court deliberately revolutionized the jury system of the South. In doing this they paved the way for the communists, who intended to finish off the job with a violent revolution. Crenshaw cited the testimony of Borden Burr, a Birmingham attorney and former president of the Alabama Bar Association, who told an Alabama Senate Committee on May 16 that "the Communistic Party and its affiliates have between 3,000 and 4,000 members in Alabama and I have undisputed evidence showing they advocate overthrow of our good State and National governments by force."[62]

"The Communists boast," Burr told the committee, "that they have had greater success in Alabama in the last few years than in any other State, and among the evidence I have are documents proposing that Negroes rise up and establish their own government in Black Belt counties where they are in the majority."[63]

Convinced that they could now win the case, the ILD selected two attorneys to defend the Scottsboro Boys, Samuel Leibowitz, who was not a Communist, and Joseph Brodsky, who was. Both men were Jews from New York City. By now the concepts of Communist and New York Jew had become interchangeable in the minds of the average Alabamian, which is to say the type of person most likely to be chosen to serve on a jury. The fact that both defense lawyers were Jews from New York, the fact that one of them was an agent of the ILD, and the fact that the ILD had total control over the strategy both inside and outside of the courtroom only confirmed the idea of outside interference in the minds of the men on the jury, a fact that the prosecutor would exploit.

It wasn't just Southern racists who felt that the lawyers were dangling from strings that reached back to New York City. Even supporters of the Scottsboro boys like Clarence Darrow felt the same way and said so publicly when he withdrew from the case. "If the cases were to be won," Darrow opined, "they would have to be won in Alabama, not in Russia or New York."[64] On January 4, the NAACP National Board of Directors announced that the Association had decided to withdraw formally from the case.

THE SECOND TRIAL

On March 13, 1933, Samuel Leibowitz arrived in Birmingham and officially assumed command of the case. Patterson of the ILD had chosen Leibowitz because of his reputation as the second Clarence Darrow. The resignation of the first Clarence Darrow over the ILD's heavy-handedness in the first trial indicates that the honor was misplaced. Darrow was smart enough to know

that a Southern jury was not going to be won over by threats and moral posturing. Leibowitz never figured this out.

The second trial of Haywood Patterson began on March 30, 1933, in Decatur, 50 miles west of Scottsboro, in the courtroom of Judge James Horton. Leibowitz moved to quash the indictment on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury rolls, but his motion was rejected. The difference between the first and second trial was that the defendants now had lawyers that would subject the state's witnesses to real cross-examination.

At a little after 9:00 AM on April 3, Victoria Price was called to the stand to recount her story for what was now the fifth time under oath. For the first time, however, Price was subjected to grueling questioning which called her character into question. Leibowitz introduced documents from the city court of Huntsville, Alabama showing that Price had been found guilty of fornication and adultery on January 26, 1931.

If Leibowitz expected Price to crack under the strain, he was mistaken, for according to one woman in the courtroom, Price was not only "tough," she was "terrifying in her depravity"[65] and brazened out the defense attorney's accusations.

Leibowitz's cross-examination was merciless. His questions suggested his answers. There was no Callie Brochie's boardinghouse in Chattanooga, as Price claimed. She was an adulterer who had consorted with Jack Tiller in the Huntsville freight yards two days before the alleged rape, and it was his semen (or that of Orville Gilley) that was found in her vagina. She was a person of low repute, a prostitute. She was neither crying, bleeding, or seriously bruised after the alleged gang rape. She was fearful of being arrested for a Mann Act violation (crossing state lines for immoral purposes) when she met the posse in Paint Rock, so she and Bates made groundless accusations of rape to deflect attention from their own sins.

Leibowitz introduced various affidavits which cast doubt on her status as the Flower of Southern Womanhood, which is how the prosecution tried to portray her. McKinley Pitts of Chattanooga said he had seen Victoria "embracing Negro men in dances in Negro houses" and heard her talk to Negro men "in the most foul and vulgar language and ask colored men the size of his [sic] privates."[66] Pitts claimed that Ruby Bates bragged to him she could "take five Negroes in one night and not hurt her." Oliver Love, who ran a Negro boardinghouse in Chattanooga, admitted that, because he needed the money, he had allowed Victoria Price to use a room as a base of operation for prostitution. Asberry Clay, a friend of Love, said that a white man had approached her at the boardinghouse about paying for her services, but Price declined claiming that she was occupied that evening because it was "Negro night."[67]

The "filthy affidavits"[68] which called the character of Price and Bates into question elicited charges of bribery and witness tampering. The *Sentinel*

claimed that the affidavits had been gathered by "one Chamlee, a white lawyer in Chattanooga employed by the Communist party."[69] The *Sentinel* could not imagine that such a "filthy attack upon two white girls and supplied by Negroes of the lowest class would be given credency by anyone," especially since the Negroes said that "Chamlee had paid them fifty cents for placing their marks on the affidavits."[70] The affidavits only increased the general anger against the defense attorneys.

The character issue had already flared up in May of 1931 when the ACLU published an interview which Miss Hollace Ransdell of Louisville, Kentucky had conducted with Victoria Price. During the interview, Price described the rape "with zest slipping in many vivid and earthy phrases," which the local press had described as "unprintable" or "unspeakable."[71] Miss Ransdell felt that Price and Bates routinely had sexual intercourse with whites and Negroes, which called their claim that they had been raped into question. When Ransdell met with Deputy Sheriff Walter Sanders in Huntsville, Sanders claimed that Price hadn't been arrested because she was a "quiet prostitute."[72] Quiet or well-known, Price had the reputation of being a prostitute among those who knew her in Huntsville, and this cast doubt on her testimony that she had been a "virtuous woman" until the time of the rape.[73]

Doubts about whether the rape had occurred began cropping up among the prosecution's witnesses. During the trial, Dr. Marvin Lynch, one of the gynecologists who examined the women, took Judge Horton aside, and, in a impromptu conference in the court's men's room, told him that he did not believe the girls had been raped. Horton was stunned by the revelation and asked Lynch to testify under oath, but Lynch declined, claiming that it would destroy the practice he was in the process of trying to found. Thirty-four years later, Lynch denied making any statements to Horton, but doubts were insinuating themselves into the mind of the judge and others.

Leibowitz was able to cast doubt on Victoria Price's moral character, but eventually the strategy would backfire. Price was seen as a symbol of white Southern womanhood because of her race and not because of her morals, which, as Files Crenshaw had claimed, were seen as irrelevant. Leibowitz, who was "not accustomed to addressing Southern juries," failed to take into account "old Southern chivalry"[74] and the corporate sense of the South which invariably closed ranks when it felt itself under attack by outsiders. Instead of casting doubt on the truth of her testimony, Leibowitz, in the words of the *Sylacauga News*, made the average man in the jury box "feel like reaching for his gun while his blood boils to the nth degree."[75]

Instead of capitalizing on Judge Horton's doubts, Leibowitz's courtroom manner continued to antagonize the jury. Subsequent statements, made safely within the confines of New York City, would confirm Alabamians' suspicions that Leibowitz felt that he was dealing with a subhuman species of cretin when he addressed southern whites. When Leibowitz insisted that Attorney

General Knight call his client "Mr. Sanford" on the stand, he antagonized the spectators who saw no slight in Knight's actions. When Leibowitz wondered why there were no Negroes on the jury rolls, the jury felt that he was attacking the jury system. The anger quickly spread to the crowd outside the courthouse, which was threatening to take the law into its own hands. That threat prompted Judge Horton to remind the court that all were equal under the law and that, like St. Paul, "we know neither native nor alien, we know neither Jew nor Gentile, we know neither black nor white."[76]

Horton's attempts to insist on the rule of law were undermined by the tactics of the Communist party, whose organs kept referring to him as a "lyncher in sheep's clothing"[77] while ignoring that Brodsky was paying subordinates to suborn witnesses. Upon cross-examination, assistant prosecutor Wade Wright was able to elicit damaging testimony from one witness, who admitted under oath that "Joseph Brodsky had paid his room and board for almost a month and had even bought him the new $11 suit he was wearing."[78]

The prosecution knew that the two main pillars upon which their case rested were the testimonies of Victoria Price and Ruby Bates. Now Price had been exposed as a prostitute, and Ruby Bates was nowhere to be found. Bates had indicated that she was having second thoughts about her testimony as early as June of 1931, when she approached defense attorneys with what she claimed was important information. Then on January 5, 1932, she had written a letter in which she claimed that "those Negroes did not touch me. . . I was jaze But those white Boys jazed me. I wish those Negroes are not burnt on account of me."[79]

That testimony, however, was called into question when boxer Miron Pearlman announced that he had been paid by George W. Chamlee to "get her [Bates] drunk and have her write a letter to one of her fellows stating that the Negroes did not attack or assault her."[80] Bates then signed an affidavit in which she claimed "I was so drunk that I did not know what I was doin" when she wrote the first letter under Pearlman's direction.[81] According to the new affadavit, the letter contained "all falsehoods, no truth being in it." Chamlee denied the charges, but The Chattanooga Bar Association was unmoved and called for Chamlee's disbarment for "conspiracy" and interference with pending criminal proceedings. Before long it was clear that Chamlee was working as an agent of the ILD, which was also instrumental, even though no one knew it at the time, in Bates' disappearance before the beginning of the second trial.

Then, in a move which caused a sensation in the courtroom, the defense called Ruby Bates to the stand, and Bates waltzed down the center aisle of the courtroom decked out in a brand new outfit of New York clothes. But the jolt which Bates' theatrical arrival gave to the defense's case was soon dissipated when she was subjected to the withering cross-examination of the prosecuting attorneys, who suspected more witness tampering.

When asked about her whereabouts for the past few months, she claimed that she had hitched a ride to New York City, where she had worked for a "Jewish lady"[82] for several weeks. During her stay in New York, Ruby's conscience began to bother her, and so she sought spiritual solace from Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the famous New York pastor of the Rockefeller Church. Fosdick, Bates claimed, urged her to return to Alabama and testify.

By the time Bates testified on the stand that she had had sexual intercourse with Lester Carter in Chattanooga the night before her departure and that no one had raped her on the train, she had already given two contradictory versions of her story. Rather than focus on the inconsistency of her testimony, Attorney General Knight focused on her new set of clothes.

"Where did you get that coat?" Knight asked her.

"I bought it," Bates replied.

"Who gave you the money to buy it?" Knight continued.

"Dr. Fosdick of New York."[83]

Eventually, Ruby Bates got lost in the maze of her own self-contradictions. Her credibility reached such a low that at one point the spectators in the courtroom burst out laughing, which infuriated Leibowitz and "made it clear that Ruby's testimony was not making a favorable impression on the jury,"[84] which was now coming to the conclusion that the defense had spirited her away to New York City and had bribed her to change her testimony.

When Morgan County Solicitor Wade Wright began his summation before the jury, New York City would play a large role in what he had to say. In the most famous line associated with the trial, Wright asked the jurors to "Show them that Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York."[85] Leibowitz immediately jumped up and demanded a mistrial, but his motion was denied. In the end, Wright was as accurate in reading the jury as Leibowitz was in misreading it, and, intentionally or otherwise, antagonizing the people who needed to be persuaded.

At 10:00 AM on Sunday April 9, 1933, the jury entered the courtroom laughing and announced that they had reached a verdict. Judge Horton then read the note in large pencil-written letters which they handed him: "We find the defendant guilty as charged and fix the punishment at death in the electric chair."[86] Leibowitz was stunned by the verdict and slumped back in his chair, showing that his ignorance of the "psychology of Southern juries" persisted until the bitter end. The defense had played right into the prosecution's hands by doing everything within its power to arouse the Alabamians' ancestral fears that the South was once again under attack by outside agitators. Mary Heaton Vorse claimed that the jury had been convinced that Ruby Bates' clothes had been "bought with Jew money from New York" and that Bates "had been contaminated" by her trip there.[87] Wade Wright's statement about "Jew money from New York" was "the most effective single statement by the counsel for the prosecution" because, as John Hammond pointed out in *The*

Nation, it "registered to perfection the repressed feelings and prejudices of the twelve good men."[88]

The South, once again, was reacting to the threat of Yankee meddling—this time as carried out by New York Jews—by closing ranks, and they were willing to do this even if it meant defending two prostitutes as the Flower of Southern Womanhood and sending eight Negro boys to their deaths on the electric chair. Several southern papers entertained the idea that the verdict was not fair, but virtually all attributed it to outside agitation. The death of the Scottsboro Boys became a certainty once the ILD became involved and used its agents to bribe witnesses and intimidate both judge and jury. "If there has been no fair trial, outside pressure on Alabama is chiefly responsible for it," said the Charleston, South Carolina *News and Courier*. The *Charlotte Observer* called the verdict a "natural reaction" to outside agitation:

> Unless this "Russianized northern element" was defeated there could be no peace and tranquility in Alabama. Conceivably, a local defense without the triple disadvantage of being radical, Jewish, and "Northern" could have gained a compromise such as life imprisonment, but the jury's loyalty to its white caste could only be proven unequivocally by a guilty verdict. Whether Haywood Patterson was guilty or innocent was, at most, a peripheral question.[89]

On April 10, 1933, Samuel Leibowitz returned to New York City, where he was given a hero's welcome as over 3,000 enthusiastic and cheering supporters, most of them black, jammed Pennsylvania Station to greet him. Leibowitz reacted to the adulation of the crowds in New York by insulting the entire state of Alabama. When asked by a reporter from the *New York Herald Tribune* how the jury could convict Patterson, Leibowitz responded by saying that, "If you ever saw those creatures, those bigots whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like frogs, whose chins drip tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy, you would not ask how they could do it."[90] Leibowitz added that he needed a "moral, mental and physical bath,"[91] as a result of the two weeks he had just spent in Decatur, Alabama. Leibowitz said this, it should be noted, when eight of his clients were still facing charges in Alabama, from whose citizens, "whose chins drip tobacco juice," their juries would have to be drawn.

When news of his remarks reached the South, Attorney General Knight denounced them as "the wail of a contemptible loser, particularly in view of the fact that in his address to the jury he lauded the people of Morgan County and the members of the jury to the skies." Knight concluded his remarks by adding that, "I, like every other Southerner, resent his despicable slurs."[92]

The Southern press agreed with Knight. "The New York Jew says there is no such thing as fair trial in Alabama," said the Athens, Alabama *Courier*. "It seems to this paper . . . [that] this recent recruit from Russia is a poor sort of

chap to blight the good name of Alabama."[93] And the *Sylacauga News* proudly declared: "When these German communists hear of the latest echo from their New York fog horn lawyer, they will doubtless learn true blue Americans have not yet grasped the meaning of the order to retreat."[94] Judge Horton concurred: "The statement of itself of necessity must make impossible any just and impartial verdict. The accused Negro must be a victim of this statement. His leading attorney would be a millstone around his neck."

Brodsky defended his colleague, claiming that Leibowitz had never made the statement, but, as usual, Brodsky made matters worse, especially when he put Marxist words in Leibowitz's mouth, claiming that "Leibowitz's view is that in Decatur and the South the white workers are imbued with the idea of white supremacy and that only in union of the white and Negro workers warring against the ruling class can they gain their ends."[95]

Leibowitz refused to back down from what he had said in the *Tribune* and extended his attack to include the prosecution in terms that were guaranteed to make a bad situation worse: "as for the rest of the braying pack, the wolves of bigotry who raised the Hitler cry of 'Jew money from New York' because we dared to demand a square deal for a poor unfortunate whose skin was black, I stand pat. They are bigots."[96]

Undeterred by the fact that he had just ruined the cases of the remaining defendants and condemned them to the electric chair, Leibowitz spent the following Thursday evening at Harlem's Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, addressing a cheering crowd of 4,000 Negroes, who hailed him as a "new Moses."

It was the beginning of many Scottsboro Boys rallies. On Friday, May 5, at a mass rally which served as the kick-off for William Davis's March on Washington, one-time prosecution, one-time defense witness, Ruby Bates told the crowd that she had lied because "I was afraid of the Southern white ruling class people. . . ."[97]

As some indication of what "Southern white ruling class people" thought of Ruby, the *Huntsville Times* referred to Bates as "Harlem's darling."[98] If she ever tired of telling her story of oppression at the hands of "Southern white ruling class people" to the fashionable Leftists in New York, Ruby could go "on to a vaudeville engagement, where the emoluments should be more lucrative than working in a cotton mill, riding a boxcar as a hobo, or pursuing her avocation as a 'lady of leisure.'"[99] The *Huntsville Times* portrayed "being a martyr to the 'cause' of the Scottsboro boys" as "more profitable than plying the trade she once did in Huntsville."[100]

In spite of the communist invective aimed a portraying him as a mindless bigot, Judge Horton began to have doubts about the verdict shortly after the second trial ended. "The conclusion," Horton eventually wrote, "becomes clearer and clearer that this woman was not forced into intercourse with all of these Negroes upon that train, but that her condition was clearly due to the

intercourse that she had had on the nights previous to this time."[101] Horton then set the judgment of the jury aside and ordered a new trial, a move which exposed him to invective from the other end of the political spectrum. The same judge who had been faulted for being a lyncher in sheep's clothing was now accused of being too lenient and "allowing that Jew lawyer who represented the defendants to say and do what he pleased."[102] By ordering a new trial, Horton was guilty of "putting wicked thoughts in the minds of lawless Negro men and greatly increasing the danger to the white women of Alabama."[103]

By ordering a new trial on June 22, 1933, Horton put an end to his own legal career. He was defeated in the May 1934 primary, but even before that, the third trial had been taken out of his hands and transferred to the courtroom of William Washington Callahan, a befreckled septuagenarian who seemed like central casting's idea of what a hanging judge from the South ought to be.

Oblivious to the effect his tirade against the South as a bunch of frog-eyed tobacco-chewing cretins would have on any possible jury, Leibowitz returned for an encore performance. Equally oblivious to how their heavy-handed interference with witnesses had convinced the jury to hand down a guilty verdict, the ILD decided to make the same mistake twice by bribing the trial's other main witness; only this time they were caught red-handed.

In June 1934, when Joseph Brodsky heard from J. T. Pearson that Victoria Price was willing to change her testimony if the price were right, he contacted a New York attorney by the name of Samuel Shriftman who was associated with the ILD and operated under the name of Daniel Swift. Schriftman/Swift spent the summer of 1934 working out a deal with Pearson, who in August offered Price $500 if she would change her testimony. When Pearson increased the figure to $1000 in September, Price told Pearson he had a deal. What she didn't tell Pearson is that she had also gone to the Huntsville police, who encouraged her to "play along with the deal."[104]

On October 1, Price and Pearson set off by car to Nashville, where they were scheduled to meet with Shriftman and Sol Kone, another associate of Brodsky, who had arrived at a downtown hotel with a briefcase containing $1,500 in one dollar bills. As soon as Pearson and Price passed the Huntsville city limits, their car was pulled over, and Pearson was arrested. At the same time, Nashville police arrested the two New Yorkers and confiscated the "Jew money" they had brought with them to buy justice, as Wade Wright had warned, in the state of Alabama.

Shortly after the arrest of Schriftman and Kone, another lawyer, Frank Scheiner, arrived from New York City and posted a bond of $2,000 for each man after they were bound over to the Madison County grand jury. "After gaining their release on bond," Crenshaw/Miller write, "Shriftman and Kone left the state and have never returned. Their bonds were declared forfeited."[105]

What followed was an orgy of mutual recrimination in a relationship that was already showing severe strain. In the wake of his diatribe in the *Tribune*, the Communists had attacked Leibowitz for "condemning the Southern masses indiscriminately as morons, lantern-jawed, etc. etc."[106] Leibowitz heard about the arrests shortly after noon on October 1 and was on the phone immediately demanding an explanation from Brodsky, who explained that the ILD had been negotiating with Price for four months. Brodsky tried to calm Leibowitz down, but by the end of the day he was pouring his heart out to the NAACP, claiming that the ILD had wrecked his case from the beginning. Leibowitz blamed the Ruby Bates debacle on the ILD, claiming that "He had warned Patterson and Brodsky not to bring Ruby to New York because of the inevitable Southern reaction."[107] Leibowitz's reaction prompted many to wonder whether he was lying or whether he had no control over the case. Many Southerners felt that Leibowitz was guilty of protesting too much. Bishop William G. McDowell claimed that Leibowitz's "Public denunciation of the ILD was [a] stage play to save his face when they were caught trying to bribe Victoria Price."[108] McDowell felt that Leibowitz "knew all along the ILD practices he denounced, and that he would like to recover his prestige by putting on another show at Decatur, no matter who pays the bills."[109]

On October 3, Leibowitz announced that he was withdrawing from the case "unless all Communists are removed from the defense."[110] One day later the ILD fired Leibowitz citing his lack of experience in appeals trials as the reason. On October 8, the *Daily Worker* escalated the conflict by claiming that Leibowitz had joined the "Alabama lynch rulers" in spreading "lying stories of attempts to bribe Victoria Price and other slanders."[111]

What followed was the judicial version of musical chairs as the NAACP and the ILD competed for the privilege of representing the Scottsboro Boys, who in turn played one set of lawyers against the other until no one knew who represented whom. On October 16 the *Washington Merry-Go-Round* picked up the story:

> Northern defenders of he Negro are quietly looking for a good liberal Southern democrat with an Anglo-Saxon name to take over the defense of the seven Negroes in the Scottsboro case. Their defenders, tired of supporting lawyers with Communist affiliation or foreign names, have made up their minds to get someone with the standing of John W. Davis. . . . What has brought this decision? Is it the arrest of two defense lawyers for alleged attempted bribery of Victoria Price, a white woman who accuses the seven Negroes? The two lawyers are supposed to be affiliated with the Communist party which unquestionably has used the Scottsboro case for its own ends.[112]

On February 15, 1935, the United States Supreme Court heard arguments in the *Patterson* and *Norris* cases. Six weeks later the Supreme Court in *Norris*

vs. *Alabama* overturned the convictions of defendants Norris and Patterson. Leibowitz claimed to be "thrilled beyond words"[113] by the decision, but when Haywood Patterson's fourth trial began in January, 1936, in Judge Callahan's courtroom, Leibowitz took a back seat to a local, less "Russianized" attorney by the name of Charles Watts.

In December of 1936, while Patterson's appeal was still pending and the other eight blacks awaited their trials, Thomas Knight met secretly with Samuel Leibowitz in New York to discuss a compromise. Knight told Leibowitz that the cases were draining Alabama financially and politically, and that he himself was sick of it all. He offered to drop the prosecutions of three, and give the others no more than ten years for either rape or assault.

Finally, in a verdict that satisfied no one, four of the defendants were acquitted on the same evidence that had convicted the other four, leaving Alabama, as one wag pointed out, "in the "anomalous position of providing only 50 percent protection for the 'flower of Southern womanhood.'"[114]

In what had become a Southern ritual, the Scottsboro Boys followed in the footsteps of Ruby Bates and traveled to New York City, where they were met by Thomas S. Harten, a Negro minister from Brooklyn who offered to become their "manager." One of their first stops in New York was the office of Samuel Leibowitz whom they attempted to shake down for money after they accused him of making millions at their expense.

Then two weeks later, the four freed Scottsboro Boys appeared on the stage of the Apollo Theater along with "a cast of Fifty Fascinating Females."[115] From 1913 until World War II, the Jews who owned the Apollo Theater had used it as a venue to promote sepia thrills to white audiences. Now Sidney S. Cohen, the man who opened the Apollo to black audiences in 1934, could add social commentary to his All-Girl Review. The Scottsboro Boys, Cohen's handbill opined, had become "the symbol of a struggle for enlightenment and human brotherhood which will go on and on until it is won!"[116] Unfortunately, neither Enlightenment and human brotherhood nor Fifty Fascinating Females could earn any money for the Scottsboro Boys, who were in debt after their first week of appearances.

In 1938, a pardon for all of the Scottsboro Boys left in Alabama seemed all but assured. Governor Bibb Graves was anxious to end the whole Scottsboro episode before he left office, and told Scottsboro Defense Committee head Allan Chalmers that the four would be released after he had his traditional pre-pardon interviews with each in his office. The interviews, however, could hardly have gone worse. First, Haywood Patterson was found to be carrying a knife when he was searched on his way to the interview. Patterson claimed he always carried a knife for protection, but authorities assumed the worst. Second, a presumably brain-damaged Ozie Powell refused to answer Graves' questions, saying "I don't want to say nothing to you."[117] Third, according to Graves' account, Clarence Norris threatened to kill Haywood Patterson,

with whom he had been feuding bitterly, after his release. Finally, none of the Scottsboro Boys admitted any knowledge or guilt concerning a rape aboard the Chattanooga to Memphis freighttrain—a rape that Graves still believed occurred. Consequently, Graves left office without issuing the pardons.

In 1948, Haywood Patterson escaped from the work gang he had been assigned to and headed north. The FBI caught up with Patterson on December 13, 1950 when he entered a bar in Detroit, Michigan, to sell copies of his newly released "autobiography" written with (or by) Earl Conrad with the assistance of the Communist party. When Michigan's Governor G. Mennen Williams refused to sign extradition papers, Alabama authorities announced that they would terminate all efforts to have him returned to the state.

In criticizing the Jews' attempt to colonize the Negro mind via their control of the Communist party, Harold Cruse cited Karl Marx's line in *Zur Judenfrage*, "What right, therefore, has he to demand of others the abdication of their religion?"[118] The line was especially applicable to the Communists' dealings with the Scottsboro Boys. Sidney Cohen's tawdry attempt at the Apollo Theater to capitalize financially on the Scottsboro Boys paled in comparison to the Communist party's attempt to turn Haywood Patterson into a model atheist.

According to his autobiography, Patterson "began to lose confidence in God" by the time of the third trial, largely because "the more talk I heard about God the more I kept seeing the freckles on the face of old Judge Callahan."[119] It was the old argument of evil. "Three times I was sentenced to die for something I never did. What was the Lord doing about it. Nothing."[120] Unlike God, the ILD lawyers brought Patterson and the other defendants "pops and candy and gave them to us boys in the visiting room." Patterson noticed that the lawyers "were Jewish," but that "was okay with me," because "I worked for Jews in Chattanooga." The Jews told Patterson and the other Scottsboro Boys that "the people were up in arms over our case in New York and if they had our say-so they would like to appeal our case."[121] Unnamed guards in the prison warned Patterson that the support of New York Jews was the main reason he had been convicted in the first place and the main reason why he could not get out of jail on appeal. "You boys would be free if you kept the New York sons-of-bitches out of the case. You'd be free,"[122] Patterson was told. But all that Patterson can conclude is "I saw how bitter they were about outsiders pressing our case."[123]

Patterson's association with Jewish Communists from New York City eventually undermined his faith in Christ, and the autobiography he wrote with their help was a calculated attempt to spread atheism among the Black Belt Negroes. The strategy was hardly new. The voodoo priests who collaborated with Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti had urged the slaves there to throw away their crucifixes. German Jews like Ottilie Assing tried the same thing with more intellectually sophisticated weapons. Her greatest achievement was

introducing Frederick Douglass to the writings of Ludwig Feuerbach and turning him into an atheist. By the time that the thinking of Karl Marx began to dominate the revolutionary movement, atheism and revolution were two sides of the same coin. Haywood Patterson's autobiography simply transposed this thought into the language and culture of the Black Belt in the South:

> I read into the Bible long after I began to lose confidence in it. I saw many things there, they contradicted themselves. . . . But the Lord never came there. Nothing but his pictures on the walls. . . . I saw guys pray and cry all hours of the night. What they prayed for they never got. . . . When you are drowning in the death row, the Bible is the straw you grab. . . . Just bang their backsides with a rod in one hand and flog their brains with the Bible in the other and say, "Now just you mind that white man and do like he say. You get along with him then."[124]

Christianity, while not antagonistic to ethnos, had undermined the notion of a racially based chosen people from the time of St. John's Gospel, when Jesus rejected the Jews' claim that they were "the seed of Abraham." Blacks and whites in the South, in spite of all of the racial antagonism that divided them, did share a culture that was fundamentally Christian and which promoted cooperation on a local level, as during the rape crisis that followed the Scottsboro trials. This localized form of Christianity always threatened to undermine the racial antagonism that the Communists wanted to turn into revolution and class warfare. Like Ruby Bates, who learned to fear the "ruling class," Patterson had learned at the hands of his Communist tutors that religion was the opiate of the masses.

> Most of all I saw the white man wanted a black man to get down on his knees and be a pray-man. They just loved that. Then you were their "nigger." That alone taught me it couldn't be such a good thing for black folks to be so fetched up in all that Bible stuff."[125]

When his mother died in 1937, Patterson decided that he had had enough religion: "It was then I threw over religion altogether. . . for a couple of years now a knife had meant more to me than religion. I had faith in my knife. It saved me many times."[126]

Neither Patterson nor Conrad intended it that way, but Patterson's autobiography provided corroboration for Crenshaw and Miller, whose book, *Scottsboro: The Firebrand of Communism*, "depicted the case as a communist plot to foment revolution in Alabama."[127] The quote is from Carter, who dismisses the Crenshaw/Miller book as "intellectually dishonest" because the authors "stacked the evidence in Victoria Price's favor."[128]

As we have already indicated, Crenshaw/Miller maintained that Price's moral stature was irrelevant to the case, when it clearly was not. But Crenshaw/Miller were right in seeing the Scottboro case as "a communist plot to foment revolution in Alabama"[129] and another link in the chain of revolutionary,

largely Jewish organizations that spent the better part of the 20th century trying to wean the Negro from Christ and turn him into a revolutionary.

Once it appeared in 1950, Haywood Patterson's autobiography provided independent corroboration of Crenshaw/Miller's thesis when they wrote in 1936 that "The Communist party has seized upon this case for only one reason—to stir up race antagonism in the Black Belt of the South."[130] Crenshaw/Miller cited as proof ILD literature which claimed that "With the Scottsboro case as a spearhead we have been able to penetrate broad masses of the Negro people and to extend our influence widely among them. . . . we have been able to organize more than 6,000 Negro share croppers and a few hundred whites."[131] Carter claims that information technology, in particular—

> the pervasive sounds and images of radio and television have destroyed the physical and intellectual environment that made the Scottsboro case so chillingly representative of southern race relations. Racism and parochialism remain . . . but the rural and small town island community that existed in the 1930s. . . has drastically shrunk.[132]

—without understanding that the "small town island community" might have solved its own problems on a local basis without the help of television or communist agitators. Crenshaw/Miller claim that the Tuskegee Institute "has remained aloof from the Scottsboro case throughout its spectacular history."[133] Whatever *modus vivendi* that had been attained was swept away by the Communists' deliberate attempt to foment racial antagonism and revolution: "With one fell swoop, communism shattered a tranquility it had taken the black man's intellectual leadership half a century to achieve."[134]

It wasn't just the Communists who ensured that the South would be deprived of the opportunity to work out its own problems. The NAACP, the ILD's bitter antagonist in the Scottsboro Boys trials, used W. E. B. Du Bois to destroy the influence of Booker T. Washington, because Washington was insufficiently revolutionary. Anyone willing to work together over the racial barriers on a local level was dismissed as an Uncle Tom by the New York Jews, and their advocates in the sympathetic eastern press, who more and more got to determine the terms of the racial debate. Indeed, the conflict between the NAACP and the ILD was a debate between two largely Jewish organizations over the best way to spread revolution in the South. The fact that more people got lynched because of the southern perception of "outside influence" was seen by moderates like those in the NAACP as unfortunate collateral damage and by the radicals in the Communist party as a positive benefit in radicalizing the Negro population. As Lenin once said, things have to get worse before they get better, and Crenshaw/Miller recognized that the Scottsboro Boys were the first victims of the implementation of that strategy. "Are the communists and their sympathizers even remotely interested in securing justice for the nine

Negro defendants, or are they using them merely as tools to create animosity between the white and black races?"[135]

The communists succeeded as well in exacerbating the antagonism between the North and the South, widening "a breach between the North and the South that had been slowly vanishing since Reconstruction days."[136] Friedman claims that "the civil rights interests of Jews and blacks in the 1920s and 1930s were virtually identical."[137] Restating the same thesis in more modest form, Friedman adds that "That Jews [who] also benefited from Marshall's civil rights litigation did not minimize its usefulness for blacks."[138] But in stating his case this way, Friedman ignores the fact that when Jewish agitators came to the South to promote revolution it was the blacks living there who got lynched as a result of their actions. Conversely, when the Jews Schriftman and Kone got caught trying to bribe Victoria Price, they did not have to hang around to face the consequences. After their arrest, they simply jumped bail and returned to New York City knowing that the North had a long history of thwarting extradition requests whenever the case involved the race question. Friedman claims that the Black-Jewish Alliance collapsed in the 1960s, but in so doing he ignores the fact that this feeling of resentment was growing around the time of the Scottsboro Boys trial, when

> many Negroes felt—as they had in 1931—that once again the ILD was "polishing up the electric chair" for the Scottsboro boys by insisting on linking their case with the overall program of the Communist party.[139]

The tensions which led to the collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance were already evident in the '30s, which Friedman attempts to portray as the golden age of their mutual collaboration. For example, W. E. B. Du Bois resigned from the board of the NAACP in 1934. Cruse claims that economics was the main reason. Du Bois felt that the NAACP leadership "recoiled from any consideration of the economic plight of the world or any change in the organization of industry."[140] But Jewish paternalism played a role as well. Du Bois, who was planning to visit Germany in 1935, reacted testily to Franz Boas's suggestion that he was going to be hornswoggled by being treated to the Nazi version of the Potemkin Village.[141]

According to Harold Cruse, the Black-Jewish Alliance ended over 30 years before Murray Friedman said it did. It ended on March 19, 1935 when a young Puerto Rican was caught stealing a ten-cent penknife from a Jewish owned store on 125th St. in Harlem. Before long, black mobs began a rampage of destruction that lasted for days. Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia, who was half-Jewish, went out of his way to deny that Jewish stores had been singled out, but, as Cruse adds, "it was clear that they had."[142] Irving Horowitz, who lived in Harlem during the riots of 1935 claims that "in public discourse this was all viewed as a black-white confrontation; but those of us who lived through

the events of the Harlem riots knew better."[143] The riots were a black attack on Jews that resulted from years of pent up resentment.

The Harlem riots presented Jews and Communists with a conundrum they could not solve. From the point of view of class warfare, the Communists should have praised the Negroes for engaging in what looked like the long-awaited black insurrection, but that would have meant turning their back on their fellow Jews. The NAACP had no qualms about condemning the riots, but they, like their counterparts in the 1960s, had no way of explaining why this insurrection took place in the North, where the Negro had comparatively more freedom. The NAACP, moreover, did not want to deal with economic issues, especially when there was a Jewish subtext to those economic issues as in Harlem.

Like the situation in the South, which might have been solved on the local level if the antagonists had been left alone to work out their differences, the situation in Harlem was largely a product of the interaction between Jews and Blacks on a local level. The Negroes of Harlem were not oppressed by Jim Crow laws; they were tired of being cheated by Jewish merchants.

In his memoir about growing up as the son of a Jewish hardware store owner in Harlem, Irving Louis Horowitz described the annual ritual of cheating the *shvartzes* when they came into his father's store to get their Christmas tree bulbs tested. "Christmas," Horowitz tells us, was "a special occasion on which my father wreaked his own revenge on Christendom"[144] by cheating black Christians. "The scam," Horowitz continued,

> went like this: the unsuspecting customer would bring in all light bulbs for testing. Each bulb would be placed against the side of the bulb tester rather than against the filament that would light up the bulb. The trick was easily learned and passed on to my mother, my sister, and me. I became a master at this special bulb test. When the same bulbs were retested after the customer left, they almost always were found to be perfect, or least good enough for resale. My father placed them into inventory and sold them as new. The special bulbs were resold countless times each season. Hence, it was no accident that the volume of December bulb sales probably surpassed that of any other month. December profits also showed remarkably uncharacteristic good health. Twas, indeed, the season to be merry.[145]

Harold Cruse never mentions whether he had his Christmas bulbs tested by the Horowitz family. The prospect seems unlikely because by the 1930s, Cruse had committed himself to the Communist cause. Cruse's resentment goes deeper than the few cents here and there which the Jewish merchants gouged out of their black clientele. He felt that the Jews stole the Negro cultural heritage by promoting their form of Jazz as the authentic form and freezing Negroes like Cruse, who spent the '50s trying unsuccessfully to get his musicals produced

on Broadway, out of the cultural picture. As a Jew growing up in Harlem, who attended Jazz concerts at the Apollo Theater with his sister, Horowitz was close enough to the situation to see the resentment it caused:

> Jewish musicians—Goodman, Gershwin, Mezzrow, and Whiteman, among others—not only played the music, but also served as critics and interpreters. In a racially controlled pre-War America, it was the Jew who popularized black life, transforming a folk tradition into an art mode. . . . Although the close proximity of blacks and Jews in Harlem allowed for a rich cross-fertilization of cultures it also engendered feelings of rivalry and resentment. . . . It seemed that the gain and fame of their culture went to the accursed Jewish cultural middleman, while the purity of their performance remained undersupported and undernourished.[146]

The Jews, of course, had worries of their own, seeing "this flirtation with black culture as nothing short of a desecration of Jewish life—an early warning signal that sexuality would displace marriage and undiluted individual expression would destroy family solidarity."[147]

In Harlem Jews and Negroes shared the bitter taste of poverty and little else. Horowitz describes his father as "an anti-Jewish Jew" living "in a world of pious Christian blacks."[148] His father's religion was communism, something Horowitz described as "a religion without Christ" and "a church without crucifix" which allowed him to live "in the imaginary world of Jewish Bundism and Russian Bolshevism."[149] The irony of course is that on the practical level Horowitz *pere* had to live the life of the petty Calvinist capitalist which Marx had criticized in his essay *Zur Judenfrage*. Horowitz was a loser simply by the fact that he came from Harlem: "The Jews of Harlem, if my extended family was any barometer, were viewed as dregs—social scourges and economic failures—simply by virtue of the fact that they remained. . . . Harlem was the settlement village for Jews completely without money."[150]

But as the century progressed and Jews, unlike blacks, were able to move out of Harlem, the resentment began to build. Then all of the submerged tension erupted in the Harlem riots of 1935, and the Jewish-black antagonism that the Jews at organizations like the NAACP and the AJC had been trying to ignore was suddenly out in the open:

> Shopkeepers were the visible enemies. For black militants, they were the devil whites, for other blacks, Jews ascendant or ghetto profiteers. The "merchant of Venice" had come to Harlem. The chemistry was rife for rioting. World War II brought an end to depression—everywhere but in Harlem, or so it seemed. . . . Chain stores left the area, small shopkeepers followed, and servicepersons—who fixed window panes and repaired locks—vanished. The Harlem community was left in charge of itself. It was a self that turned out to be an empty shell, at least for the duration of the war.[151]

The riots, followed by the war, which provided Horowitz's father with a job at the Brooklyn Navy Yard as a third class mechanic's apprentice, meant that it was time to leave. "We surveyed the wreckage," Horowitz writes, "and with a few tears my father simply announced, 'It's over. We move on now.'"[152] More than anything the riots showed that the so-called Black-Jewish Alliance was largely a fiction in the collective mind of the organizations which promoted it. Those organizations were largely Jewish and they promoted the alliance as a way of securing Jewish interests, but ultimately there was no alliance because ultimately where blacks and Jews lived together there was no community. Jews and Blacks in the North simply lived near each other in the same neighborhood for a number of years "without community, without shared affection, without love."[153]

Cruse feels that "the gross imbalance between the comparative economic status of blacks and Jews" is what nullified the Black-Jewish Alliance:

> It was precisely over the issue of economics. . . that the Black-Jewish Alliance collapsed in 1935 and entered a stage of disintegration leading to the 1960 era with its rise in vocal black anti-Semitism. In 1935 the Harlem racial uprising directed at white economic exploitation, white shopkeepers, white landlords and white organized crime was also directed at Jewish shopkeepers, businessmen and landlords. From the end of World War I to 1930, the NAACP was unwilling to reorient its program to include the all-important issue of economic organization.[154]

The Jews, according to Cruse, used the civil rights movement to absolve themselves from the charges that the Jew was a "greedy, clannish, miser, always out for himself."[155] The Harlem uprising, according to Cruse, was able to shatter "the flimsy premises on which the Black-Jewish Alliance had rested" because Jews had undermined it by their behavior and their inability to face up to any negative criticism. No matter how much the story of Horowitz's father repeated itself in the lives of ordinary blacks, the Jews could control the press which meant that in the final analysis they could "prove themselves generous, selfless, tolerant, and humanitarian."[156]

Marcus Garvey died in England on June 10, 1940, and with him died, at least for the time being, the idea of black nationalism. During the '40s, Harlem was awash in conflicting ideological currents. Communism went into decline after 1946 to be replaced by the ascendency of the integrationism of the NAACP, but that too led to resentment. "The fact remains," as Cruse points out, that Jews in organizations like the NAACP remained "pro-integrationist for Negroes and anti-assimilationist for Jews."[157] Since ethnicity in America, according to Cruse's reading of the theory known as the triple melting pot, is synonymous with religion, integration for the Negro meant that he would remain an ethnic anomaly cut off from any grouping which could give him real political, economic or cultural power. When he ponders the insistence

of Jewish sociologists like Nathan Glazer that "Negroes be integrated as fast as possible and by any means," Cruse discerns no benevolence, not even misguided benevolence, but rather that "today Negroes truly have a Jewish problem."[158] The main problem is that "As a Jew, Nathan Glazer could be said to be most magnanimously free with other people's ethnicity."[159] As communism waned and Zionism took its place as the dominant vehicle of Jewish Messianic politics in the latter part of the 20th century, the suspicion would grow that the Jews were interested in integration for every group but itself. The corollary to that belief was that Jewish organizations could attack both "black" and "white" nationalist groups as racist, at the same time that Israel promoted the same sort of "apartheid." This double standard was covered over during the '50s and '60s by the successes of the civil rights movement, but it would reassert itself with a vengeance as the 20th century came to a close.

Chapter Nine

Revolutionary Music of the 1930s

In 1915 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn wrote in *Solidarity* that Joe Hill, then in prison, "writes songs that sing, that lilt and laugh and sparkle, that kindle the fires of revolt in the most crushed spirit and quicken the desire for a fuller life in the most humble slave. . . He has crystallized the organization's [IWW] spirit into imperishable forms, songs of the people—folk songs."[1]

Thus began the semantic permutation of the word "folk" from its original meaning into its opposite. It comes from the German word *Volk*, which means race, nation, or *ethnos*. In lectures in 1932 at Bryn Mawr, collected under the title *National Music*, Ralph Vaughan Williams claimed "conditions in America do not admit of folk-songs because there is no peasant class to make and sing them."[2] But the former peasants in Europe became workers after they arrived in America. In America in 1915, the workers were unhappy enough to form a significant social movement. Sometimes they even sang about their troubles, as their forebears had in Europe, often to the same melodies. Folk music is another word for what Vaughan Williams would call national music, but to Socialists and Communists it became the "music of the people." And since the terms "worker" and "people" were synonymous for the Left, that meant music for the revolution:

> Song collections devoted to socialism and the cause of the proletariat soon made their appearance, among the earliest in English being Chants of Labour (London 1888). . . . Lenin in exile sought contact with the proletariat by occasionally venturing out to the cafes and theaters of suburban Paris to listen to revolutionary songs. As the Bolsheviks moved toward national power, *Pravda* printed "The Internationale" in its first issue. In the sixth issue, March 11, 1917, there appeared an article in bold type entitled "Revolutionary Songs" saying "we call [to] the attention of the comrades, that it is desirable to organize collective singing and rehearsals of choral performances of revolutionary songs."[3]

In the '30s, when Earl Robinson, "perhaps the most successful composer of mass music of the American Left,"[4] wrote his most famous song, "The Ballad of Joe Hill," the Left was heavily involved in the labor movement. So proletarian

bards of the '30s could sing, "where workingmen defend their rights, it's there you'll find Joe Hill." When Bob Dylan started writing songs, the Left was dropping the banner of the working man and picking up the standard of sexual liberation. That meant that a new kind of music was necessary. Joan Baez singing "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night" at a Dionysian festival like Woodstock was only a little less incongruous than having the warm-up band at a Rolling Stones concert sing Palestrina.

What was revolutionary music? "The Internationale" is revolutionary even if you change the words and use it to sell Subarus. Conversely, the melody for "Wildwood Flower" is not revolutionary, even if Woody Guthrie turned it into a popular front song. Given this distinction, the first revolutionary songs weren't based on revolutionary music. Chicago, "the publishing center for revolutionary music prior to 1920," gave us *Socialist Songs with Music* in 1901, followed eight years later by IWW Songs, known as "The Little Red Songbook."[5] The Wobblies, as a result of their songbooks, were known for effective use of music as propaganda, but neither the Wobblies nor Joe Hill wrote what could be termed "revolutionary music." Both wrote revolutionary lyrics and set them to traditional tunes.

The Communists of the Third Period felt world revolution was imminent. In July 1928 Nicolai Bukharin announced "All artistic expression was to be politicized" and art was to be used "as a weapon," as agit-prop in a worldwide upheaval.[6] "Artists and bureaucrats were expected to root out any bourgeois influence in workers' cultural media."[7] At this time, America's ethnic music was not revolutionary. Henry Ford, after all, one of America's premier capitalists, was also one of America's premier promoters of traditional music. Fiddlers in the folk tradition often found employment at Henry Ford's Dearborn estate, where he put on elaborate evenings of American folk dancing. One year before Bukharin's announcement, Carl Sandburg brought out his best selling folk song collection, and John Jacob Niles gave the first formal folk song recital to a college audience at Princeton. No revolutionary upheaval followed. Indeed, the Reusses claim the IWW songbooks recruited more revolutionaries to folk music than ethnics to revolution. As a result, "the American communist movement in its first decade (1919-1928) established no firm position, favorable or otherwise, on folklore."[8]

During the Third Period of the communist revolution, the revolutionary chorus was the preferred vehicle for communist musical propaganda. The appeal to the American worker was limited, however, because "these choruses were located entirely within the immigrant language groups, mostly East European, which made up the majority of the movement's early membership."[9] In other words, the Revolutionary Chorus was largely a Jewish phenomenon. The best known revolutionary chorus was the Jewish Freiheit Gesang Ferein, the "Freedom Singers' Club," founded in 1923 under Jacob Schaefer. According to the *Daily Worker* in 1934, revolutionary choruses were "one of

the most popular mediums for reaching the masses" because Americans sang in church choirs, a medium the capitalist class used for "lulling the workers."[9] The revolutionary movement, though, "uses it for rousing the workers against [their] oppressors."[10]

The choral music of the Freiheit Gesang Ferein may have been genuinely revolutionary, but its appeal was limited because the music was technically difficult to perform without rehearsal, but more importantly, because the Freiheit singers sang in Yiddish. "The Freiheit Gesang Ferein does valuable work," the *Daily Worker* informed readers, "but we have so many comrades who do not happen to be born Jews and they simply do not understand Yiddish"[11] The writer concluded it would be perhaps impossible for the workers' movement to grow "if it cannot express itself in song,"[12] meaning, of course, in English.

Beginning in 1925, the Communist party reached beyond its Jewish base to native-born American workers. In June, 1931, members of the Communist party established the Workers Music League, "to try to formulate a systematic theoretical approach to proletarian music."[13] In February 1932, the Composers Collective was founded to produce and perform revolutionary compositions and to formulate guidelines on what constituted proletarian music. Just about everyone in the Collective was a serious musician, including Charles Seeger, who had studied at Harvard, conducted the Cologne Symphony in his twenties and became the youngest professor (of music) in the history of the University of California at Berkeley. It also included Freiheit Gesang Ferein choral director Jacob Schaefer, George Antheil, and Aaron Copland, who had won a commission to put a May Day poem to music in the '30s. Even in its earliest days, the Composers Collective had trouble linking the music it liked to the taste and abilities of the proletarian masses. When asked by Charles Seeger whether musically untrained workers could sing Copland's prize-winning melody to Alfred Hayes's poem "Into the Streets May first," Copland admitted they probably could not.

The composers' politics were clear. "Music is propaganda—always propaganda and of the most powerful sort," wrote Charles Seeger, under his pseudonym Carl Sands. "The special task of the Workers' Music League is the development of music as a weapon in the class struggle."[14] Workers' music was to be "national in form, revolutionary in content."[15] But that was the problem. Because of their musical sophistication, the Composers Collective rightly felt that folk music wasn't revolutionary. The American "folk" never took to revolutionary music, which "still consisted of the revolutionary choral and orchestral units of the foreign-language groups."[16] Charles Seeger expressed the dilemma in personal terms: Seeger gave up composition "because I couldn't approve of the music I liked, and I couldn't like the music that I approved, and I couldn't make either one of them connect in any way with the social situation I found."[17]

The conflict between revolutionary music which was not popular and popular music which was not revolutionary is epitomized by Hanns Eisler, a communist composer who studied under Arnold Schoenberg and arrived in America in 1933. Eisler was born in Liepzig in 1898, but after World War I, he moved to Austria to learn the 12-tone method, which Schoenberg had appropriated from Josef Matthias Hauer. Eisler moved to Berlin in the '20s, where he dedicated himself with equal fervor to revolutionary music, composing left-wing cabaret hits like "Comintern" and "In praise of Learning," which the Reuses say were "indisputably successful" because "in some cases they were actually being sung by workers."[18]

Eisler hated folk music—especially when dragooned into the revolutionary struggle through affixation to revolutionary texts—calling it "a badge of servitude from pre-Revolutionary times."[19] In the 1940s, Eisler was still annoyed at Alan Lomax for creating the folk music movement and "for foisting those 'damn songs' on the working class."[20] More to Eisler's liking were the revolutionary choral pieces of Charles Seeger whose lyrics

> We are fighting with a host of foes, we do not fear guns or cannon.
> Fascist promises cannot fool us; we will fight them to a finish.
> Comrade, victory is leading you; to the battle gladly marching
> Mount the Barricades; Mount the Barricades; for the workers' cause
> Carry on the fight for freedom.[21]

were set to a melody in what Dunaway calls the "Russian-sounding" key of F-minor, to a "darkened and dissonant piano accompaniment marked: 'relentlessly.'"[22] Eisler and Sands' compositions were undeniably revolutionary, but "had few real roots in American culture."[23] The Composers Collective understood the unrevolutionary nature of native American music, but proposed no alternative. "Not all folk tunes are suitable to the revolutionary movement," Charles Seeger wrote in 1934 in the *Daily Worker*. "Many of them are complacent, melancholy, defeatist—originally intended to make slaves endure their lot—pretty but not the stuff for a militant proletariat to feed upon."[24] Composers Collective director Henry Cowel said the same thing: "One of the great faults in the field of workers music has been that of combining revolutionary lyrics with traditional music—music which can by no means be termed revolutionary."[25] Both men grudgingly conceded a minor role for revolutionary parodies of American folk tunes: "There is still some room for occasional parodies of old songs such as 'Pie in the Sky' and 'Soup,' but not for many of them."[26]

The musicologists were right. The revolutionary lyrics of the new proletarian folk song contradicted the simple folk melodies upon which they were based. Worse still, the folk melodies subverted the revolutionary intent of the lyrics, much as the Dionysian rock and roll of Christian Rock (or Rap) would subvert the intentions of the well-meaning but musically illiterate Christian songsters

of a later generation. But the Collective had no alternative that was as popular as the music they criticized or as accessible to the audience they wanted to reach.

During the 1930s, Jewish communists went to Kentucky and North Carolina to organize coal miners and textile workers, returning to New York City with Appalachian music on their minds. Often they would return with the Appalachian musicians too. In 1932 the Worker's Music League published the *Red Song Book*, featuring "Poor Miner's Farewell" by Aunt Molly Jackson, who went to New York in 1933 to attend meetings of the Composers Collective and teach them how to write her kind of song. The Composers were not impressed. The *Worker Musician* criticized the *Red Song Book* for "arrested development" and attributed the songs' poor quality to "the exploitation of the coal barons."[27] Seeger, embarrassed by the cold reception Aunt Molly received, told her, "Molly, they don't understand you. But I know some young people who will want to learn your songs."[28] Seeger was referring to his son, Pete, who would take a leadership role in a new revolutionary music.

The Composers Collective may not have been impressed with Aunt Molly's music, but the communists recognized "indigenous creations were a lot more effective in recruiting and agitating the local populace than were doctrinaire slogans and pamphlets written by urban party leaders," i.e., by Jews from New York City.[29] More pragmatic Communist Party thinkers, like Mike Gold, saw in the music of the South the proletarian music the composers had sought vainly in the 1920s. As a result, cultural symbiosis began. The Jews who went to West Virginia to sing "Solidarity Forever" with the miners in 1931 returned singing "The Death of Mother Jones" at meetings in New York City; "eventually, repeated encounters with living folk cultures in the United States helped reshape urban, left-wing music."[30] When Aunt Molly Jackson came north to escape being killed by the mining company goons and to testify before the Dreiser Committee in December 1931, she exposed the urban Communists to songs like "We Shall not be Moved," first sung at a 1931 West Virginia Miners' Union strike. The music, composed to a verse from the book of Jeremiah, got put into harness to pull communist propaganda, with dubious results. Whether the music was more effective in radicalizing the miners of America or Americanizing the country's radical Jews remained to be seen.

Around the same time, Mike Gold (nee Granich) author of *Jews Without Money*, wrote a complaint that might be titled "Why Communists Can't Sing." "The Wobblies knew how [to sing]," Gold wrote, "but we have still to develop a Communist Joe Hill."[31] Gold's son, Carl Granich, would become a mover in the '60s folk movement. When Bob Dylan showed up in Madison, Wisconsin in 1961 looking for a place to stay, he would mention Carl Granich as his entry into the Jewish revolutionary brotherhood's network of coffee houses.

A few years later, Mike Gold praised the singing of Ray and Lida Auvill, saying it had "the true ring of American balladry," which made it inappropriate as revolutionary music, according to Charles Seeger, who panned the collection for its low musical quality.[32] "For every step forward in the verse," Seeger opined, "one takes a step backward in the music."[33] This, of course, annoyed Gold as an irredeemably elitist attitude. "Really, Comrade Sands," Gold wrote responding to Seeger's pseudonymous article, "I think you have missed the point. It is sectarian and utopian to use Arnold Schoenberg or Stravinsky as a yardstick by which to measure class music. . . . What songs do the masses of America now sing? They sing 'Old Black Joe' and the sentimental things concocted by Tin Pan Alley. In the South they sing the old ballads. This is the reality, and to leap from that into Schoenberg seems to me a desertion of the masses. . . . I think the composers collective has something to learn from Ray and Lida Auville. They write catchy tunes than many American workers can sing and like, and the words of their songs make the revolution as intimate and simple as 'Old Black Joe.'"[34]

THE COMMUNIST PARTY CREATES FOLK MUSIC

Alan Lomax was born to folklorist John A. Lomax and Bess Brown Lomax in 1915 in Austin, Texas. In 1910 John Lomax's book *Cowboy Songs* garnered a favorable endorsement by Theodore Roosevelt, which appeared as a frontispiece and galvanized sales. Alan graduated from Choate at 15, and, after a year at the University of Texas, transferred to Harvard, where he studied under his father's long-time friend, the literary critic George Lyman Kittredge. Alan, like his dad, was more interested in field work than sitting in a library, so after he read Nietzsche and "a widening variety of radical thinkers,"[35] Lomax *père et fils* went on a field trip to collect ethnic music after Alan's graduation in 1936. One year later, Alan was hired as director of the Archive of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress. The salary was modest, but the job allowed him to meet Charles Seeger. The job also lent credibility to his communist cultural offensive.

During the summer of 1934, Maxim Gorky and Andrei Zhdanov introduced the new doctrine of Socialist Realism. After Hitler's rise to power, world revolution took a back seat to "a united cultural front against world fascism."[36] That meant gaining popular support through art accessible to the masses, which meant "a return to familiar lyric and melodic forms more acceptable to the masses," which "led to an official communist upgrading of folklore as a positive creative force in the life of the people. In time this attitude would lead to the popularization and intellectual use of folk songs and traditional melodies of the people on a scale unimaginable in the previous decade."[37] Those who backed Aunt Molly Jackson and the Auvills were now in the ascendancy at the CPUSA as the ideological dogmatism of the Third

Period gave way to the "American" pragmatism of the popular front. In January 1934, the *Daily Worker* praised folk music, even when not politically correct. Even Charles Seeger started to complain that the Freiheit Gesang Ferein insisted on singing in Yiddish. To fight the virulent threat of fascism, Communists needed new friends. Communists needed to Americanize. They needed singers who didn't have Yiddish accents. During the Popular Front, Earl Browder, CPUSA chairman, coined the phrase "communism is 20th century Americanism," and that meant that "nearly all phases of radical life—including terminology, dress and social deportment—were revised to conform more closely to the routine existence of the average citizen."[38]

The Popular Front was a reality by summer 1935. Party members forsook doctrinal purity in favor of collaboration with other anti-fascist groups, so folklore was no longer bourgeois decadence. The folk song was rehabilitated as a vehicle for revolutionary ferment:

> By the mid-1930s, though, left-wing organizations, influenced by members or supporters of the Communist party, discovered intrinsic working-class values in folk song and other folklore genres. Without question, this radical interest initially grew out of the discovery that in certain regions the folk song idiom was a convenient musical method for spreading and reinforcing revolutionary ideas, which was what agitation-propaganda, or agit-prop, departments of he communist movement were working hard to accomplish.[39]

Alan Lomax implemented the changed party line by discovering the leading lights of the first generation of folk singers, Josh White, Burl Ives, Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and Lead Belly, fostering their careers by guiding them through the political eddies of Washington and New York society, "teaching them songs, socializing with them and serving as their intellectual guide" and ensuring their "unflagging commitment to left-wing ideology."[40] Lomax was the ideal promoter, content to work behind the scenes. By the 1940s, "the urban folk singers he had encouraged and who shared his worldview were ready to make a substantial imprint on American musical life, on the left-wing cultural scene, as well as on the national stage."[41] It is not an exaggeration to say that Alan Lomax created American folk music as we know it today. He certainly created it as it was known from 1940, when the radical choruses waned, until 1956, when the Lomax group of folksingers fell apart because of disillusionment with Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and suppression of the Hungarian revolt.

AMERICAN FOLKSINGER

In envisioning the ideal American folksinger, Lomax was probably influenced by Will Geer, an actor who starred in *Let Freedom Ring*, a play about striking Southern textile workers. Geer, who ended his career by playing the grandfather in television's long-running series *The Waltons*, began performing folk music for radical audiences in the 1930s. In November 1935, he sang before striking textile workers in Paterson, New Jersey, and was then featured in a flattering article in the *Daily Worker*. By early 1936, "the groundwork had been laid for the American communist movement's subsequent ideological and social commitment to folk songs and traditional 'people's' culture. The varied work of such larger groups as the Almanac singers . . . sprang from the void created by the clumsy gropings of radical musicians for a 'unique' class music for the proletariat in the early 1930s."[42]

Later that year, Charles Seeger took his son Peter to a folk music festival in Asheville, North Carolina, where he met Lomax. The two men hit it off immediately, and Lomax hired Pete as his assistant at the Library of Congress, allowing him to travel the country for the next ten years collecting American folk songs and to listen to recordings at the Library of Congress. Lomax suggested Pete take up the five-string banjo, an instrument unknown to urban audiences at that time. Seeger came from an old-line New England Puritan family, and his residual Puritanism made him sympathetic to messianic political movements. "Resistance" Dunaway writes, "was part of the New England nature," which "viewed the world as a thing to be reformed, filled with evil forces to be abolished."[43] Dunaway could have said "Revolution," because Puritans were certainly revolutionaries, and Pete Seeger saw more clearly the potential for cultural revolution than did the Communist party hacks who gave him tepid support.

Pete and the Popular Front were made for each other. As a native-born American, he was consumed by a vision of Americans taking music back from capitalist owners of radio stations and record companies. For Seeger, folk songs had a patriotic undercurrent; the music had been "carved from the rhythm of daily lives, the curves of the American land, the outline of its architecture, and its climate."[44] Seeger kept the flame burning until a generation of America's youth could be re-educated and emerge as a revolutionary movement. Seeger would eventually be run over by the movement he created, but his influence cannot be overestimated. As Dunaway says, an "industry" eventually "emerged from Seeger's enthusiasms."[45] He sold thousands of record albums and also educated an entire generation at Communist summer camps in the Catskills, teaching many of the most prominent performers of the folk revival of the early '60s. At a single concert, for instance, Seeger inspired both Joan Baez and Dave Guard of the Kingston Trio.

The music was the simplest part of the revolution. More difficult was easing communist propaganda into it without offending listeners. That required creation of the persona of the folk singer, the man "of the people," which is to say, unpolished, forthright, but also not "ethnic," unlike America's industrial workers. The folksinger would wean them from ethnocentrism. Historians touch on this gingerly, claiming Lomax tried "to develop a similar working class cultural totality in the North based on rural folk idioms and content."[46] The working class culture in the North was different from the culture of the South from which Appalachian music sprang, and so a persona like the cowboy or the rambler, gambler a long way from home was necessary to make the music plausible, if possible, to northern workers.

The answer to the complicated question of how to make Italians from Brooklyn like hillbilly music was Woody Guthrie. Guthrie, who was named after Woodrow Wilson, was born in Okemah, Oklahoma, the third of five children born to a father who did well selling land in the oil boom of the '20s and a mother who was eventually carted off to a mental institution. When the boom went bust, the family broke up. Woody drifted to California, where he starred in a short-lived radio program with a woman with the stage name of Lefty Lou from Old Missou.

After the Paterson textile mill strike, Will Geer returned to California to find employment in the movies. There he met Woody Guthrie, California's singing Okie. When Geer returned to New York to play Jeeter Lester in the Broadway production of *Tobacco Road*, he urged Woody to follow. Guthrie arrived in New York City to participate in America's first major folk music production, the "Grapes of Wrath" concert to benefit the John Steinbeck Committee for California Farm Workers in March 1940. The concert was the public debut of the Alan Lomax school of folk music; virtually all whose performers—Aunt Molly Jackson, Leadbelly, Burl Ives, and Pete Seeger,—owed their careers to Lomax. The Steinbeck concert ensured Guthrie's induction into the Folksong Pantheon.

Guthrie's career then took off. After languishing as the singing Okie in California, Guthrie flourished as the left-wing bard from New York, largely because of Alan Lomax who arranged immediately for recording sessions at the Library of Congress. Then Lomax used his influence to get a recording contract with Victor Records, which produced his album of *Dust Bowl Ballads*. Woody got his own radio program as host for Model Tobacco's weekly program Pipe Smoking Time. His earnings allowed him to bring his wife and family to New York, but he did not change the bad habits he had acquired as the rambler and the gambler perpetually a long way from home. Eventually, Guthrie "got disgusted with the whole sissified and nervous rules of censorship on all of my songs and ballads, and drove off down the road across the southern states again."[47]

The music that Woody sang brought life-style baggage along with it. Woody was avid to lead a life-style anathema to the listeners he was supposed to evangelize. Woody's tunes were not revolutionary music, but they have became the music of the uprooted, just as the Negro music of the post-Civil War camps became the Blues and, eventually, Jazz. The Scotch Irish Ballads and dance tunes were the music of Okie rootlessness by the 1940s, and Woody Guthrie helped accomplish the transformation. His music was so at odds with the culturally normative Bing Crosby crooning of the time that a conflict became unavoidable. Either the culture would tame the music, and the failed attempt to do that was the main reason he quit his radio job, or the music would change the culture, which is precisely what happened during the '60s, when the children raised on that music came of age.

KRISTALLNACHT AND AMERICA FIRST

On November 20, 1938, Father Charles Coughlin, a Canadian-born Irish Catholic priest, now a pastor in Royal Oak, Michigan, devoted his radio show, *The Golden Hour of the Little Flower*, which reached 30 million people, to recent events in Germany, in particular the attack on Jewish businesses known as the night of shattered glass or "*Kristallnacht*." The National Socialists orchestrated the attack in retaliation for the Jews' call for an international boycott of German goods, and Father Coughlin, who received more mail in a week than Franklin D. Roosevelt, tried to give the Catholic perspective on an issue that both Jews and Nazis found equally repugnant.

An early supporter of the New Deal, Coughlin was now one of Roosevelt's most formidable domestic opponents. Coughlin would become known as "the father of hate radio," but he was an anomaly in American public life. He was a Canadian Catholic priest trying to articulate the Catholic position as an alternative to both capitalism and internationalist socialism. That involved seeing Kristallnacht and the rise of Hitler in their historical context as a reaction against the excesses of Bolshevism, a revolutionary movement that was seen as essentially Jewish. Coughlin was attacked not because he sympathized with the Nazis. He condemned their racial theories and their brutality. Coughlin was attacked because he brought up the taboo connection between Jews and Bolshevism. On November 20, Coughlin addressed the Jews directly, asking them to "be not indulgent with the irreligious, atheistic Jews and Gentiles who promote the cause of persecution in the land of the Communist; the same ones who promote the cause of atheism in America."[48] He said: "Gentiles must repudiate the excesses of Nazism. But Jews and Gentiles must repudiate the existence of communism from which Nazism springs."[49]

Less than three years later, on September 11, 1941, Charles Lindbergh gave a speech to an America First rally in Des Moines, Iowa, in which he claimed that three groups—the Jews, the English, and the Roosevelt administration—were

attempting to drag America into a war with Germany. "I am not attacking either the Jewish or the British people. Both races I admire. But I am saying that the leaders of both the British and the Jewish races, for reasons which are as understandable from their viewpoint as they are inadvisable from ours, for reasons which are not American, wish to involve us in the war."[50] Three months later, America was at war, and Lindbergh was transformed from an American hero to an anti-Semitic villain, who, like Coughlin, would be vilified for decades. To show the deep-seated Jewish animus against Lindbergh, in 2004 Philip Roth made him the villain of *The Plot Against America*, long after the America First movement had disappeared from popular consciousness. In one of his most bizarre flights of fantasy, Roth has character assassin and gossip columnist Walter Winchell run for president after he is driven off the air by Lindbergh's forces. His candidacy drives anti-Semites to rage, especially when he appears in Catholic parishes: "Winchell proceeded to draw an angry mob chanting 'Kike, go home!' in every single parish where he displayed his stigmata to the faithful," Roth writes.[51] Winchell, who "had become an out-and-out god and more important by far than Adonoy"[52] to Roth, would unleash "the worst and most widespread violence . . . in Detroit," because Detroit was "the midwestern headquarters of the 'Radio Priest' Father Coughlin and his Jew-hating Christian Front."[53] The Christian Front actually was headed by a priest from Brooklyn, but facts are unimportant when writing what Roth termed a "false memoir."

Similarly, Roth links Coughlin with the Ku Klux Klan, but Coughlin began his shrine after the Klan burned a cross at his church in Royal Oak. The rioting Coughlin allegedly incited, according to Roth, "had begun at Winchell's first stop in Hamtramck (the residential section inhabited chiefly by auto workers and their families and said to contain the world's largest Polish population outside Warsaw)."[54] From Hamtramck, according to *Plot*, the rioting spread to "the city's biggest Jewish neighborhoods, shops were looted and widows broken, Jews trapped outdoors were set upon and beaten and kerosene-soaked crosses were ignited on the lawns of the fancy houses along Chicago Boulevard."[55] Roth has Coughlin defending the American version of *Kristallnacht*, which never happened in America, "as a reaction by the Germans against 'Jewish-inspired communism.'"[56]

The real Father Coughlin did not defend *Kristallnacht*. He deplored it for what it was. We know this because his November 20, 1938 program was entitled "Persecutions: Jewish and Christian." Coughlin deplored violence against the innocent in terms Jews had been formulating for years. "The Trotskys make the revolution," said one rabbi, "but the Bronsteins are the ones who pay for it." The Jews who were visible paid for the excesses of the Jews who had changed their names. In a speech approved by his ordinary, Father Coughlin asked his audience "to oppose all persecution wherever it may originate."[57] Coughlin was unfortunately caught up in the collective amnesia of the 20th century.

By the late '30s no one could mention what the Jews bragged about in the 1920s, namely, their association with Bolshevism. Leopold Trepper, the leader of Rote Kapelle, a Nazi resistance group, made the connection succinctly, "I became a communist, because I am a Jew."[58]

THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

From the mid-1880s until the end of open immigration in the 1920s, roughly two million Jews emigrated to the United States. No other group of immigrants would have a comparable impact on American culture. When the Jews began to arrive, America was Protestant. By the end of the twentieth-century, it had become Jewish by adopting the tropes of modernity. Heinze claims the period of Jewish migration corresponded to "the rise of modern psychology as a force in American society."[59] Slezkine argues "the Modern age is the Jewish Age, and the twentieth-century, in particular, is the Jewish century," and "Modernization. . . is about everyone becoming Jewish."[60] Nowhere was this truer than in America, a country founded by Christians who aspired to be Jews. Slezkine refers to the Puritans as "Max Weber's Protestants," a group of judaizers who had "discovered a humorless dignified way to be Jewish."[61] Puritans could "remain virtuous" in their own eyes "while engaging in 'usury' and deriving prestige from wealth."[62]

Given the judaizing propensities of the nation's founders and their glorification of revolution and demeaning of tradition, the Jews flourished "by becoming the model 'moderns.'"[63] Once everyone became "modern," Jews became the nation's role models and teachers, because becoming modern meant becoming Jewish.

This is not to say that the judaization of American culture proceeded without conflict. By the 1920s, Protestants realized the Jews had brought along with them the bad habits that caused conflict in Russia. As in Russia, Jewish involvement in alchohol production was an issue. Henry Ford articulated nativist Protestant concerns in *The International Jew*, blaming Jews as the makers of "nigger gin," cheap and often toxic liquor whose "labels bore lascivious suggestions and were decorated with highly indecent portraiture of white women," which "spurred certain Negroes on to. . . nameless crime."[64] "Nigger Gin," Ford wrote, was "sold by a number of companies all bearing Jewish names," and its consumption led to "Negro outbursts and subsequent lynchings."[65] The gin was never sold "in any saloon which bars the Negro," and the localities where it was served were "those where the disorders prevailed."[66]

Ford also faulted the Jews for the corruption of morals in the nascent motion picture industry. The Jews had stolen his friend Thomas Edison's invention of the movie projector and turned it to immoral purposes. The real issue was pornography, and there was precedent for claiming Jews had been major players in the obscenity trade since they arrived in America, and before

that, in Poland and in the Pale of the Settlement in Russia. In *Bookleggers and Smuthounds: The Trade in Erotica, 1920-1940*, University of Pennsylvania professor Jay Gertzman recounts coming home from school and watching on television as his uncle was arrested for trafficking in obscene material. The battle over obscenity in the 1920s was largely a Catholic-Jewish battle as Catholic prosecutors strove to keep Jews from using the mails to distribute obscenity. Gertzmann doesn't dispute this. Indeed, he substantiates "the ethnic flavor of prewar erotica distribution."[67] However, he concludes that only an anti-Semite would bring it up:

> The ethnic flavor of erotica distribution still exists, although, except for extreme right-wing hate groups, critics of sexual explicitness do not exploit it. Many distributors of erotica are Jewish[68]

Bieberstein claims the first signs of anti-Semitic reaction in "puritanical America"[69] were a protest against the nascent Hollywood film industry, created and controlled by Jews. In *The International Jew*, Henry Ford complained about the Jewish takeover of Broadway theater. But the Jews, he continued, never had "to drive the Gentiles out of" the film industry, "because the Gentiles never had a chance to get in it."[70] Ford claimed "The motion picture influence of the United States, of the whole world, is exclusively under the control, moral and financial, of the Jewish manipulation of the public mind."[71] The Jews were able to subvert the morals of Americans because

> the stage and the cinema represent the principal cultural element of 90 percent of the people. What the average young person absorbs as to good form, proper deportment, refinement as contrasted with coarseness, correctness of speech or choice of words, customs and feelings of other nations, fashion of clothes, ideas of religion and law, are derived from what is seen at the cinema and theater. The masses' sole idea of home and life of the rich is derived from the stage and the movies.[72]

Any business, Ford continued, that "frankly brutalizes taste and demoralizes morals should not be permitted to be a law unto itself."[73] Echoing Ford's concerns, many legislatures in the '20s threatened to implement government censorship of movies. The threat of a boycott in 1934 prompted Harry Warner to warn MGM executive Harry Rapf, "I don't want to talk to no goddamn Communist. Don't forget you're a Jew. Jewish Communists are going to bring down the wrath of the world on the rest of the Jews."[74]

In 1929, Hollywood went deep into debt to finance its transition to talking pictures. After the stock market crash, the studios were pressured to cut costs and simultaneously increase their box office when ticket sales were dropping and normal sources of money had dried up. They turned increasingly to sex and obscenity as an inexpensive way to get people into the theaters, producing films like *Diamond Lil*, featuring the suggestive Mae West, but in doing this they incurred the ire of the Catholic Church, which was to assume the role

of censor that Protestant denominations no longer wanted. In August 1933, Joseph I. Breen, a public relations executive who had established contacts with American bishops during the Eucharistic Congress of 1924, invited A. H. Giannini, the Catholic banker who headed Bank of America, Hollywood's most significant source of credit, to a meeting with motion picture producers. During that meeting, Giannini informed Hollywood producers he would no longer fund films "prostituting the youth of America." One year later, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia announced a Catholic boycott of that city's movie theaters, most of which were owned by Warner Brothers.

Warner Brothers was losing $175,000 a week at the height of the depression. At a meeting of Hollywood moguls to discuss the Philadelphia boycott, the normally pugnacious Harry Warner was "standing up at the top of the table, shedding tears the size of horse turds, and pleading for someone to get him off the hook. And well he should, for you could fire a cannon down the center aisle of any theater in Philadelphia, without danger of hitting anyone! And there was Barney Balaban (of Paramount Theaters), watching him in terror wondering if he was going to be next in Chicago."[75]

The man who thus described Harry Warner's plight ran the Production Code office for the next 20 years. Joe Breen was a Catholic with no illusions about the Hollywood elite:

> They are simply a rotten bunch of vile people with no respect for anything beyond the making of money. . . . Here [in Hollywood] we have Paganism rampant and in its most virulent form. Drunkenness and debauchery are commonplace. Sexual perversion is rampant,. . . any number of our directors and stars are perverts. . . . These Jews seem to think of nothing but moneymaking and sexual indulgence. The vilest kind of sin is a common indulgence hereabouts and the men and women who engage in this sort of business are the men and women who decide what the film fare of the nation is to be. They and they alone make the decision. Ninety-five percent of these folks are Jews of an Eastern European lineage. They are, probably, the scum of the earth.[76]

Most historians of Breen's tenure condemn him as an anti-Semite. Virtually all only use the word "moral" in quotation marks, indicating they have internalized the standards of the victors in this cultural conflict. But Breen's work with "these folks" proves, to Mark Viera, at least, Breen was not an anti-Semite:

> Joe Breen, who had railed against the immorality of the Hollywood Jews, had learned from them, and they from him. They would not have asked him to run RKO Pictures if he had been truly anti-Semitic. They would not have flown him here and there. They would not have invited him into their homes. And they certainly would not have given him an Academy Award. He had convictions. He was a fighter, but he didn't hate.[77]

The outcry against Hollywood's subversion of morals was so great that federal, state and local legislation was proposed as an antidote. To head off legislation, Hollywood's Jews in 1934 entered into a voluntary agreement, the Production Code, with the Legion of Decency, a Catholic operation. The Catholics had forced the issue by organizing boycotts when the film industry was reeling.

Henry Ford admired Catholic resistance to Jewish Hollywood, even before imposition of the Code. Unlike Protestant clergymen who were regularly ridiculed in Hollywood films, "The Catholic clergy very soon made themselves felt in opposition to this abuse of their priestly dignity, and as a result of their vigorous resentment the Jew climbed down. You now never see a priest made light of on the screen. But the Protestant clergyman is still the elongated, sniveling, bilious hypocrite of anti-Christian caricatures."[78]

Ford felt the movies were the rehearsal for revolution in America. The Jews were using the screen in their "traditional campaign of subversion."[79] The movie screen also served "as a rehearsal stage for scenes of anti-social menace. . . . Successful revolution must have a rehearsal. It can be done better in the motion pictures than anywhere else: this is the 'visual education' such as even the lowest brow can understand."[80]

The Jews brought revolution with them to America. With a Jewish population half the size of that in Russia, America had a Communist party with 50 percent of its members from Jewish families. Many changed their names in America, where they continued their revolutionary activity. Some Jewish revolutionaries born in America traveled back to Russia. Israel Amter was born in the United States in 1881. In 1923 he traveled to Russia. He then changed his name to John Ford and returned to New York, where he led the Communist party. In 1921, Josef Pogany, former commissar under Bela Kun in the Hungarian Soviet Republic, joined the Komintern, which in 1922 shipped him to America, where he took the name John Pepper[81] and became *de facto* head of the Communist party in America. A Ukrainian Jew, Jacob Golos, under the cover name Timmy,[82] created a spy network that included the Vassar-educated Elizabeth Bentley, who testified before the McCarthy committee in the '50s.

In an interview published in 1934 in *Class Struggle*, Trotsky claimed "Jewish workers of foreign extraction will play a decisive role in bringing about the American proletarian revolution."[83] Is it any wonder Henry Ford was upset? *Anti-Bolshevist* magazine wrote that the reaction against Russian Bolshevism was so great it was causing "a new wave of anti-Semitism," even in America.[84] Even in America, the term "Jewish communism"[85] was making the rounds.

FEBRUARY 1941: FOUNDING OF THE ALMANAC SINGERS

In February 1941, buoyed by the Grapes of Wrath concert and the spate of gigs it generated, the Lomax singers formed the Almanac Singers. Woody Guthrie, just returned from touring the Northwest, joined Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Millard Lampell, and John Peter Hawes to appropriate the American folk song as a vehicle for communist propaganda. The group took its name from one of Guthrie's lines: "if you want to know what the weather is going to be, you have to look in your Almanac,"[86] which Bob Dylan imitated 20 years later, "you don't need a weatherman to tell which way the wind blows." But how the times had changed, Dylan's line became the source of the name of a group of terrorists known as the Weathermen. Of the Almanac Singers, Millard Lampel said, "We think this is the first time there has ever been an organized attempt. . . to sing the folk songs of America. We are trying to give back to the people the songs of the workers."[87] That meant, of course, attaching agit-prop lyrics to standard folk tunes like "Billy Boy," "Jesse James," and "Liza Jane."

In March 1941 the Almanacs released *Songs of John Doe*, their rendering of the Communist party line in light of the non-aggression pact which the Soviet Union had signed with Hitler in 1939. The album was pacifist. Franklin Roosevelt and his wife were attacked as warmongering imperialists with such gusto that the album became a hit with America Firsters, much to the Almanacs' chagrin. "Oh Franklin Roosevelt," the Almanacs sang to the tune of the chorus of "Jesse James,"

> told the people how he felt
> We damned near believed what he said;
> He said, "I hate war—and so does Eleanor,
> But we won't be safe until everybody's dead.[88]

Then on June 22, 1941 Germany invaded Russia, and the Almanacs, ever faithful to the Party line, had to drop their peace songs and start celebrating war. As Pete Seeger said, two days after the invasion of Russia "we [stopped] singing 'Franklin D, You ain't going to send Me across the Sea.'"[89] Ron Radosh, a friend of Seeger and his student on the five-string banjo, recounts "In true Communist fashion, Peter and his comrades had to respond immediately to the change in the party line that occurred when Hitler invaded the USSR."[90] The *Songs of John Doe* were recalled, Radosh says, and "all pressings were destroyed."[91] Since Stalin and Roosevelt were now allies, the Almanacs issued an apology, and just to show that they held no grudges, the Roosevelts would, at Lomax's urging, endorse their second album. In December, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, the Almanac Singers' musical limbo ended; they could urge all-out participation in the war against Germany as fervently as they had urged peace.

The abrupt changes in political direction which the Almanac Singers had to make, ludicrous as they were, showed that their revolutionary power

resided not in politics but in lifestyle. Politically, the Almanacs spent their time preaching (or singing) to the choir. But in terms of lifestyle, they had far-reaching effects. This was *a fortiori* the case after the war, when the Almanacs reformed as the Weavers. Once the war against fascism had been won, geopolitics was replaced by lifestyle issues. The Weavers adopted a clothing style the Reusses term "proletarian romanticism."[92] Shucking the clothes they grew up with, they wore clothing associated with manual labor, i.e., blue jeans and denim shirts. Clothing and music would be essential to the sexual revolution of the '60s, and the Weavers pioneered the changes. The irony was great, as Seeger noted: "There I was, trying my best to shed my Harvard upbringing, scorning to waste money on clothes other than blue jeans."[93] Leadbelly, the Negro ex-con from Texas, though, "always had a clean white shirt and starched collar, well pressed suit and shined shoes. He didn't need to affect that he was a workingman."[94] Like Mick Jagger later, the Weavers often affected a southern accent while singing.

Proletarian chic styles of clothing carried sexual baggage with them. Pete Seeger took a back seat to Woody Guthrie, whose "uninhibited sex life," proved to be off-putting to the very audience they hoped to woo. When the "proletarian" Almanacs showed up in the early '40s for a concert for a Long Island butchers union, they were driven from the stage by well-dressed butchers who booed and threw plates. This prompted one Almanac to say it was time for "getting back and singing for real working class people again."[95]

The disparity between "bohemian" folksingers and the "bourgeois" proletariat recurred repeatedly. In 1936 Earl Robinson took Leadbelly to a progressive summer camp, where he embarrassed the left-wing but sexually middle-class audience with songs about "bad women and gun-toting Negro gamblers."[96] Leadbelly redeemed himself by singing a song about the Scottsboro Boys the next evening, saving both himself and Robinson the indignity of being kicked out of the camp by outraged Jewish mothers. Because he was a *Shvarze,* Leadbelly was probably too much of a sexual threat to pose lifestyle questions openly. He also had to take a back seat to Woody Guthrie, who was even more sexually liberated, but white, and, therefore, more American. Woody Guthrie's "uninhibited sex life"[97] became the norm and the undoing of the New Left when, after World War II, sexual lifestyle issues replaced concern about workingmen's rights. Early on, Irwin Silber, a transitional figure in the generational change from Old Left to New Left, noticed changes provoked by Guthrie's "uninhibited" poor white trash lifestyle. Guthrie abandoned his wife and children and moved in with dancer Marjorie Greenblatt Mazia, who was married to someone else. Out of that union came Arlo Guthrie, who penned the folk hit "Alice's Restaurant" as the '60s folk movement ran out of steam. "The puritanical nearsighted left," Silber noted, referring to Woody,

> didn't quite know what to make of this strange bemused poet who drank and bummed and chased after women and spoke in syllables dreadful strange. They loved his songs and they sang "Union Maid". . . but they never really accepted the man. . . they'd just as soon hear Pete Seeger sing the same songs.[98]

Irwin Silber wrote later "We believed the world was worth saving and that we could do it with songs," which the Reusses call "the best single statement characterizing the Lomax tradition."[99] They are even more on target when they say "the Almanac Singers. . . provided a central focal point around which to create a new personal lifestyle. Folk songs thus were at the center of ideology for the Lomax performers, who promoted them with all the missionary zeal *of a new religious sect.*"[100]

THE MORGENTHAU PLAN 1945

In September 1942 Franklin D. Roosevelt's Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr. met with Rabbi Stephen Wise and learned about Hitler's genocidal plans for the Jews of Europe. Morgenthau was the only Jew in Roosevelt's cabinet, and Rabbi Wise had officiated at his wedding in 1916. Morgenthau's grandfather Lazarus had immigrated to New York from Mannheim in 1866, but coming from Germany and liking Germany were two different things, especially when Morgenthau's Jewish heritage got factored into the equation.

While Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau imposed onerous tariffs on German goods and supported the Soviet Union. When defeat of the Axis powers seemed imminent, he turned to his aide Harry Dexter White, a Jewish economist from Eastern Europe and a communist agent, for a plan to punish Germany. The paper, whose formal title was "Program to Prevent Germany from Starting a World War III," came to be known as the Morgenthau Plan, and as a result of that plan, Morgenthau became the most hated Jew in post-war Germany and posthumous proof that everything Hitler said about Jewish bankers was true.

The Morgenthau Plan foresaw the demilitarization and de-industrialization of a partitioned Germany. Germany, which vied with England for the title of Europe's chief industrial power during the early 20th century, was to be transformed into "a country primarily agricultural and pastoral in its character."[101] According to White's draft, the heart of Germany's industry and coal and steel production was to be stripped of all industrial equipment. The Allies were to "retain control over foreign trade and capital imports . . . and guarantee the breakup of all large estates and their distribution among the peasants."[102] The fact that there were no peasants in Germany at the time must have set off alarm bells in some quarters. White's reference to German "peasants" and the breakup of all large estates indicated that Morgenthau

was using the allies to impose not only pastoral conditions on Germany but a Marxist regime as well. In 1949, the man who was to become West Germany's Catholic prime minister, Konrad Adenauer, called the "Morgenthau Plan" a "crime against humanity" that would lead to more deaths than the Hitler regime.[103]

The WASP foreign policy establishment shared Adenauer's misgivings. Secretary of War Henry Stimson opposed the Morgenthau Plan as "Jewish vengeance."[104] Stimson used his assistant secretary of war John J. McCloy, who eventually became high commissioner over conquered Germany, to thwart it. As the alternative to Morgenthau's planned summary executions of Nazi leadership, Stimson and McCloy proposed the Nuremberg War Crimes tribunals.

General George Patton shared Stimson's views, claiming "the Red Army was the real threat and the Germans the real friends" in the changing political situation.[105] In a letter to Secretary Stimson, Patton "protested against the pro-Jewish clout in the military government. In his opinion, the early American postwar policies were the result of a conspiracy of international bankers, labor leaders, Jews and Communists, whereas he regarded the Germans as potential allies against the adversary in the East."[106] Shlomo Shafir suggests anti-Semitism caused Patton's removal as head of the third army. The story, though, is more complicated. Patton was not removed because he regarded Jewish displaced persons as "lower than animals,"[107] but because he objected to food, clothing, and medical supplies being "diverted for the maintenance of the underground railway to Palestine. There is evidence that the terrorist elements among the Jews have been reinforced from the ranks of illegal immigrants."[108] The British General Morgan suffered the same fate as Patton when he claimed Jewish migration was artificially manipulated as part of a Zionist plot to populate Palestine. When Patton's replacement, General Mark Clark, became head of the US Occupation Zone in Austria "Jews from Marxist indoctrinated Eastern Europe, [began] pouring through the Clark Command into our Displaced Persons camps, throwing themselves on the American government and taxpayer."[109]

The perfidy of the Allies and their double standard became more apparent when details of Operation Keelhaul were made public after the war. Thousands of refugees were sent to death in Stalin's Gulag when the Allies repatriated them to Soviet Union or its eastern European satellites. At the same time that they were feeding Jewish refugees destined for Palestine, Britain handed over Croatians to Tito at Bleiberg, where they were subjected to the death march and show trials at the hands of the Communists. Unlike the Croatians, the Jews who found refuge in Austria were in no danger. General Clark, as a result, "rendered a great service to the Marxist world power cult in letting—and abetting—the Jews to come into the American camps. At the same, time

General Clark turned back to certain death or slave labour camps, the untold thousands of Gentiles. . . running for their lives from the Red secret police"[110]

Patton died in an automobile accident in December 1945. He, not Morgenthau and White, was the prophet of the dramatic change in American policy inaugurated by Churchill's "iron curtain" speech and George Kennan's "long telegram." In February 1946, Kennan warned the State Department the alliance between the Soviet Union and America was over. America's former ally was now its most dangerous opponent. As part of the new strategy required by that new conflict, President Harry S Truman issued Executive Order 9835 to root out communists from influential government positions. One of the first to go was Harry Dexter White. Truman then demanded and got the resignation of Secretary Morgenthau. Harry Dexter White died in 1948, long before establishment of commissions investigating communist influence in the government. Morgenthau "was never able to resolve the question of White's Communist affiliations."[111]

The main reason for the defeat of the Morgenthau Plan was the Soviet threat in Europe. The Morgenthau Plan would have enabled a Soviet takeover by eliminating Germany as the "Bulwark against Bolshevism."[112] Although the WASPs were in charge of America's foreign policy, the Jewish-Catholic conflict was always close to the surface. The American occupation sector included Bavaria with Germany's largest Catholic population. American Catholics were suspected of fraternization with Catholic Bavarians. When Robert Murphy, a Catholic diplomat who had antagonized American Jewish groups, was appointed as a political adviser to occupation forces, Morgenthau demanded his removal, but Murphy's appointment was not revoked. The Jewish desire for vengeance was thwarted by Washington's desire to use West Germany as the showcase for the liberal values of the West.

This meant thwarting Jewish cultural politics in West Germany. One of the main Jewish goals after World War II, shutting down the Oberammergau Passion Play, seemed within their grasp, but on May 18, 1950, both John J. McCloy, the U.S. High Commissioner, and Sir Brian Robertson, the British High Commissioner showed up at the first performance of the Passion Play since the war. The American occupation forces had just conducted a draconian program of de-nazification. Race had been replaced by environment as the key to understanding (and manipulating) man and his behavior, and every aspect of German culture was subjected to microscopic scrutiny and heavy-handed social engineering. And yet no one but the Jews seems to have noticed any anti-Semitism in the Oberammergau Passion Play, in spite of Shapiro's assertion that "it was pretty much the same old play" which Hitler had praised.[113] Michael Cardinal Faulhaber, archbishop of Munich, found nothing theologically objectionable in the play, granting it his approval on August 20, 1949. Ten years later, his successor Joseph Cardinal Wendel gave his approval as well. The presence of McCloy and Robertson at the play was an indication

that the Jews did not run American foreign policy and that America, or the WASP foreign policy establishment, wanted Germany as an ally in the Cold War. According to James Shapiro, "Oberammergau's old argument about opposing Bolshevism held a certain appeal. . . . The villagers and the Americans were on the same side after all."[114]

DECEMBER 31, 1945
PETE SEEGER AND PEOPLE'S SONGS

After the war, lifestyle became the major concern of the Left. On the last day of 1945, more than 30 folksingers met in Pete Seeger's Greenwich Village apartment to create "People's Songs," a clearinghouse for "disseminating the songs of the people [which] truly express their lives, struggles, and their highest aspirations."[115] Once again, they were to hijack traditional melodies and yoke them with texts like "Stalin wasn't Stallin' Any More."[116]

If the rise of folk music as the cutting edge of the lifestyle revolution depended on musical sophistication or poetic skill, the movement would have never made it out of Greenwich Village. But Alan Lomax and his sister had worked for the Office of War Information, insuring that the movement would gain a favorable hearing in the mainstream press as OWI alumni fanned out into jobs in publishing and broadcasting after the war. The OWI, at Lomax's urging, also recorded over a hundred hours featuring the anti-fascist folksinging of Burl Ives, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie and other Lomax musicians. In 1946, People's Songs issued its first bulletin, which morphed into the folk music magazine *Sing Out!* in the 1950s.

The Communist party in America, however, failed to see the significance of the folk song movement, or that within 15 years the People's Songs membership would create an underground network of coffee houses, which would provide the ideal medium for injecting left-wing propaganda into previously inaccessible middle America. Typical was party hack V. J. Jerome, who, according to Radosh, was "one of the Communist party's [most] feared leaders."[117] Betty Sanders felt Jerome was "fond of folksongs and intimately familiar with the culture and traditions of East European Jews," but when it came to American folk music, Jerome was "inflexible and rigidly dogmatic."[118] When Betty Sanders showed him the People's Songs folk music anthology "his only comment was to inquire why the book contained two Israeli songs but only one Soviet song."[119] Jerome insisted on including another forgettable Soviet tune, which meant Woody Guthrie's "Roll On, Columbia" got left out.

Jerome was typical of his generation of Eastern European Jew. He was a communist who liked Jewish music, and that was end of the story. He failed to see the influence American music would have on his children.

In 1937, most Jews listened to Yiddish music, which was entering popular culture via the *Shvartze* musicians in Harlem. The first crossover hit was

"Bey mir bistu Sheyn," which appeared in a Yiddish musical in 1934 and was then picked up by the Negroes of Harlem and played in their jazz clubs. C minor was in many ways the blues variation of G, and so Yiddish/Russian tunes lent themselves to blues-inspired interpretations. Jewish Jazz was first known as the "oriental fox trot," and it soon appeared in the repertoire of Duke Ellington and Fats Waller.[120] In the mid-'30s, Eddie Cantor had a hit called "Lena from Palestine," based on a popular Romanian bulgar, "Nokh a Bisl" (A Little Bit More). The clarinet was a natural crossover instrument. In 1939 Artie Shaw released "The Chant," based on "the close and presumably incidental relationship" between the "St James Infirmary Blues" and "Khosn Kale, Mazeltov" (Congratulations Bride and Groom)."[121]

The Jews who came of age immediately after World War II were in a cultural conflict that would often manifest itself at weddings when the bride and her parents would battle over whether the band should play a *freylekh* or pop standards like "Where or When." To be commercially viable, Jewish musicians had to be able to perform both.

In 1947 Mickey Katz left Spike Jones's novelty orchestra and created his own band, Mickey Katz and the Kosher Jammers. Their first album had a picture of Mickey in a baby carriage, smoking a cigar and presumably still in pain from his own bris. The music for that album was straight, but having cut his teeth with Spike Jones, it wasn't long before he got into Jewish parodies, which pointed up the awkward fit between Jewish content and American forms. Mickey had touched a nerve. The Jews who found assimilation a necessity, often found it inescapably comical as well. Hence the success of his records. "I had given the Jewish record-buying public something they evidently wanted and up to now hadn't had," Katz said later.[122] What followed was a series of revues and albums like "The Borscht Capades" he produced with this son Joel Grey and a stint as a "kosher disc jockey" in Southern California from 1951 to 1956.[123] Many Jews found the idea of setting Yiddish lyrics to hit parade tunes offensive, but Katz's success indicates that many more Jews found it hilarious. The humor was also subversive, and few American institutions would survive the subversion of Jewish humor in the coming decades.

THE COLD WAR BEGINS 1946

The Cold War began in 1946. Instead of Morgenthau's "Jewish vindictiveness,"[124] the Germans got the Marshall Plan. In an address to Jewish leaders, General Lucius Clay advised them "to forget what happened."[125] The American Jewish Committee, one of the most assimilationist-minded Jewish organizations, took his advice because

> Any organized opposition of American Jews against the new foreign policy and strategic approach could isolate them in the eyes of the non-Jewish majority and endanger their postwar achievements on the

> domestic scene. In this context the AJC also found it necessary to take issue with communist attempts to use Jewish anti-German sentiments against Washington's new course.[126]

Sensing the anti-Communist train might leave without them, the AJC ignored as Soviet propaganda what later came to be known as the Holocaust. The AJC concentrated on re-educating Germany instead of punishing it. With America tied down in Korea, Jewish vengeance took a back seat to German participation in the defense of Western Europe.

The AJC was heavily involved in social engineering. When John Slawson, a social psychologist, became its executive director in 1943, the AJC had already sponsored research on race relations by Franz Boas, the Columbia University anthropologist who was Margaret Mead's mentor. Under Boas, Mead wrote *Coming of Age in Samoa*, a piece of bogus anthropology which became popular in the mid-1920s. Boas used Mead as his *goyische* cat's paw to attack the "Christian" psychology of G. Stanley Hall. In his history of the Jewish takeover of American psychology, Andrew Heinze refers to Hall's "classic work, *Adolescence*" as "saturated in Christian reference."[127] As its alternative, Mead proposed blue lagoon anthropology, a fictitious portrait of Samoa as a paradise of uninhibited teen-age sexual liberation from Christian-inspired "*Sturm und Drang*."

During the 1930s, the AJC brought two British agents (or social scientists)—Sir Solly Zuckerman and Sir Eric Rowle—to the country to help create their own domestic intelligence agency. The ADL set up its domestic political intelligence operation, which worked with the part of the FBI responsible for "secret meetings, sedition and betrayal," at around that time.[128] In 1944, the ADL in collaboration with the FBI had 30 America First sympathizers arrested for sedition for weakening America's resolve in the fight against fascism. The ADL also hoped to bring Charles Lindbergh to trial but their efforts came to naught when the judge in charge of the case died. Claiming to be an ethnic fraternal organization, the AJC was in fact an ethnic assimilationist organizaton which "did not shrink from sacrificing fellow Jews on the altar of anti-communism" by "offering their files on alleged Jewish subversives to government agencies."[129]

As executive director of the AJC, Slawson convened a meeting of the German émigrés who constituted the exiled Institute of Social Research, later known as the Frankfurt School. Slawson was worried about fascism and anti-Semitism, which he thought firmly rooted in America's "ethnics," largely Catholic recent immigrants. To combat them and work toward their "re-education," Slawson created the Department of Scientific Research at the AJC, headed by Max Horkheimer who became the director, along with fellow Frankfurt School alumnus Theodor Adorno, of the AJC's five volume Studies

in Prejudice series. Adorno was the author of *The Authoritarian Personality*, the most important volume.

Links between AJC, the Frankfurt School, and government-sponsored social engineering existed from the beginning. During the war, Herbert Marcuse worked for the OSS. After the war, those links became increasingly important as the government got involved in more intrusive social engineering. Friedman claims the AJC was responsible for the Supreme Court's approval of race-based social engineering in education because Slawson hired the black psychologist Kenneth B. Clark. The Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* "in no small part based upon the psychological data of Gunnar Myrdal, Clark, and other social scientists in studies introduced by the [American Jewish] Committee, the [American Jewish] Congress, and various individuals and groups."[130]

Kurt Lewin, who invented the concept of the "self-hating Jew," created sensitivity training for the AJC with a grant from the Office of Naval Research. Lewin ran experiments in group dynamics to orchestrate peer pressure to engineer consent among individuals so groups like the AJC could "change American customs and laws that separated people from each other, so as to reduce prejudice against Jews and other stigmatized minorities."[131]

The new largely Jewish field of American psychology was a main arena of Jewish/Catholic *Kulturkampf*. Bishop Fulton Sheen and Clare Boothe Luce spoke disparagingly of Freudianism, forcing Heinze to conclude "Catholics did not rush as massively as their Jewish counterparts into psychology, partly, no doubt, because of the more tentative attitude of the Church toward that precocious social science."[132]

B'nai B'rith was also involved in social engineering. The ADL persuaded Hollywood to join in "attitude modification."[133] After Bess Meyerson was crowned as the first Jewish Miss America, the ADL ensured she would travel around the country explaining to high school students that, "You can't be beautiful and hate."[134] The AJC and the ADL no longer saw themselves "simply as Jewish 'defense'" agencies, [they]. . . broadened their agendas to support social welfare programs of all kinds as a part of the effort to strengthen democracy. Increasingly, they employed social science research to combat bigotry against all outsiders in the society. . . . They came to play a central role in shaping the newly developing field of intergroup relations as an integral part of the liberal agenda."[135] The Jewish defense agencies launched "an all-out assault on prejudice and discrimination," carefully avoiding the image of being narrow or parochial as they collaborated with the WASP psychological warfare establishment to create "a particular kind of social vision built around internationalism, liberalism and modernism."[136]

The ADL was more heavily involved in psychological warfare than the AJC. University of Chicago sociologist Louis Wirth was an employee of OWI and on the board of directors of the ADL after the war. Wirth was born in

in Germany in 1897 to a family of Jewish cattle merchants who had lived in in the same house for four centuries. Wirth's attitude toward Catholic ethnics and social engineering was formed early when he was involved with Marxist student organizations at the University of Chicago. He was then a dedicated admirer of Josef Stalin, whom, he felt, had solved the Soviet Union's "nationalities problem." Wirth was instrumental in bringing Gunnar Myrdal to the United States and wrote eight chapters of *The American Dilemma*, the Carnegie foundation-sponsored book cited as justification for desegregation in *Brown*.

After the war, Wirth collaborated with Philip Klutznick to impose housing based social engineering on Chicago's Catholic ethnics. Wirth was elected to the ADL's board of directors in 1947, the same year the first Levittown was built in Hempstead, Long Island. One year later, Klutznick became the administrator for Park Forest, Chicago's version of Levittown, the new suburb that was to assimilate Chicago's Catholic ethnics when their neighborhoods succumbed to Negro migration. Wirth and Klutznick were on the Board of Governors of the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council of Chicago during its stormiest years between 1944 when they started to engineer Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods and 1954 when the ethnic counter-attack got Elizabeth Wood fired as the head of the Chicago Housing Authority. When B'nai B'rith co-sponsored the Chicago Housing Rally in February, 1950, Wirth was a speaker, along with Wood and Samuel Freifeld, director of the Discriminations Department of the Chicago Branch of the ADL. Philip Klutznick became head of B'nai B'rith in 1953, a position he held until 1959.

THE ADA BREAKS WITH THE COMMUNIST LEFT 1947

In 1947, Eleanor Roosevelt joined Arthur Schlesinger and other disillusioned Leftists to form Americans for Democratic Action. America's Left thus broke with Soviet-led communists over the new ideology of liberalism. Many former Communist front organizations followed suit. *The New Republic*, created by Herbert Croly and Walter Lippman then taken over by Michael Straight, a Soviet agent recruited by Anthony Blunt, one of the Cambridge traitors, reverted to liberalism before becoming a Zionist organ when Martin Peretz purchased it in the '70s. Similarly, the *Partisan Review*, founded by two Jews in a communist cell in Greenwich Village in 1934, supported Trotsky briefly before evolving into a liberal journal in the 1950s. *The New Leader*, a magazine with Menshevik tendencies initially, became firmly liberal under the leadership of disillusioned Jewish communists like Ralph de Toledano and Daniel Bell.

The mind of the emerging anti-Communist liberal also found expression in *The Nation*, where Unitarian minister Homer Jack complained about Catholic ethnic resistance to race-based social engineering. It was also in the pages of

The Nation that Paul Blanshard first mounted the attack on Catholic sexual morals that became the bestseller *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. In the sequel, Blanshard formulated the new liberal creed as anti-Communist and anti-Catholic. In both books, Blanshard opined that Catholics had a congenital weakness for fascism, precisely the conclusion Adorno and Horkheimer reached in their work on the authoritarian personality at the AJC. The dim outline of a far-reaching alliance between WASP and Jew in America's new-found ideology of liberalism was now evident. But there was nothing new about this alliance. It had been created in England, where it was known as freemasonry. Since the United States was a country created by Freemasons, it was no coincidence that it would flourish there.

The foundation of the edifice of liberalism which housed the ADA WASP/Jewish Alliance was the separation of church and state, a legal fiction created from one phrase in a letter by Thomas Jefferson. The immediate cause of WASP/Jewish concern was the *Everson* decision, which permitted Catholic school children to ride government-funded school buses. The specter of those children taking over the United States and turning it into a "Catholic country" like fascist Spain gave new urgency to WASP/Jewish collaboration. The AJC and the ADL pursued the separation of church and state as the surest prophylaxis against the fascist takeover of America.

Elliott Abrams, later influential in the Reagan and Bush II administrations and a member of the first family of neoconservatism through marriage to the daughter of Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, articulated the attraction of the separation of church and state for Jews in *Commentary*. Rather than "stand apart as a visibly distinct group," American Jews decided it "would be wiser to Americanize and assimilate as quickly as possible and insist that government must not support religion at all."[137] The Jews came to this conclusion because many Catholic immigrants arrived when the Jews did:

> this conclusion was further reinforced by the arrival, just as the German Jews were reaching America, of large numbers of Catholics from Ireland and Germany. Given the historic link between the Catholic Church and anti-Semitism in Europe, it was predictable that Jews would fear to see Catholicism strengthened in America. Far better, again to ensure that government would do nothing to assist the Church.[138]

Instead of insisting that Judaism have an equal place with Christianity, the AJC and ADL decided to "seek a more secular America where religion's role was diminished."[139] Abrams says "Jewish immigrants became American Jews by redefining Judaism and submerging it in Americanism, itself newly defined by the Jewish lawyers who came to lead the community."[140] The promotion of separation of church and state was tantamount to submerging America in

Judaism. Gradually, America was redefined in Jewish terms, and the courts capitulated to the Talmudic redefinitions of American law during the high noon of American judicial activism. Abrams claims that through Justices Marshall and Brandeis, "the rule of law that governed American Jewish life came to depend upon the Constitution, not the Torah,"[141] but it is more accurate to say the Talmud replaced the Constitution as the center of American life.

The man most responsible for de-Christianization of American culture was the AJC's Leo Pfeffer, who, says the AJC's Murray Friedman, "advised, planned and argued more church-state cases before the U.S. Supreme Court than anyone else in American history."[142] Pfeffer's "social revolution"[143] began with *Everson* in 1947 and culminated in *Lemon v. Kurtzman* in 1974. The one constant was Pfeffer's animus toward the Catholic Church. Conceding "the promotion of religion and morality along with education was seen by the founding fathers as a primary purpose of government," Friedman portrays Pfeffer's cases as a clear victory for the Jewish viewpoint.[144] "*Everson* and *McCullum*," he writes, "in which the committee, the ADL and Pfeffer's Congress were joined together, were crucial victories" because they "vindicated Pfeffer's belief that litigation could be a primary tool to achieve the Jewish agencies' objectives."[145] In reports to its members, the AJC put a less ethnocentric spin on Pfeffer's achievement, declaring "it had achieved a 'social revolution' for religious equality," but the word "revolution" let the cat out of the bag.[146] "Joined now with the ascendant Jewish intellectual and cultural elite and with liberal Protestant and civil liberties bodies, Jewish groups had come to play a critical role in the 'de-Christianizaton' of American culture."[147] Only the Catholics complained, especially the Jesuits in their journal *America*. Friedman denounced "such criticism" as "carrying with it a whiff of anti-Semitism," a phrase he uses to discredit views he finds repugnant.[148]

Friedman does not mention Pfeffer's animus against Catholics. In 1975, when Jewish victory in the culture wars of the '60s was all but complete, Pfeffer explained in the liberal Catholic journal *Commonweal* why he did not like the Catholic Church: "I did not like it because it was monolithic and authoritarian and big and frighteningly powerful. I was repelled by the idea that any human being could claim infallibility in any area, much less in the universe of faith and morals, and repelled even more by the arrogance of condemning to eternal damnation those who did not believe it."[149] Pfeffer said his feelings were formed when "Pius XI and Pius XII reigned over the Catholic world and Cardinal Spellman ruled in the United States."[150] The Jewish Apostle of the Separation of Church and State was appalled when he "saw [Catholic] children lined up in separate classes as they marched in [to Catholic schools]. All the children were white; each group was monosexual; all the boys wore dark blue trousers and white shirts, all the girls dark blue jumpers and white

blouses; all the teachers were white and wore the same nuns' habits."[151] After "the triumph of secular humanism," Pfeffer's term for the defeat of Catholics in the cultural warfare, Pfeffer still disliked the Church, "but I do not like it less than I did not like it during that period, and the reason is that, while it is still what it was before, it is considerably less so, if you can make out what I mean."[152]

SEEGER RESURRECTS THE ALMANAC SINGERS AS THE WEAVERS 1948

In November 1948, Pete Seeger resurrected the Almanac Singers as the Weavers, a name derived from the eponymous Gerhart Hauptmann play about the English peasant revolt of 1381. One year later, the Weavers secured a two-week gig at Max Gordon's nightclub, the Village Vanguard, which was so successful it was extended indefinitely. In spring 1950, the Weavers signed with Decca, and shortly thereafter had a string of Top 40 hits beginning with Leadbelly's "Goodnight, Irene." The Weavers were enjoying the best of both worlds—commercial success while promoting revolution, when they were suddenly cut down by the anti-Communist crusade and the Catholic senator from Wisconsin, Joe McCarthy. When the war in Korea broke out in June 1950, Alan Lomax, who didn't need a weatherman to tell which way the wind was blowing, left America for England, where he remained beyond subpoena for eight years.

In May 1950, *Sing Out!*, under Communist party member Irwin Silber, published what was arguably the Left's greatest hit, "If I had a Hammer," by Lee Hays and Pete Seeger. It would become the anthem of the '60s folk revival when Peter, Paul and Mary did a Top 40 version in 1963. The left-wing Lomax singers got called one by one to testify before the anti-Communist committees in Washington. Burl Ives testified before the Senate McCarran Committee in 1952 as a friendly witness to clear his name; as proof of his friendliness, he named fellow-travelers and party members. Ives' testimony incensed *Sing Out!*: "We've never seen anyone sing while crawling on his belly before. But maybe Burl Ives will be able to figure it out. . . . Nothing's too hard for a stoolpigeon—except keeping his integrity."[153] Tex Ritter stopped calling himself a folksinger because "for a few years . . . it was very difficult to tell where folk music ended and communism began."[154] Ramblin' Jack Elliott, reminiscing about Woody Guthrie in Washington Square, said Guthrie would charge a nickel a song for his own material, but if anyone requested a Burl Ives song, the price jumped to 15 cents.

DISILLUSIONMENT WITH COMMUNISM 1950

Wartime Jewish collaboration with the psychological warfare establishment led to collaboration with the newly created CIA. The main reason for the collaboration was Jewish disillusionment with communism, which by the late '40s had become "the god that failed," to use the title of an influential anthology published in 1949 by former communists. Arthur Koestler, a Hungarian Jew, a contributor to that anthology and one of the most disillusioned Jewish former communists, described his defection and disillusionment in *Darkness at Noon*, one of the great political novels of the 20th century.

Koestler, who committed suicide after questioning the Semitic origins of the Ashkenazi in *The Thirteenth Tribe*, had significant impact on American Jews, who moved from the Communist party. Additionally, the attitude of the WASP elite toward the Soviet Union had changed. The Soviet Union went from America's ally to its prime enemy. Assimiliationists were painfully aware their loyalty as Americans was questioned.

The situation in the Soviet Union had changed too. Stalin's anti-Semitism, which surfaced in the show trials of 1937 when he purged the Jewish first generation Bolsheviks from the party apparatus, took a turn for the worse after the war when he imagined himself the victim of a cabal of Jewish doctors.

Around that time, Zionism began to exert its pull on Soviet Jews. Stalin had assisted in the creation of Israel by orchestrating pogroms in Poland, specifically the Kielce pogrom, to drive Jews out of Poland to Israel. He sought to kill two birds with one stone. He would get rid of what he considered a subversive fifth column in the Soviet Empire, and he would also establish a Soviet beachhead in the Middle East by supplying the largely eastern European Jews who made up the Zionist establishment with Soviet weapons as a way of thwarting U.S. access to Arab oil.

The United States was orchestrating its own purge of Jews at the same time, which didn't make the situation any easier for American Jews. As Slezkine points out, "in the Soviet Union they were persecuted as Jews, and in the United States as Communists. . . . Senator McCarthy. . . knew perfectly well that many communists, hostile witnesses and Soviet spies were Jews, but chose not to transform this fact into a political 'issue.'"[155] Either way, in the United States and the Soviet Union, "the Jewish association with communism was coming to an end."[156]

But it was far from over. In fact, in espionage, it was reaching its climax. In May 1950, David Greenglass was arrested for espionage. He implicated his brother-in-law Julius Rosenberg in a spy ring that had shipped plans on how to build an atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. One month later, Greenglass's wife implicated Rosenberg's wife Ethel. The Rosenberg espionage trial caused major embarrassment to American Jews, who were suspected of being communists simply because they were Jews. With communism America's

number one enemy, Jews were tainted; the major Jewish organizations were determined to do something about it.

Sensing the allure of communism was waning among American Jews, and that those among whom it was not waning were a serious liability, the AJC rushed to collaborate with the government. The Rosenbergs' trial was an entirely Jewish affair; the Jewish defendants were prosecuted by a Jewish lawyer before a Jewish judge. In the McCarthy hearings, the Catholic senator from Wisconsin often seemed a pawn of his Jewish assistant, Roy Cohn.

Sensing the Rosenberg trial could be a disaster for American Jews, the AJC collaborated with the anti-Communist crusade and handed over its files on Jews to the U.S. Government. Willingness to take part in the anti-Communist crusade required temporary amnesia: The AJC portrayed as Communist dupes those who referred to the Nazi Holocaust. Once the United States recognized West Germany in 1949 and it became the United States' "bulwark against Bolshevism" in Western Europe, American Jewish elites let bygones be bygones and "forgot" the Nazi holocaust to facilitate their "traditional goals of assimilation and access to power."[157] Finkelstein claims the Jewish organizations feared "any organized opposition of American Jews against the new foreign policy and strategic approach could isolate them in the eyes of the non-Jewish majority and endanger their postwar achievements on the domestic scene."[158] As a result,

> American Jewish elites did not shrink from sacrificing fellow Jews on the altar of anti-communism. Offering their files on alleged Jewish subversives to government agencies, the AJC and the ADL actively collaborated in the McCarthy-era witch-hunt. The AJC endorsed the death penalty for the Rosenbergs, while its monthly publication, *Commentary*, editorialized that they weren't really Jews.[159]

The shock waves in the Jewish community in the aftermath of the Alger Hiss trial and the execution of the Rosenbergs caused what Slezkine calls "the great alliance between the Jewish Revolution and communism" to fall apart.[160] The Jews were also motivated by Stalin's Doctors' Plot. Once Stalin turned on the Jews, a number of Jews turned on Stalin and joined the anti-Communist Crusade. One of the first was Sidney Hook, a co-founder of the Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1939, with John Dewey as its head. Hook's operation morphed in the 1940s from an attempt to invigorate communism by marrying it to Dewey's pragmatism into liberalism, and then into conservatism in the 1950s.

In March 1949, the Soviet Union used front groups to put on the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Many prominent "New York Intellectuals" attended, including Leonard Bernstein, Lillian Hellman, Norman Mailer, and Arthur Miller, as well as Negro fellow travelers Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson. Russia's

most famous fireman (as portrayed on the cover of *Time* in 1942), Composer Dimitri Shostakovich gave a speech denouncing America's fascism and "hatemongering."[161]

The CIA responded by holding a Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin in June 1950, with Arthur Koestler as a main speaker. Sidney Hook also attended. When Hook returned to the United States he affiliated his ACCF with the International Congress of Cultural Freedom. Composed in large part of former Communists, the CCF, a CIA front, was largely Jewish. Hook took the hard line against the Soviet Union. Against the establishment's policies of containment and détente, Hook urged all out destruction of the Soviet Empire.

During its heyday from 1950 through 1958, the CCF used CIA largesse to open offices in 35 countries. It also funded magazines that were CIA fronts, among them the English magazine *Encounter*, co-edited by Irving Kristol and the poet Stephen Spender in London. When Kristol was outed as a CIA agent in the liberal *New York Review of Books* in 1968 by Peter Colemant's *The Liberal Conspiracy*, Kristol claimed he didn't know *Encounter* was a CIA front. Murray Rothbard thought Kristol disingenuous if not downright dishonest. As Rothbard points out, Tom Braden, then head of the CIA's International Organizations division, "wrote in a *Saturday Evening Post* article, a CIA agent always served as editor of *Encounter*."[162] Later Kristol changed his story. According to Murray Friedman,

> Kristol summed up this sentiment later in an article in the *New York Times* magazine in 1968, following the public exposure of secret CIA financial assistance to the CCF and *Encounter* magazine. He argued that he had no objection to CIA funding or certain projects and under certain circumstances. He had no more reason to despise the CIA than he did the post office, he wrote. Both were exasperatingly inept.[163]

Kristol's explanation was disingenuous and implausible. He was an alumnus of Alcove One at the City College of New York and a protégé of Hook. When CCNY Trotskyite Jews weren't attending class, they would hang out in Alcove One at the college cafeteria. Alcove Two was the Stalinist enclave, where Julius Rosenberg could be found. There were also alcoves for Catholics, Zionists, and Orthodox Jews, but none of their alumni attained the prominence of the Jews from Alcoves One and Two. Alcove One also produced Seymour Martin Lipset, Melvin Lasky, and Irving Howe, who could "remember getting into an argument at ten in the morning [in Alcove One], going off to classes, and then returning at two in the afternoon to find the argument still going on but with an entirely fresh cast of characters."[164]

In 1947, years before he edited *Encounter*, Kristol was appointed junior editor at *Commentary*, the mouthpiece of the AJC, and a close collaborator in the government anti-Communist crusade. His association with *Commentary*,

not the CIA front *Encounter*, gave the true coordinates of a career that became "a virtual road map of the path taken by some liberals on their way to becoming Neoconservatives."[165]

JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG EXECUTED 1953

Just about one year after Ives' testimony, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for espionage. Ron Radosh stood in Union Square on June 19, 1953, listening to "Negro ballads sung by Communist party folk singers" as tears streamed down his face.[166] Radosh considered the Rosenbergs as Jewish martyrs to fascist America, then in the throes of a witchhunt ably described by another Jew, Arthur Miller, in *The Crucible*. Miller would later marry Marilyn Monroe, the world's most famous *shiksa*, after he dumped his social worker wife. Art and life conspired in the Rosenberg case to convince Jews they were at the center of an apocalyptic drama, in which good Jews, i.e., Communist Jews, were preparing for another holocaust. Radosh had a personal stake in the case because two of his fellow campers at Camp Woodland were Michael and Robert Meerpol, the Rosenbergs soon-to-be adopted children. As Communist party historian Herbert Aptheker would say, anti-Semitism "played and plays a part" in the Rosenberg case.[167] It was up to young Jewish Communists like Radosh,

> to convince New York's Jewish population. . . that America was now "fascist" and was trying to execute two Jews for their "progressive" political beliefs. And for second and third-generation Jews like my friends and myself, the Rosenbergs' fate could just as well have been that of our own parents. My mother and father, after all, were also progressive activists steeped in the secular *Yiddishkayt* culture, people who cared for the Russians, who favored civil rights for Negroes, and who had fought in or supported the valiant fight of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade against fascism in Spain.[168]

When the sun set that June evening, Radosh knew, in keeping with Jewish ritual, the Rosenbergs had been executed. The weeping turned into "a wail of heavy crying and moaning, and the singers started chanting the old hymn of slavery in Egypt land, 'Let my People Go.'"[169] When mounted police appeared, Radosh saw them as "a reprise of the Russian Cossacks attacking the Jewish poor of the *shtetl*."[170] When Radosh attended the funeral of the spies who had given atomic bomb secrets to Stalin, the "moment would remain etched in my memory forever to be the symbol of what awaited good, progressive Jews who dared to stand up for their beliefs."[171]

Thirty years later, learning that the Rosenbergs were indeed spies, Radosh wrote an article with Sol Stern ("a colleague from my University of Iowa graduate school days and a former *Ramparts* editor and New Left Activist. Stern was a smart writer and shrewd political observer, and we shared a

common background and perspective. We were both left-wing Jews from New York, for whom the Rosenberg case had been a central concern")[172] to that effect for the *New York Times*, only to learn that Abe Rosenthal spiked it because he didn't want to offend a Jewish judge deliberating in a case affecting the *Times*. The Rosenberg myth—David Rieff would claim "the Rosenbergs are the American Left's only true martyrs"—was evidently still important to "our crowd."[173]

Radosh was a high school student at Elisabeth Irwin School in Greenwich Village when the Rosenbergs were executed. "Was there anyone of note," Radosh asks, "who was part of the Old Left or the New Left who did not attend Elisabeth Irwin?"[174] The only people who didn't fit in there were the children of Trotskyites and Reichians. EI was known as "the little Red Schoolhouse for little Reds," and the faculty were every bit as Left-wing as the students, arranging a class trip to coal mines in Pennsylvania so the budding young communists could experience the proletariat and imbibe its wisdom.[175] The ethnic reality, however, was dramatically different from the Marxist fantasy. In their introduction to the working class, the EI students were taken to a working-class Catholic Church, where the priest talked about "the Miracle of the Lady of Fatima, who appeared to local Polish [sic] peasants to warn them about the coming threat of communism."

Elisabeth Irwin counted among its graduates an equal number of famous folkies and famous Reds. Among the latter were Victor Navasky, editor and publisher of *The Nation* and Angela Davis. Among the former, Eric Weissberg, the banjo picker, Joady and Nora Guthrie, and, most famous of all, Mary Travers, of Peter, Paul and Mary, who never graduated. Radosh traveled to Washington with classmate Travers as part of the Youth Committee for the Rosenbergs to picket the White House. Radosh remembers Travers most for her precocious devotion to sexual liberation, which continually got her in trouble, leading to her expulsion from the school. Mary Travers caused a scandal by posing in a sex photo tabloid, which she boldly passed around to her classmates. Travers came from a radical family that lived across the street from EI, which enabled her to harangue and insult her former classmates after her expulsion.

Jewishness, communism, and folksinging combined to form a seamless cultural garment for Radosh and his peers in New York in the '50s. During high school, Radosh hung out at Washington Square in the Village on Sundays where he met "the luminaries of the early folk scene."[176] Radosh was there when Ramblin' Jack Elliott showed up with Woody Guthrie. In fact, he's visible in one of the famous pictures of those two seminal folk musicians. Mingling with the folk legends were Radosh's radical peers—Carl Granich, the son of Mike Gold, and Bob Starobin, son of Joe Starobin, the foreign affairs editor of the *Daily Worker*. Between the Sunday afternoon sessions in Washington Square and the parties in the Village and its environs, Radosh

met "the first generation of city-bred country pickers and folk singers whose names would later become household words."[177]

Pete Seeger, however, continued to exert the most influence on him. Seeger taught Radosh to play the five-string banjo. Seeger entertained Radosh and his peers at Camp Woodland, and Seeger's legendary 1948 folkways album inspired them to adopt his take on America's traditional melodies. Pete Seeger is the reason so many Jews played the five-string banjo, an instrument virtually unknown before Pete Seeger started playing it. Seeger was the Elvis Presley of the Jewish Left, and Radosh knew him intimately enough to call him his hero. When Seeger needed a place to spend the night, he was always welcome at the Radosh apartment. He would reciprocate by inviting Ron to spend weekends at his Beacon, New York, refuge. Mike Gold would often spend weekends at Seeger's mountaintop retreat; he was struck how the New York teenagers "worshipped" Seeger, whom Gold called "the Karl Marx of the teenagers."[178]

Seeger was extremely popular at Elisabeth Irwin. Like the Blues Brothers, who played both kinds of music, "Country and Western," the music department at EI ran the socialist gamut from Third Period chorales to Popular Front folk tunes. The school's music director, Bob DeCormier, later became director of the New York Choral Society, the Harry Belafonte Singers, and, under the name Robert Corman, musical arranger for Peter, Paul and Mary. During Radosh's years, Cormier also directed the Jewish Young Folk-Singers, which was affiliated with the Communist party's International Workers Order. Radosh was a member of the JYF.

In 1954, Israeli actor, Theodor Bikel, arrived in New York to perform in a Broadway play called *Tonight in Samarkand*. Within days, Bikel, "a gifted impersonator,"[179] introduced himself to Pete Seeger. Israeli folk songs soon joined the repertoire of the Left. Nine years later, Bikel was at Newport singing "We Shall Overcome." Bikel added a new note, Zionism, to the American folk repertoire. It was an act of supererogation, because by 1954, folk music was a Jewish phenomenon. "Jewish repertoire may not have been central to the folk song revival," Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes, but

> Jews certainly were. They owned and managed clubs and record companies. They were composers, performers, agents, and managers. They were writers and critics. Moses Asch, son of Sholem Asch, established Folkways. Jac Holzman and Leonard Ripley ran Elektra. Kenneth S. Goldstein issued innumerable recordings of songs from the field. Israel Young ran the Folklore Center on MacDougal Street. Aliza Greenblatt, the mother of Woody Guthrie's former wife Marjorie, was a published Yiddish poet; she wrote "Der fisher," which has become a favorite in the Yiddish song repertoire. Jean Richie's husband, George Pickow, a Jew from New York, made her an improved mountain dulcimer. The list goes on.[180]

The Weavers didn't remain blacklisted for long. In December 1955, the Weavers celebrated their return to respectability with a successful concert at Carnegie Hall. Ron Radosh was not there. In September, Ron, unlike most of his Jewish Communist Comrades from the LYL who "more or less automatically"[181] enrolled in City College of New York, had left for Madison, Wisconsin, where he enrolled in the history program. His purpose was not learning, but subversion. The Communist Youth League gave him "a ready-made community"[182] in Madison, and Radosh began "burrowing from within."[183] In his memoir *Commies*, Radosh describes his purpose as "classically Leninist":

> to gain influence in, and if possible take over, other existing student groups. One of our 'secret" members was a paunchy New Yorker named Jeff Kapow, who admitted in Paul Buhle's book: "There was no other choice but to work within the framework of other organizations whose aims were in some way compatible with our own. The words used to describe this activity—"infiltration" and "burrowing from within"—have an essentially negative connotation and are, as such, unjust. For we were not so much using those organizations for our own ends as we were helping them fulfill their stated aims."[184]

Radosh and his communist friends infiltrated "the NAACP, the Young Democrats, the Students for Democratic Action (youth arm of the fiercely anti-Communist ADA), the Film Society, the Student Council, the Student League for Industrial Democracy (a social-democratic group)" and turned them into organizations "to overthrow our capitalist democracy and replace it with a socialist revolution modeled on the USSR."[185] Radosh and his friends were evidently successful in subverting these organizations, assuring us that "The old Commie tactic of 'burrowing from within' really did work."[186]

Once again, Radosh, even though hundreds of miles away from home, was ensconced in a seamlessly Jewish community, Communist in its politics, and involved in folk music. Radosh met his first girlfriend at the campus branch of Hillel, a Zionist who danced Israeli folk dances and criticized Radosh's politics as "adolescent rebellion against parental authorities,"[187] even though Radosh's parents were as radically communist as he. Soon Marshall Brickman and Eric Weissberg, folkies Radosh knew from Washington Square, arrived in Madison. The Jewish Communist folk scene replicated itself in one of the many coffee houses that would spread Greenwich Village across the country. Although Brickman "came from a bona fide Red-diaper-baby family,"[188] he and Weissberg, Radosh's bunkmate at Camp Woodland, were relatively apolitical, spending their time listening to Earl Scruggs' records, trying to imitate his banjo licks. Radosh looked down on Brickman and Weissberg because of their indifference to politics; they looked down on Radosh because of his lack of skill on the banjo. They performed together on Theodore Bikel's radio program, broadcast live from the Gate of Horn in Chicago, which was part of

> a network of tiny clubs [which] stretched from coast to coast, establishing a kind of alternative entertainment circuit. Folksingers with talent could develop quite a reputation as they worked their way across the country, playing popular clubs. Coincidentally, a handful of coffeehouses emerged as the "important rooms" one had to play on the way up. There was Folk City in New York, the Gate of Horn in Chicago, and in San Francisco, the hungry i and Ash Grove became essential links to the big time. Each major city had a coffeehouse or two where enthusiasts came to see folksingers on the brink of success.[189]

It's worth asking whether subversion, "burrowing from within" was essentially Communist or Jewish. The answer, of course, is that it is impossible to distinguish the two qualities. Subversion is something that Jews did because they were communists, but it is also something that communists did because they were Jews. Just as Radosh and his LYL buddies subverted the campus branch of the ADA, so Weissberg and Brickman subverted Earl Scruggs, first by slavishly imitating his technique and then appropriating his music, just as Pete Seeger had subverted other American music during the '30s. Earl Scruggs was now part of the Jewish revolutionary coffee house folk-music scene, whether he wanted to be or not, and that music would be transformed into the revolutionary Dionysian anthems of the '60s willy nilly.

During summers, Radosh returned to New York to work as a counselor at another camp for Jewish communists, this time for adults. He became the folk music leader at Wingdale on the Lake, previously known as Camp Unity, "an adult resort for party members."[190] Radosh's duties "involved little more than leading songs at the campfire once a week and being MC at the Saturday night shows." As a result, he had plenty of time to socialize.[191] He took a liking to a high school student four year his junior, Alice Schweig, the daughter of a wealthy dentist from Pelham, "the only area" in New York, Radosh says, "that would vote for Barry Goldwater" in 1964.[192] There, "Alice had felt something of an alien."[193] Radosh was worried about how her parents might react to their daughter marrying a communist. But, rummaging in their attic, he discovered they too had been communists in their youth. "Although no longer open about it," Alice's parents were in "the communist orbit," and "would not look askance at a partner for Alice who was committed to the dreams and hopes of their own left-wing youth."[194]

Radosh's in-laws did have reason to worry, but not about communism. The Left was turning from the concerns of the working class and becoming involved in the sexual revolution instead. The Jews took a leading role in this subversion, unaware that in succumbing to the siren song of Dionysos, they would destroy their own little world. Wingdale on the Lake, Radosh says,

> had a well-earned reputation as a den of free love, a place where uptight apparatchiks abandoned all pretenses and let their libidos loose. In

particular, the adult female campers seemed to indulge in behavior that was never openly acknowledged or condoned, but appeared to be the favored sexual activity of the camp: sex with black male staff and campers, which could not be condemned because of the party's ongoing campaign against "white chauvinism." It was also the first I had ever heard of group sex and wife-swapping, with the highly prized black lifeguard and his white roommate regularly switching partners as part of their camp routine.[195]

RAMBLIN JACK ELLIOTT AND WOODY GUTHRIE 1953-1954

The cowboy—in particular, the singing cowboy—was one of the most significant cultural casualties in the communist campaign of burrowing within the traditions of American folk music. Mel Brooks presided over his funeral in his mid-70s film *Blazing Saddles*. But the singing cowboy was also one of the first roles New York Jews appropriated to become American. The best example was Elliott Charles Adnopoz, a Jewish cowboy from Brooklyn. Adnopoz ran away as a teenager and joined the Colonel Jim Eskew traveling rodeo. Adnopoz was embarrassed about his New York origin and his Jewish name, so he told rodeo folks to call him Buck. After meeting Woody Guthrie, Adnopoz changed his name to Ramblin' Jack Elliott and became the model for a generation of singing Jewish cowboys, including Bob Dylan. Elliott moved in with Guthrie and, over a few intense months, adopted his guitar and singing styles and every other aspect of his life, including his penchant for rambling.

As the documentary directed by his daughter demonstrates, the prime attraction the singing cowboy persona had for Elliott was its absolution from family responsibility. The rambler protested against monogamy. No longer was the cowboy an awkwardly chivalrous John Wayne or a defender of the rights of the workingman. Instead he was a proponent of sexual liberation. Ramblin' sexuality became the prime attraction of Lifestyle Leftism during the '50s. During the warmer months of 1953 and 1954, Elliott and Guthrie would serenade teenagers in Washington Square in Greenwich Village. Elliott sported his trademark cowboy hat, and Guthrie looked like an escapee from a flophouse. Guthrie was having increasing difficulty physically, suffering from the early stages of Huntington's chorea, the nerve disorder that killed his mother and eventually killed him. His drinking didn't help. Nor did his ramblin' womanizing. Guthrie abandoned his second wife and took up with Anneke Van Kirk Marshall, a 20-year-old he met near Geer's farm in California. Ramblin' Jack would emulate his mentor, going through four wives by the time his daughter made her documentary.

Chapter Ten

Lorraine Hansberry

On October 25, 1940, the Supreme Court heard arguments in *Hansberry v. Lee*, a case which challenged restrictive covenants, a real estate ploy which prevented blacks from moving into all-white neighborhoods. Carl Hansberry, a black Chicago businessman, was looking for property to buy on the south side of Chicago. In 1937 he found James Joseph Burke, a disgruntled former member of Woodlawn Property Owners Association, who had vowed revenge on the organization that had done him wrong. Burke made good on his threat to "get even with the Woodlawn Property Owners' Asociation by putting niggers in every block"[1] of the Washington Park subdivision, beginning with Carl Hansberry, who conspired with Burke to buy a three-flat brick building at 6140 South Rhodes Avenue, which he knew the law barred him from buying. Historians have concluded that "Indeed, a conspiracy existed," but they have also concluded that Hansberry was involved in "a necessary conspiracy," because the "intrigue" was "aimed at righting a wrong."[2]

Necessary or not, this conspiracy to deprive a Negro of his rights did not include the usual suspects. There were no frog-eyed southern bigots with tobacco juice dripping from their chins. The enemies of racial equality were the Supreme Life Insurance Company, which "pumped more than a hundred thousand dollars . . . into fighting this case" and Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the Rockefeller-endowed University of Chicago, who told Hansberry's lawyers, "It's a matter of economics. . . . The university has a huge investment in the South Side, and I've got to protect it. . . . Why don't you people stay where you belong?"[3]

The language of the covenant was frankly racial, defining a Negro as "every person having one-eighth part or more of Negro blood, or having any appreciable mixture of Negro blood and every person who is what is commonly known as a 'colored person.'"[4] But the situation in Chicago was different from the situation in the South. Chicago was a city of ethnic neighborhoods. The race riot of 1919 convinced the city fathers that the best way to keep the peace in an ethnically diverse city was ethnic pluralism, with each neighborhood

its own quasi-independent fiefdom. In the wake of the first wave of black migration from the South during World War I, southern blacks were treated like one of the many immigrant ethnic groups which had already come to Chicago by being assigned their own ethnic territory in the same way that the Germans, Poles and Irish had in the past.

The Catholic Church in Chicago, which would later be blamed for promoting segregation, adopted the ethnic neighborhood pattern when it set up its parishes. According to the official history of the Archdiocese of Chicago,

> a local parish was far more than a place of worship; it was also a community center, where immigrants could congregate and inter-marry with people of the same language and customs. Throughout the 19th century, therefore, each Catholic ethnic group built a separate community in Chicago.[5]

The instruction in parochial schools was in the language of the immigrant group which settled in that particular neighborhood, which highlighted that "Not just education, but every aspect of Catholic life and worship was subdivided along ethnic lines," with the Irish, Germans and Poles forming the "major leagues" of ethnic Chicago.[6] Black Catholics were no exception and "were considered an ethnic group like any other. If they could raise the money, they could have their own church and ethnic parish."[7] Segregation is a word that emerged during the time of redemption in the South, but it got applied to the situation in the North nonetheless, often by people who knew that the two situations were different, as when Kantorowicz writes that Black parishes were "segregated," because "most ethnic groups at the time were segregated, at least in part of their own volition."[8] Segregation in the South, needless to say, was not voluntary.

In Chicago immigrant groups banded together in particular neighborhoods for mutual support. Ethnicity, not laws created to bring about separation of the races, determined the make up of Chicago's neighborhoods and therefore its parishes:

> In 1916 the Catholic Church in the city of Chicago consisted of 93 territorial (mainly Irish) parishes with 235,600 members; 35 German parishes with 62,700 parishioners; and 34 Polish parishes, counting 208,700 parish members. The minor leagues accounted for an additional 53 parishes and 139,200 parishioners. The 646,200 active members of the Catholic Church in Chicago formed about 30 percent of the city's population. . . . Ethnic divisions were all-pervasive, wherever one looked throughout the archdiocese.[9]

Cardinal Mundelein, "a third-generation German-American and a confirmed Americanizer," tried to revoke "the ethnic peace treaty" that was the model for the Chicago Archdiocese, but the neighborhood was such an integral part of the warp and woof of Chicago that no one man could change it.[10] Mundelein declared a moratorium on the establishment of new ethnic parishes, insisted

that the language of instruction be English in all subjects (except catechism and reading) in parochial schools, and steadfastly refused to name any Polish auxiliary bishops, but Chicago remained stubbornly ethnic in spite of his efforts. Mundelein's Americanizing may well have exacerbated the racial situation, because in refusing to allow new ethnic groups to found their own parishes, he denied black Catholics from the South the same rights that every other ethnic group had enjoyed, when the black migrants needed them the most, namely, during the great period of migration from Mississippi which stretched from 1919 to 1960.

In Americanizing Chicago Catholics, the Catholic bishops adopted racial categories that were alien to their European immigrant flock. Mundelein, like his contemporary Cardinal Dougherty in Philadelphia, refused to see black Catholics as another ethnic group and insisted upon their integration into existing parishes. This was not only disruptive, it also brought about Americanization in a way that neither man intended by introducing recently arrived European Catholics to the racial system of the American South and convincing them that they were "white." This, in turn, thwarted the very integration that Mundelein's Americanizing wanted to foster. It was a problem that would grow with time as both black migration and covert government sponsored social engineering grew during the war years.

Knowing that he was in for a hard legal fight, Hansberry and his attorney, C. Francis Stradford, approached Earl Dickerson, the star legal counsel for the NAACP. By the time Hansberry and his lawyer contacted them, the NAACP, as well as the AJC, had decided to move beyond fighting discrimination on a case-by-case basis. The change in strategy was largely the result of a report written in 1931, the same year that the Scottsboro Boys went on trial for the first time, by Nathan Margold, a Romanian-Jewish immigrant who had studied law at Harvard. Margold's report proposed "an unprecedented all-out attack on segregation itself,"[11] including attacks on restrictive covenants and housing discrimination in the North, where segregation was not *de jure*. By the time Hansberry and his lawyers contacted Earl Dickerson, Nathan Margold's report had become "the bible of the NAACP."[12]

During the 1930s and 1940s, Jews at organizations like the American Jewish Committee began to apply the principles of Boasian environmental sociology and anthropology to the burning questions of the day, the most burning of which were the rise of Nazism in Germany and the continuing hegemony of white racism in the American South. American Jews continued to be haunted by the spectre of Leo Frank, and the emerging world situation during the 1930s did little to calm their fears. The other side was just as anxious. As the circumstances surrounding the Scottsboro Boys trials became better known, the South began to fear that once again they were the victims of outside agitation. "The Niggers and Jews of New York are working hand in hand," Senator Theodore Bilbo was quoted as saying in the *Jewish Exponent*.[13]

Whether he actually said that or not, the Jews of New York were hard at work turning Boasian social science into weapons they could use against their enemies. The weapons were largely legal and would be put in the service of what later came to be known as social engineering. War, as John B. Watson had said when his book *Behaviorism* appeared in 1915, was itself a form of social engineering that would provide the perfect cover for what they had in mind. The Second World War also corresponded to a changing of the guard in which the previous generation of German-Jewish patricians—Jacob Schiff, Louis Marshall, Julius Rosenwald and Joel Spingarn—were replaced by a younger generation drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the *Ostjuden* who had arrived during the upheaval in Russia following the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 and before immigration quotas were imposed in 1924.

In 1943 John Slawson, who had been born in the Ukraine, became head of the American Jewish Committee and one of the leaders in what Murray Friedman calls "the Jewish phase of the civil rights revolution."[14] The Jewish phase was heavily involved in the promotion of Jewish social science as the main weapon in the fight against fascism. Under Slawson's leadership, the AJC "was the primary organizer of the social science-based attack on religious and racial discrimination."[15] As head of the AJC, Slawson began promoting the work of the Frankfurt School refugees who had found their way to America during the 1930s. In addition to the work of Erich Fromm, Theodor W. Adorno, and Max Horkheimer, the AJC also sponsored the work of noted psychological warfare expert Kurt Lewin, who under the auspices of the AJC organized the Commission on Community Interrelations, whose principles would get put into practice in places like Chicago after the war by people like Louis Wirth and Philip Klutznick, who went from being manager of Park Forest, one of the first experiments in using the car suburb as a form of social engineering, to being head of B'nai B'rith. Lewin was also instrumental in creating the form of social coercion known as the T-group or sensitivity group, which he hammered out with the help of a grant from the Office of Naval Research at his National Training Laboratory in Bethel, Maine. In promoting the work of the Frankfurt School refugees in America, Slawson saw himself as following in the footsteps of Cyrus Adler, the AJC's third president, who

> thought it was essential to mobilize public opinion in the United States against Hitler and his party without any reference to Jews at all. His views were shared by the group's other German-Jewish leaders, who had helped to subsidize the work of Boas and related social scientists in the interest of demolishing the Nazis' master-race mythology.[16]

The main difference between Slawson's and Adler's approaches lay chiefly in the group which got targeted. After the war, the attack on fascism and racism known as social engineering was broadened to include not just Nazis but a

whole group of unwitting American citizens who would have been outraged if they had known that their own government was collaborating with groups like the AJC to change their behavior.

In May 1944 Slawson convened a conference on anti-Semitism at the Biltmore Hotel in New York. At that conference members of the AJC's psychological warfare team—including Adorno, Horkheimer and Lewin—joined prominent members of the American social science establishment like Gordon Allport, John Dollard, Paul Lazarsfeld, Talcott Parsons, and Lloyd Warner to identify "anti-Semitism as a central element in the antidemocratic personality."[17] The culmination of Slawson's efforts came in 1949-50 with the publication of the Studies in Prejudice series. "These enormously influential books," Friedman tells us, "were sponsored and paid for by the American Jewish Committee. The series' central volume, *The Authoritarian Personality*, extended and strengthened Fromm's ideas."[18]

What followed was a barrage of covert social engineering unleashed on unsuspecting Americans, who were accused of turning their children into little fascists if they ignored the Frankfurt School version of how to raise them. When Bess Myerson became the first Jewish Miss America, she joined the ADL's roster of speakers and went from school to school spreading the message, "you can't be beautiful and hate."

The Studies in Prejudice series never named the domestic enemy who was now the successor of Nazism, but before long it became clear that the AJC was promoting an attack on two groups in particular. Southern whites and Catholic ethnics in the big cities of the north had become the prime candidates for the authoritarian personality award. Leo Pfeffer, lawyer for the AJC and other Jewish organizations in the school prayer decisions of the '60s, once said that whenever his daughter wanted to get back at him, she threatened to marry a Catholic army officer from Alabama.[19]

As if on cue, Joe McCarthy, the German/Irish Catholic senator from Wisconsin emerged as the "dangerous demagogue, who perfectly epitomized the authoritarian personality described in the classic study,"[20] proving that the psychological warfare techniques developed during the war were now going to be used against the opponents of the Black-Jewish Alliance under the guise of social therapy.

Soon Frankfurt School messages began cropping up all over the place. The readers of *Collier's* magazine (which later published "The Body Snatchers," which got made into the film *The Invasion of the Body-Snatchers*, an early protest against social engineering) got to read "The Outcasts" by B. J. Chute, which presented in fictional form "an indictment of anti-Semitic covenants in real estate."[21] Not even Broadway musicals were exempt from doing duty as covert social engineering. Theatergoers who went to see *South Pacific* were treated to "Carefully Taught," which Friedman describes as a "show stopping song. . . stating that children had to be taught to hate," which "made the

point in a way that Theodore Adorno and his colleagues at the AJC could never have dreamed possible."[21] During the postwar period, when Boasian anthropology began to be applied, via the Frankfurt School, as part of the mechanism which used social engineering to combat "prejudice," the modern civil rights movement began to take shape.

Lorraine Hansberry was ten years old when her father won his Supreme Court case. Carl Hansberry, who would later claim that he had made a killing on the Rhoades Avenue building, would make an even greater killing exploiting his new-found leverage in the Chicago real estate market. Each time his or any other black family moved into a previously white neighborhood, panic ensued, and as white families dumped their houses on the market, black entrepeneurs like Hansberry could buy them up for a song and then sell them at the premium prices the housing market could then command from the new migrants from the South. "Black real estate speculators made a killing," wrote Truman K. Gibson, whose other client, Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, "bought three buildings and confided to me that they were the best investments he ever made because they came at so little cost."[23]

Hansberry was a Republican who ran unsuccessfully for Congress in the November 1940 election. He was also the black version of the American Calvinist Jew Marx described in *Zur Judenfrage*. Hansberry was a member of what W. E. B. Du Bois would have called the "talented tenth," and the nation's "colored aristocracy," including Du Bois, felt welcome in his home. But Hansberry was also a slum landlord who had no qualms about exploiting his own people. Biographies of his more famous daughter sometimes list him as the inventor of the "kitchenette" apartment, which is another way of describing how he destroyed the large homes on the south side of Chicago by putting sinks and toilets in what used to be bedrooms and living rooms and then renting them at exhorbitant prices to the newly arrived sharecroppers from Mississippi. Carl's sons, under the name of Hansberry Enterprises, would carry on the tradition in the 1950s after Carl, Sr.'s death, demanding large deposits from Mississippi sharecroppers and then evicting them so that Hansberry Enterprises could cash in on the next wave of unfortunate Negroes.

Lorraine Hansberry's biographer suggests that Carl, Sr.'s death at age 51 "was arguably caused by the strains of racism."[24] She also speculates that racism led to Lorraine's death of duodenal cancer at the age of 34. But in the case of Carl, Sr. bad business deals and extramarital affairs probably caused as much stress in his life as racism did. In the case of his daughter, class conflict was a bigger issue than racial conflict, because the Hansberrys were well off by anyone's definition in the 1930s and 1940s. The Hansberry family profited handsomely from their exploitation of the racial situation in America. Carl, Sr. made a killing in real estate after the Supreme Court allowed him to cause panic in white neighborhoods with impunity. Lorraine's sister Mamie claims that her father "made quite a fortune during the depression because the

white landlord simply couldn't collect the rent and he could."[25] And Lorraine Hansberry became America's foremost black playwright in her day.

The Hansberrys were so well off that they could afford to buy Lorraine an ermine coat for her fifth birthday. Lorraine wore her fur coat, not to church on Sunday, but to school during the week, with unfortunate consequences. Hansberry's fellow students, who considered themselves lucky if they had shoes on their feet and a bologna sandwich for lunch during the depths of the Depression, were so outraged by the ostentatious display of wealth that they threw ink on Lorraine's fur coat and beat her up. If, as her biographer contends, Lorraine Hansbery was "an outsider,"[26] it was her wealth and not her race which made her one.

If anything contributed to Lorraine's sense of herself as an outsider, it was the stigma of coming from a family of slum landlords. Consciousness of this made both generations of Hansberrys uncomfortable in Chicago and eager to leave. When he died suddenly at 51, Carl, Sr. was planning to move to Mexico. Lorraine left Chicago at 18 and never returned. In *A Raisin in the Sun*, the play which made her famous, Hansberry could allow Beneatha to distance herself from Chicago by fantasizing about an imaginary African past in which she conflated all of that continent's black ethnic groups into one proto-revolutionary mass, but Hansberry's knowledge of Africa was limited at best and not first hand. Panafricanism may have been a fact of life in Chicago, but it never caught on in Africa, as the numerous ethnic wars and genocides there indicate. Hansberry claimed that "Muzungu" was the Kikuyu name for Europeans and that it derived from "he who is dizzy." Mzungu, the word for white person, however, is Swahili not Kikuyu, and it is etymologically related to the verb to wander.

In 1950 Hansberry dropped out of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and moved to New York, where she took writing classes at the New School for Social Research and worked as an assistant editor at Paul Robeson's new magazine, *Freedom*. Here she became the "intellectual revolutionary"[27] that she would be for the rest of her short life. Cheney claims that she "never fully resolved the duality of her life and works—upper middle class affluence and black heritage and revolution,"[28] but she leaves out the main source of dichotomy.

Like Claude McKay, W. A. Domingo, Richard Wright, and many other black writers, Lorraine Hansberry learned about revolution from the Jews she met in New York. The dichotomy is evident in her major works. Hansberrry's first play, *A Raisin in the Sun*, is suffused with a Chicago that is black and Christian, and as a result suffused with moral indignation against abortion and atheism. *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window*, her second play, is suffused with bohemian Jewish New York but also with Hansberry's attempt to come to grips with this alien culture.

On June 20, 1953 Hansberry married Robert Nemiroff, a Jewish literature student and songwriter, whom she had met on a picket line protesting discrimination at New York University. Together they worked at odd jobs in the publishing industry and lived *la vie boheme* in Greenwich Village. Then in 1956, Nemiroff wrote a hit song, "Cindy, Oh Cindy," which earned him $100,000. Financially secure with the money from her husband's song, Hansberry quit her day job, devoted herself to writing full time, and completed a play about her experience growing up in Chicago, which she tentatively titled "The Crystal Stair," after a line in a Langston Hughes poem.

It wasn't an auspicious moment for the Black-Jewish Alliance. Friedman claims that "there was nothing phony or contrived about the commitment of most Jewish Communists to black civil rights."[29] To counter that claim, Cruse mentions that around the time that Hansberry arrived in New York, the Jewish communists in charge of the Harlem branch of the party had ordered Harlem's Negro party members to protest *Ninotchka* at the Apollo Theater even though it was obvious that the Negroes had nothing to gain from the protest. Who but a Russian Jew would have been offended by Ernst Lubitsch casting Greta Garbo as a commissar who falls in love with her counterpart from the west in Paris? Cruse makes it clear that the Negroes had no dog in that fight.

Harold Cruse provides an interesting counterpoint to the career of Lorraine Hansberry. Like Hansberry, Cruse was a black migrant to New York. Cruse was born in Petersburg, Virginia on March 8, 1916 and moved to Harlem as a teenager. Like Hansberry, Cruse was an "intellectual revolutionary" who spent years in the Communist party learning revolution at the feet of Russian Jews. Cruse was a member of the Communist party from 1945 until 1952. When he left the party at the age of 36, Cruse had gained "a position of considerable respect among Harlem communists."[30] Like Hansberry, Cruse was interested in the theater and spent the 1950s, like Hansberry, trying to get a musical produced on Broadway. Like Hansberry, Cruse lived among the Bohemians of Greenwich Village.

But the profiles begin to diverge. Le Roi Jones remembers Cruse as a "writer," not a political activist, who would frequent the Café Figaro in the Village and "was always complaining about how Broadway producers were turning down the musicals he was writing."[31] Unlike Hansberry, Cruse never made contact with anyone who wanted to back his plays, confirming his belief that Jews controlled Broadway for their own interests.

By the early '50s it had become clear to people like Cruse that the only reason the Jews who controlled the party were interested in Harlem was to turn Negroes into revolutionaries and use them to fight their battles. Cruse mentions the headline in the *Amsterdam News* of September 29, 1951—"Communists Woo Harlem—Open big drive in local area"—as a clear indication "that the Communists had retreated to Harlem because 'this

belabored, belittled community is considered to be American's weakest link of resistance against the movement.'"[32] Friedman, who wrote his book on the Black-Jewish Alliance to refute Cruse, admits the same thing when he writes: "During the period of the Cold War, the tendency was to describe American communists as tools of Moscow utilizing the grievances of blacks for party interests alone."[33] Friedman gives even more evidence to support the thesis that Jews were using Negroes as revolutionary cannon fodder from the life of Richard Wright, even though he seems unaware that he is undermining his own thesis that "there was nothing phony or contrived about the commitment of most Jewish Communists to black civil rights"[34] in the act of presenting it:

> In *The God that Failed*, Wright describes the presence of so many Jewish artists and writers in the movement as exhilarating. A Jewish writer invited him to a meeting of the John Reed club on Chicago's south side, where he was introduced to a group of young men and women who were to become leading painters, composers, novelists, and filmmakers. These men and women—all Jewish—formed with him the first sustained relationships of his life, and although he looked hard, he found no condescension in them. Wright, who twice married Jewish women, has a Jewish Communist, Boris Max, defend his black protagonist in *Native Son*. When the protagonist refuses to cooperate in a police investigation because police "hate black folks," Wright has Max reply, "They hate others too. They hate me because I'm trying to help you. They're writing me letters calling me a 'dirty Jew.'"[35]

Shortly after Hansberry and Nemiroff moved into their apartment on Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village, the Supreme Court handed down *Brown v. Board of Education*, and what has come to be known as "the civil rights movement" came into existence. *Brown* struck down *Plessy v. Ferguson's* concept of "separate but equal," which was the cornerstone of the South's redemption and the North's withdrawal from Reconstruction. *Brown*, in turn, found its theoretical basis in Gunnar Myrdal's book *An American Dilemma*, which was a creation of the psychological warfare establishment under the direction of Samuel Stouffer and Louis Wirth, the University of Chicago sociologist who worked for the Office of War Information during the war.

As Murray Friedman hints, Myrdal did not and could not have written *An American Dilemma*. Nor did he need to since it was going to be based on the Boasian school of environmental sociology and anthropology anyway, and there were plenty of Boasians in the United States. The Boasians needed Myrdal as their front man because otherwise the *Brown* decision ran the danger of being derided as based on "Jewish science."[36] The Jews, particularly those at the NAACP were, of course, intimately involved with the *Brown* decision. Felix Frankfurter, Chief Justice on the Court which handed down *Brown*, was a German-speaking Jew from Vienna who had served on the

NAACP's legal committee. Jack Greenberg of the NAACP, Friedman tells us, "drew the assignment to find experts in the Midwest for the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.*"[37] Kenneth B. Clark, the black psychologist whose study of black and white dolls indicated that students were harmed by segregated classrooms was cited in *Brown*, had been funded by the AJC. Clark's study led the Court to conclude that "the average black American had been scarred by self-hatred," and that "segregation . . . inflicted vast psychic damage on both white and black children."[38] AJC-sponsored psychological studies festoon the decision from one footnote to another. Friedman concludes that "Clark's research . . . was flawed,"[39] but 50 years after the fact the point was moot. Flawed or not, the Jewish-sponsored research that made up the theoretical underpinning for the *Brown* decision had gotten the job done. *Brown* created both an atmosphere conducive to revolution and a weapon that could be used against the South for what it had done to Leo Frank. "The Court's May 17, 1954 decision," as Friedman put it, "would spur the civil rights revolution that followed."[40] Friedman claims that "the Black-Jewish Alliance did not exist in Dixie for good reasons."[41] First of all, the South lacked Jewish revolutionaries ("There were no Joel Spingarns there," is how Friedman put it.)[42] Secondly, southern Jews had been intimidated by the lynching of Leo Frank, who remained a "ghostly idol" into the '50s.[43] Northern Jews, who like their Southern counterparts, "grew up with the thought of Franks' lynching never far from their minds,"[44] had no qualms about antagonizing Southerners because they didn't have to live with them, and soon began to harass the South in an increasingly overt manner, one which culminated in the Freedom Summer of 1964, immortalized by the line from the Alan Sherman song, "How's your sister Ida?/She's a freedom rida."[45]

When 19 rabbis from the North arrived in Birmingham in 1963 to take part in protests against segregation and teach the local Negroes how to sing "Hava Nagilla,"[46] a delegation of southern Jews met the "19 messiahs" (as they were called by local Jews) and asked them to go home.[47] Friedman concludes that "it was not racists but rather the Jewish civil rights protesters from the North and West whom southern Jews feared the most."[48]

This revolutionary meddling soon created the reaction in the South which southern Jews feared. Before long "Jew" and "Communist" had become synonyms in the South. Unlike the good southern Jews, the New York Jews had come south with one purpose in mind, to stir up the Negroes and turn them into communist revolutionaries. Rep. John E. Rankin, who introduced legislation in Congress to outlaw the ADL, claimed that

> the "better element" of Jews throughout the South and West was not only ashamed but also alarmed by the activities of Jewish Communists, who were responsible for the rapes and murders of white girls by "vicious Negroes."[49]

In addition, Friedman notes

> In 1948 a prominent member of the Daughters of the Confederacy's North Carolina chapter circulated a letter charging that most of the Communists in the United States were Jews and that most agitators stirring up southern Negroes were of Jewish origin. Jews also supplied most of the money for such activities.[50]

The suspicions of the Southerners were justified, but they were demonized for having them. In *Travels with Charley*, a book which John Steinbeck dedicated to New York publisher and NAACP supporter Harold Guinzberg, Steinbeck runs into a cab driver in Louisiana, who tells him that "them goddamn New York Jews come in and stir the niggers up."[51] When Steinbeck picks up a cracker hitchhiker, who tells him he sounds like a "Commie nigger lover,"[52] Steinbeck expels this man from the RV which has come to symbolize deracinated America for saying the same thing that Murray Friedman would note with pride 30 some years later. By the time Friedman wrote his book in 1995, the civil rights movement was not only a good or necessary conspiracy; it was the Black-Jewish Alliance's finest hour.

Up until the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the Jews dominated the civil rights movement. Indeed, the NAACP, which was founded in 1909, did not have one black lawyer on its staff until 1933. After Montgomery, however, "The black masses now became the shock troops and the central force in the civil rights revolution."[53]

As if to prove that Steinbeck's cab driver was right all along, Friedman cites Bayard Rustin, a Negro Quaker homosexual, who attended City College of New York, with its Stalinist and Trotskyite alcoves in the lunch room, and "joined the young communist league" after he arrived in New York.[54] In the summer of 1956 Bayard Rustin introduced Martin Luther King, Jr. to Stanley Levison, a "political radical who had worked on behalf of the convicted atom spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg" who was also "a financial pillar of the Communist party and other radical causes."[55] Levison would become "enormously influential behind the scenes and throughout King's career."[56] Friedman claims Levison became "King's closest white friend and most reliable colleague for the remainder of his life" and "would epitomize the Black-Jewish Alliance's new look."[57]

Levison got his start in politics shortly after the war when he became a financial contributor to the Communist party. By 1953 he was assisting in the management of party finances, a job which included creating business fronts which would earn or launder money for the party. J. Edgar Hoover believed that Levison was under party discipline when he entered the King movement.

When Martin Luther King announced the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957, Levison and Rustin "labored behind the scenes in New York" to provide the $200,000 a year the SCLC needed

for its operations in the South.[58] Eventually, Rustin and Levison were joined by two more members of the Black-Jewish Alliance—Jack O'Dell, a black communist, and Harry Wachtel. Together they came up with a list of 9,000 donors who were willing to make semiannual contributions to the SCLC to fund its operations. In 1963, the Kennedy brothers, Jack and Bobby, persuaded King to cut his ties with Bayard Rustin, but King never broke with Levison, and spoke with him on the phone until King's death in 1968. Friedman gives conflicting accounts of the amount of Jewish money that ended up in the coffers of the SCLC. After citing Levison's claim "that only some 10 percent of SCLC's money came from Jews," Friedman writes that "Jewish support" was "so important. . . that King's advisers considered dropping the word 'Christian' from the organization's title" and that Bayard Rustin "never failed to remind King to mention the Judeo-Christian tradition in his speeches."[59]

On March 11, 1959, the play Lorraine Hansberry had been working on since 1956 opened in New York at the Ethel Barrymore theater as *A Raisin in the Sun* and became an instant success. In addition to winning that year's New York Critics Circle Award as best drama of the year, Hansberry received congratulations by telegram from Tennessee Williams, was named "most promising playwright of the year" by *Variety* in June 1959, and sold the movie rights to the play to Columbia Pictures.

Hansberry's new-found fame allowed her to become a spokesman for the civil rights movement, which had reached a new phase of revolutionary development. Instead of simply waiting for incidents to develop which could lead to litigation, the civil rights movement had taken to provoking incidents, which would invariably get televised and generate more revolutionary fervor by creating a violent backlash. In February 1960, four black students created the sit-in when they sat down at a whites-only lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina and demanded service. The students were beaten when they refused to leave, and the sit-in movement was born as a form of passive-aggressive behavior, and the movement took another step toward violent revolution.

The sit-in movement soon found wide support among the nation's Jews, which James Farmer of the Congress for Racial Equality exploited in his fund-raising speeches. On the advice of his fundraiser Marvin Rich, Farmer never gave a speech without reciting what Rich called "the quote," Hillel's admonition: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?"[60] Farmer relied on another Jew, Morris Milgram, for organizational assistance, and together Milgram and Farmer recruited Jews from the Workers' Defense League and the Young People's Socialist Alliance to fill the top administrative posts at CORE.

Once the success of the sit-in movement became apparent, Stokely Carmichael, another black Jamaican from New York City, broke with the SCLC and created the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1960

to escalate the movement. Marion Barry, who became famous later as the first mayor of Washington, D.C., to be arrested on a charge of cocaine possession, was elected first chairman of SNCC.

In the spring of 1961, Farmer and CORE called for a series of interracial "freedom rides" on public buses throughout the South, and the Jewish Freedom Riders headed South to spread revolution. Friedman estimates that "Jews probably made up two thirds of the white Freedom Riders into the South in the summer of 1961 and about one third to one half of the Mississippi Summer volunteers three years later."[61] Even Arthur Spingarn, then in his eighties, got into the act. Unlike the SCLC, SNCC did not bar Communists from membership, which enabled still more New York Jews to pour into the movement. The massive numbers of arrests that the sit-movement and the freedom riders generated required an army of lawyers, and "More than half of them," including Edward I. Koch, future mayor of New York City, "were Jews."[62] Of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi—Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney—two were Jews and one was black. Schwerner, who "was the primary target of the killers, because of his longer involvement with civil rights workers in Mississippi,"[63] was an atheist who saw the civil rights movement as the cutting edge of Messianic politics, which had always sought to create heaven on earth by wielding the sword, even if the revolutionary sword was disguised by the tactics of nonviolence:

> It was because Schwerner had no hope of heaven that he held such extravagant hopes here on earth. And for many the pursuit of racial justice became a kind of secular religion. . . . Rabbi Philip Bernstein made the point that the Jewish radical who ignored his Jewishness was still the product of messianic fervor: Though he might not be aware of it, he was spiritually wearing his yarmulke as he headed South.[64]

"Eventually," Friedman concludes, "virtually every segment of the Jewish community enlisted in the civil rights struggle. . . . Nothing would be the same again in the South, but a *true revolution* was under way"[65] (my emphasis).

As in Harlem in the '20s, many of the black leaders of the movement had learned their tactics from revolutionary Jews. Robert Moses, the charismatic black leader of the SNCC's Mississippi Summer Project, "was a product of the black-Jewish radical culture, having attended a Jewish socialist camp as a child and become friends with Jewish young people from similar radical backgrounds."[66]

The Black-Jewish Alliance reached its moment of triumph during the famous 1963 March on Washington when Bob Dylan, the world's most famous Jewish folksinger, sang and Martin Luther King gave his famous "I have a dream" speech. Three months earlier, however, when King met with John and Robert Kennedy in the White House on June 22, he was told in no uncertain terms that his organization had ties to, and was possibly controlled

by, the Communist party. Robert Kennedy claimed that SCLC's fundraiser Stanley Levison "was acting on Soviet orders to weaken the United States by manipulating the civil rights movement."[67] John Kennedy, who was under pressure from Southern Democrats to rein in the civil rights movement, named O'Dell as "the number five Communist in the United States"[68] and claimed that Levison was his handler. Acting under pressure from the Kennedys, King fired O'Dell on July 3 but maintained covert contact with the less dispensable Levison, whom Friedman refers to as King's "closest white advisor."[69] Deprived of the Jews and Communists that provided the backbone of its financial and administrative support, the SCLC, which was now staffed by southern Negroes who sat around the office talking to each other, started to fall apart.

Chapter Eleven

The Birth of Conservatism

In 1947, Henry Regnery, scion of a wealthy Chicago industrialist who had a been a pillar and major funder of the America First movement, founded a publishing house for a new "conservatism" espoused by Russell Kirk and William F. Buckley. Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* and Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* appeared under the Regnery imprint in 1951. Of the two, Kirk was more original. Kirk created modern, post-World War II conservatism by resurrecting the conservative Whiggery of Edmund Burke, emphasizing Burke's emphasis on local autonomy and the moral underpinnings of the social order, and omitting, as had Burke, mention of the Whigs setting the wheels in motion for the French Revolution.

Like the Whigs of the early and mid 18th century, the American conservatives of the mid 20th century had a penchant for black operations. In 1955, two years after Irving Kristol became co-editor of *Encounter*, Buckley launched *National Review*, "which soon became a rallying point for the new conservatism."[1] Years later, Revilo Oliver, who was an early contributor to *NR*, would claim that it, like *Encounter*, was a CIA front. Murray Rothbard, an irrepressible libertarian who grew up among the Messianic Jewish sects of New York City, also felt *NR* was a CIA front.

The CIA was always in the business of media manipulation. "Not long after the Central Intelligence Agency was founded in 1947," Rothbard writes, "the American public and the world were subjected to an unprecedented level of propaganda in the service of US foreign policy objectives in the Cold War. . . . At its peak the CIA allocated 29 percent of its budget to 'media and propaganda.'"[2]

Because of intense internecine communist hatred, the Trotskyites were willing, if not positively eager, to grasp the levers of the anti-Stalinist propaganda machine. According to Rothbard, the Neoconservatives "moved from cafeteria Trotskyites to apologists for the US warfare state without missing a beat."[3] The CIA established the Congress for Cultural Freedom as its premiere anti-Stalinist organization, but that organizaton's credibility was destroyed when it became known it was a CIA front. James Burnham, a

former Trotskyite and CIA agent who co-founded *National Review*, worked for the Congress. Peter Colemant exposed *Enconter* as a CIA front operation in his largely sympathetic book *The Liberal Conspiracy*.

If *National Review*, like *Encounter*, was a CIA front, what purpose did it serve? *National Review* existed to destroy competing conservatisms, especially those incompatible with the internationalist foreign policy establishment. *National Review* used conservatism to mobilize certain ethnic groups, e.g., Catholics, behind government policies. It existed to colonize certain groups, to divide and conquer, and then get them to act against their own interests. *NR* was created to destroy isolationist conservatism. Conservatives who criticized America's march to empire were demonized and decertified. *National Review* has shown undeviating consistency in this regard, a recent example being David Frum's diatribe against the paleoconservatives, "Unpatriotic Conservatives," in the March 19, 2003 issue. According to Rothbard, "the idea for *National Review* originated with Willi Schlamm, a hard-line interventionist and feature editor with the Old Right *Freeman*," who was "at odds with the isolationism of the right."[4] Friend of the Buckley family Revilo Oliver said *NR* "was conceived as a way to put the isolationist *Freeman* out of business. A surreptitious deal was cut with one of the *Freeman* editors (presumably Schlamm) to turn the magazine over to Buckley."[5]

By 1955, when *National Review* was launched, Buckley had long been a CIA agent. In his biography of Buckley, Judis claims Buckley served under E. Howard Hunt in Mexico City in 1951. Rothbard claims Buckley was directed to the CIA by Yale Professor Wilmoore Kendall, who introduced him to James Burnham, then a consultant to the Office of Policy Coordination, the CIA's covert-action wing. While at Yale, Buckley had served as a campus informant for the FBI, "feeding," Rothbard says, "God only knows what to Hoover's political police."[6]

Buckley's sister Priscilla also worked for the CIA, as did almost everyone associated with founding *National Review*, including William Casey, who would later head the CIA. Casey drew up its legal documents. Of the $500,000 needed to launch *NR*, $100,000 came from Buckley's father. The source of the rest of the funding is unknown. Frank Meyer, author of the "fusionist" ideology that informed *NR*, confided privately to Rothbard that he believed *National Review* was a CIA front.

In his history of neoconservatism, *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy*, Murray Friedman claims even more convincingly that *National Review* was run by Jews. As the career of Irving Kristol demonstrates, we are not talking about mutually exclusive alternatives. Following the lead of Jewish organizations like the AJC and the ADL and their avid support of America's anti-Communist crusade, many American Jews went to work just as avidly for the CIA as their parents and grandparents had worked for the Cheka.

National Review could grow out of and absorb *The Freeman* because that magazine had already been absorbed by "conservative Jewish activists"[7] like Frank Meyer, Frank Chodorov, Morrie Raskin, and Willi Schlamm. Young Yale graduates Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, his brother-in-law to be, were junior partners and *goyische* front men in the venture. Friedman calls Willi Schlamm one of "the forgotten Jewish godfathers"[8] of *NR*. Schlamm worked at *Time*, but hearing that Buckley had access to funding, suggested that he bring out an opinion magazine. With a promise of $100,000 from Buckley's father, Schlamm co-wrote the business plan that drew in other investors. Buckley later described Schlamm, who possessed "all the patronizing charm of the Viennese cafe intellectual along with the cultural solemnity of the Jew brought up under German culture," as one of "his two closest partners" in founding *NR*.[9] The other was Sidney Hook's protégé James Burnham, also a CIA agent. Friedman notes "Although *National Review* has often been characterized as militantly Catholic and Irish-Catholic, five Jews served on the original editorial board including Meyer and Schlamm."[10] "Buckley's circle of Jews"[11] included Frank Chodorov, who appointed Buckley president of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (later changed to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute) only to remove him because it was "Easier to raise money if a Jew was president."[12] ISI would produce neoconservative activists like Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., later president of the Heritage Foundation, and Irving Kristol's son, William, who would become Vice President Quayle's chief of staff and editor of the neocon flagship *The Weekly Standard*.

Another of "Buckley's circle of Jews" was Frank Meyer, whose fusionism was the philosophical underpinning for *National Review*. Meyer was a student of Louis Wirth at the University of Chicago. Like Wirth, he was a Stalinist who had second thoughts. The result was "fusionism," an eclectic ideology that sought to combine the best (or least incompatible) elements of the conservative movement. As senior editor at *National Review,* Meyer tried to combine the libertarianism of the Randians and the Austrian school with the traditionalism of Russell Kirk in his column "Principles and Heresies." The only thing that kept this radically incoherent mixture together was anti-communism, and, when communism fell apart in 1989, conservatism fell apart too.

What conservatism lacked in philosophical coherence, it made up in organizing techniques its "founding Jewish fathers"[13] remembered from their days in the Communist party or in Zionist terrorist organizations. The most influential organizer in Buckley's "circle of Jews" was Marvin Liebman, a former communist who came to conservatism *via* Zionism, in particular *via* the terrorist organization Irgun Zvai Leumi. In 1946, Liebman was captured smuggling Jews into Palestine and held in a British detention camp on Cyprus for 15 days. When the Korean War killed his enthusiasm for communism, Liebman discovered conservatism. Liebman created a public relations firm

that fronted for anti-Communist crusades, and in this capacity he became the moving force behind the publishing of *National Review*. Liebman mobilized the young Republicans who were disillusioned in the aftermath of Nixon's defeat in 1960 into Young Americans for Freedom, and Liebman, with the help of YAF, mobilized New York for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Liebman invited those activists to his farm in Sharon, Connecticut, for a meeting that issued the Sharon Statement, which was more influential than the more well-known Port Huron Statement of the SDS. Liebman's Sharon Statement was a philosophically incoherent blend of traditionalism and libertarianism, held together by anti-communism and political organizing. "Liebman," according to Friedman, "was the key figure in the creation of what one historian has called 'the most important organizational initiative undertaken by conservatives in the last 30 years.'"[14] Buckley, often credited with founding YAF, credited Liebman, saying, "my midwifery . . . was purely ceremonial."[15]

Much of what is attributed to William F. Buckley was the work of Jewish thinkers and financiers who, working behind the scenes, created a foil to the socialism that held the allegiance of the majority of American Jews. Buckley was the *goyische* front man for Trotskyite conservatism in the same way Gus Hall was the *goyische* front man for American communism. Hall reportedly was chosen to head the Communist party in America because he was the only member who didn't have a Brooklyn accent. Buckley's role was more specific and more related to his Catholic identity. Buckley was the ideological enforcer who would pronounce the political *cherem* on competing conservative sects and expel them from the synagogue. He was also the model for the Catholics he was to control by transforming them from recalcitrant ethnics into docile movement conservatives. "Buckley's most important contribution to the conservative movement," Friedman says, was "his purge of its most extreme and bigoted elements. 'Conservatism,' he wrote, 'must be wiped of the parasitic cant that defaces it.'"[16] Never a deep thinker, Buckley relied on Jews for the heavy lifting, whether getting him subscribers (Liebman) or coming up with a conservative philosophy (Meyer). Buckley's job was to serve as a model for the Catholic students from Villanova and Fordham who flocked to the YAF. His other job was to destroy any conservative movement not toeing the line of the internationalist establishment. All forms of "isolationism" were anathema. It also meant an all out attack on anything "anti-Semitic."

In October 1965, *National Review* attacked the John Birch Society, using Barry Goldwater and Frank Meyer to claim "the Birch's Society 'psychosis of conspiracy' threatened American interests."[17] The attack, according to Friedman, "proved to be a critical moment in the development of a more responsible conservative movement."[18] Shortly after dispatching the Birchers, Buckley received his own TV show, *Firing Line*, which he used to attack George Wallace, then a significant threat to the two-party monopoly. Buckley also attacked Ayn Rand and Objectivism, which Whittaker Chambers portrayed

as a competing sect that was the mirror image of Soviet communism. Chambers, in a *NR* piece, "Big Sister Is Watching You," likened "Randian man" to "Marxian man,"—each was the center of a godless world.[19] "From almost any page of *Atlas Shrugged*, a voice can be heard commanding: 'To a gas chamber—go!'"[20] Rand fired back, denouncing *NR* as "the worst and most dangerous magazine in America."[21] In 2003 Alan Greenspan, a Randian, was still critical of Buckley. "Someone has finally defined the rational morality underlying capitalism," the economic savant wrote, "and you treat it in such a vulgar manner."[22]

Some of the Jews associated with Buckley at *National Review* eventually converted to Catholicism. Friedman claims that all of the Jews associated with *NR* were philo-Catholic without stating what was equally obvious, namely, that Buckley undermined the Catholic positions on all of the crucial issues of the age, from contraception to economics, under the motto "Mater si Magistra no!" He was also the agent of choice when it came to blacklisting and/or publicly denouncing Catholics who dared to stray from the conservative reservation.

National Review's purpose was to purge "bad" conservatives by running the conservative blacklist. The first to go were isolationists and anyone with residual sympathies for the America First movement, including followers of Father Coughlin. Then the John Birch Society was purged. Then the Ayn Rand cult. Then Joe Sobran and Pat Buchanan after Buckley denounced them as anti-Semites. Most recently, David Frum excommunicated paleoconservatives as traitors during the run-up to the war in Iraq. Paleocon columnist Sam Francis was purged as a columnist at the *Washington Times* largely because of Buckley's efforts. Francis claimed Buckley was responding to a memo from the ADL.

Conservatism became whatever certain Jews defined as conservatism, and any conservative who disagreed was expelled from the synagogue of organizations like the Philadelphia Society by being labeled an anti-Semite. Russell Kirk, founder of the conservative movement, experienced Midge Decter's ire when he bemoaned Jewish influence in the movement. Even the philo-Catholic Jews at *National Review* were unable to get beyond the rhetoric of Messianic, revolutionary politics, and unable to tolerate anyone who disagreed with their essentially Talmudic understanding of conservatism. After Richard Nixon's presidential nomination, Frank Meyer lectured a group of students on the difference between real and false conservatism. Real conservatism was Jewish. Real conservatism was Talmudic. Real conservatism was revolutionary. Or, as Friedman puts it:

> Meyer declared, in a manner Jewish Neoconservatives would adopt later, "a revolutionary force" had shattered "the unity and balance of civilization." Conservatism should not be limited to an uncomplicated

> reverence for the past, which is the essence of natural conservatism. The conscious conservative, he proclaimed, was required to become, in a nonpejorative sense, an ideologue, with a clear understanding of how principles and institutions and men affect each other to form a culture and a society.[23]

RAMBLIN' JACK ELLIOT HEADS FOR ENGLAND 1955

In 1955, Ramblin' Jack left for England, which was going through the Skiffle Craze, and became a sensation overnight. Wizz Jones remembers him, strutting around Piccadilly Circus in his cowboy outfit. "He was larger than life. With his cowboy boots and hat, he would stop traffic. But one day we realized that he really wasn't what he claimed to be. He was Elliott Adnopoz. And one day his mother and father came to the gig. That's amazing."[24] Instead of being disillusioned, Jones was filled with admiration for Adnopoz posturing as a cowboy, because it proved to a generation of Englishmen, including Mick Jagger, Keith Richards, Donovan, John Lennon, and Rod Stewart, "You can choose to be whatever you want to be. You can turn your back on your roots. You don't have to be what your parents wanted you to be."[25]

The generation born to the Communist New York Jews during the 1930s and '40s came to be known as "red diaper babies." Their parents didn't want them to grow up to be cowboys. They wanted them to grow up to be decent upstanding Jewish Communists like Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and to insure that this would happen, the Communists and their fellow travelers created a group of summer camps in the Catskills where they would be sheltered from the red-baiting of the Irish Catholics who taught them in New York's public school system. These summer camps were the laboratory in which the new personal lifestyle was created. In the late 1940s, Ron Radosh attended Camp Woodland for Children, "one of the myriad alternative institutions founded by the Communist party in its effort to construct an alternative to America."[26] Woodland was technically independent although," Radosh notes, "it drew its staff from the Communist world."[27]

The most radical of the Catskill red-diaper baby camps was Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, a name derived from the first syllables of the words, Workers' Children's Camp. Campers recited a pledge "to combat the influence of jokes, comic books, newspapers, radio programs that make fun of any people."[28] As the anti-comic book pledge makes clear, the Jewish communists of the 1940s seemingly had more in common with the Legion of Decency than with, say, the Fugs, a Reichian sexpol rock band formed in the '60s by Tuli Kupferberg, which is to say, by their own children. Camp Kinderland was more Jewish in its orientation; it tried to hand on "to the children of Eastern European Jewish immigrants the legacy of the secular Jewish radical culture developed in the Old Country."[29] Camp Kinderland featured an appearance by the

widow of the Yiddish writer Sholom Aleichem, "whose portraits of *shtetl* life in Poland became the basis for the musical hit *Fiddler on the Roof*," as well as "modern dance classes led by Martha Graham protégé Edith Segal, a hard-core Communist who tried to blend modern dance with Marxism."[30] Soviet holidays were Jewish holidays for the Jewish communists who lived in this milieu. Radosh recounts a joke: "What Jewish holidays do you celebrate?" The answer: "Paul Robeson's birthday and May Day."[31]

When Radosh joined the Communist party, "the reasons had little to do with politics and a great deal to do with the need to find an identity."[32] He could just as easily have said that communism was part of his ethnic identity as a New York Jew. Communism was a way of being a Jew. The Labor Youth League offered "the camaraderie of a tight-knit group of ready-made friends along with a sense of moral superiority" because it was ethnically homogeneous, something he takes up at another point in the same narrative when he says, "most of the members of . . . the Upper West Side LYL, were all Jewish."[33] A salient aspect of the Communist organization was "a purely cultural *Yiddishkeit* that emphasized Yiddish literature and theater, the folk writing of Sholom Aleichem, the parables of freedom that abounded throughout Jewish culture, and most important a complete rejection of anything to do with religion."[34]

More important than Jewish religion were Jewish morals, which were in flux during Radosh's teen years. The LYL, says Radosh, "offered the possibility of what every teenage boy seeks: a girlfriend. God bless the Communist movement for giving me my very first sexual experiences from among a group of 'liberated' girls whom I found time to romance."[35] Radosh makes light of his generation's sexual experiences, but they would have far-reaching consequences for the Left. The subverters were unwittingly subverted by their own penchant for subversion. At the Upper West Side Chapter of the LYL, Radosh met David Horowitz, who would become his lifelong friend, introducing him late in life to the Jewish subversion known as neoconservatism.

Freed from the constraints imposed by the then largely anti-Communist public schools, counsellors at Camp Woodland could promote "progressive education," which, Radosh says, "meant the creation of a new personality to fit the new kind of culture which we saw developing in America."[36] At Camp Woodland the Jews learned they were in America but not of it. The counselors were "to liberate children not from their parents but from America;"[37] because if the camp liberated campers from their parents, they would have no longer been communists. The Jews sent their children to Camp Woodland to internalize what the camp director called the "new emerging culture of democracy," which meant "the ethos of the Popular Front, the Communist party's attempt to domesticate itself after the disastrous, revolutionary Third Period, when it had demanded a break with liberals and social democrats."[38]

Camp Woodland was creating "the new socialist man," a "new democratic personality," that was "molded to fit the socialist paradise to come."[39]

Since its educational philosophy was based on the Popular Front, folk music played a major role at Camp Woodland. There Radosh met Pete Seeger, who also had a lasting effect on his life, determining what instrument he played and the politics that went along with it. According to Radosh,

> The highlight of many Sunday meetings was to have Seeger gather before the camp at the outdoor amphitheater, where he first sang what much later would become hits for the Weavers, including his version of Leadbelly's "Goodnight, Irene" and "Kisses Sweeter Than Wine." The camaraderie one felt in sitting with friends and singing the beautiful words and melodies produced a belief that all would be good in the world and that the lovely music we were creating would help us build that better world.[40]

Largely because of the Catskill commie summer camps, folk music became the revolutionary *lingua franca* for a generation of Jewish revolutionaries:

> I am convinced that much of the radicalism that Woodlanders would carry with them in later years came from the illusions they developed as a result of the weekly sing-alongs with Seeger. Songs are weapons, he often said. And during the years of the commercial top 40 "Hit Parade," before rock and roll, songs were helping us to build an alternative culture mirroring the alternative politics that Seeger was trying to create during the 1948 presidential campaign, when he accompanied Henry A. Wallace throughout the country and sang wherever Wallace appeared for his new Progressive Party.[41]

Seeger also educated a generation of predominantly Jewish five-string banjo pickers like John Cohen, of the New Lost City Ramblers and Eric Weissberg, whose "Dueling Banjos" became a hit from the movie *Deliverance.*

SUMMER 1959

Alice and Ron Radosh got married in summer of 1959. Before heading off to one more Left-wing, Jewish, folk music enclave at the University of Iowa, they spent an extended honeymoon at Wingdale on the Lake. It was not a good omen for their marriage.

Arriving in Iowa, the Radoshes found a ready-made community, namely, "the bohemian and political fringe" at "the university's first off-campus, Greenwich Village-style coffee shop." There Radosh met poet Bob Mezey, "a master guitar picker and folk singer" and Sol Stern, later editor at the '60s icon, *Ramparts.*[42] Stern, Radosh says, "was another New York Jew who had attended the City College of New York and had been active in its left-wing milieu."[43] By now, the Jewish left-wing milieu had outposts in almost every university town in the country, a network that promoted folk music, proletarian-chic clothing,

sexual liberation, and radical politics *ad libidem*. Radosh could differ with Stern, who "ridiculed my orthodoxy," but they shared the same "basic socialist assumptions."[44] Even that misstates the case. They shared cultural and ethnic assumptions that would make the revolution of the '60s as inevitable as it made the politics of their fathers irrelevant. Radosh and Stern were revolutionary Jews, and they had a nationwide network of folkmusic coffee houses from which to promote revolution. The other details were irrelevant. The music at those coffeehouses would soon be promoted by the mainstream media, magnifying the revolutionary effect, bringing revolution to the children of the *goyim*, who thought they were listening to an authentic alternative to Nelson Riddle arrangements of Frank Sinatra.

The situation in Philadelphia was no different from that in Madison, Wisconsin or Ames, Iowa. The Philadelphia folksong society was formed in 1957 by a group who mirrored the Philadelphia ADA, i.e., Left-wing Jews and WASPs united to keep the city from falling into the hands of Catholic ethnics. The Jews ran the folk music clubs, the Gilded Cage, run by Ed and Esther Halpern, and The Second Fret, run by Manny "Money" Rubin, and the premier radio show in town, hosted by Gene Shay, whose real name was Ivan Shaner. They quickly took over the movement and redefined it to suit their tastes as a vehicle for cultural revolution.

Shaner was born into a Russian Jewish family in the Nicetown section of Philadelphia, where his father owned a women's lingerie store. Shaner was drawn to Jazz after World War II, but then he met Ken Goldstein, who in 1959 became professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. Goldstein had the most impressive folk record collection in town and exerted enormous influence. Goldstein was instrumental in creating the Philadelphia Folk Festival in 1962. He also arranged recording contracts, and from his position at the University of Pennsylvania he had a major say over how things ethnic got defined in Philadelphia. "Ken," according to one folk devotee, "put Philadelphia on the map as a folk city."[45] Goldstein determined "one doesn't find traditional musicians in Philadelphia,"[46] so he imported acts from the network of clubs across the country but largely from New York. Ironically, Philadelphia, because of its traditionalism, was a bastion of traditional Jewish music. Klezmer didn't mutate in Philadelphia as it had in New York, but in the late '50s Klezmer didn't count as "traditional," which, paradoxically, had become a synonym for revolutionary.

When he met Ken Goldstein, Ivan Shaner switched from promoting Jazz to promoting folk. He changed his name too. "In those days," Shaner explained later, "ethnic names had to be changed."[47] Since Shaner "found myself getting into Anglo-American folk music, Scottish ballads, etc.,"[48] he adopted the Scotch-Irish sounding Shay, which also referred crypticly to the first syllable of Shaner. "I . . . found I liked traditions,"[49] explained Shay ironically.

Through Goldstein, Shaner met Tossi Aaron and ended up managing her career. Her albums *Jewish Folk Songs for the Second Generation* and *Tossi Sings American Folk Songs and Ballads*, evince, we are told, "an original Philadelphia folk sound."[50] It was Ivan Shaner who brought Bob Dylan to Philadelphia for his first performance there. While in town, Dylan and his girlfriend stayed at Tossi Aaron's house.

BOB DYLAN ARRIVES IN NEW YORK 1961

After Bob Dylan signed his first contract with Columbia Records, someone from the publicity department, whom Dylan identifies as Bill, "dressed Ivy League like he could have come out of Yale"[51] interviewed Dylan for material to promote the album. To get Dylan "to cough up some facts," Bill asked Dylan about his family, "where they were," etc., only to find that the 19-year-old folksinger had "no idea," telling Bill that they were "long gone."[52]

This was untrue. Mr. and Mrs. Zimmerman, Bob's parents, were alive and well in Hibbing, Minnesota. He had spoken with them recently on the phone. Dylan said he had just arrived in New York City via boxcar, which was also not true. He had driven there with students from Minneapolis, where he had been a student and part of the folk scene. The reference to the boxcar set up the best question:

> "What kind of music do you play?" Bill asked, and without batting an eye, Dylan responded "Folk music."[53]

When Bob Dylan uttered the term, folk music was another word for Jewish cosmopolitanism or deracination. Bob Dylan, according to Bob Spitz, one of his many biographers, "was haunted by his lack of roots."[54] Dylan "claimed little connection to an ancestral bloodline"[55] and changed his name, settling on the first name of a Welsh poet who died of alcohol poisoning. Dylan says the one thing he "didn't have too much of" was "a concrete identity."[56] So he made one up from snatches of folk songs: "'I'm a rambler—I'm a gambler. I'm a long way from home.' That pretty much summed it up"[57] is how Dylan described his "concrete identity" or lack thereof in his autobiography. Dylan would claim he was an orphan, and he would deny being Jewish. (At another point, he accused the disapproving mother of a girlfriend of being an "anti-Semite" because she didn't view him as the ideal son-in-law.) There was, of course, a certain amount of irony in this because by the time he arrived in New York City in January of 1961, folk music had become pretty much a Jewish enterprise, certainly in New York City. Bob Dylan was a genius at creating and projecting an image. He was also the quintessential Jewish folksinger, but that image involved a certain amount of crypsis, lest the idea become a source of mirth rather than mystery. Myth was Dylan's only reality.

Fabrication of image, mythic or not, was a necessity because Dylan was a third-generation Jew, i.e., a Jew on whom the triple melting pot had done

its work. Bob's grandparents came from Odessa, but his grandmother, his only surviving link to that past, was living in Duluth, a predominantly Polish patchwork of ethnic neighborhoods typical of cities across the northern tier of the United States. Bob Dylan's ethnic identity was now dependent on religion not country of origin, and since he had no religion to speak of, he had to create an identity out of the materials at hand. That meant music because he aspired to be a musician, and, in particular, it meant constructing an identity out of snatches from the folk songs of the '60s. Bob offhandedly indicates his musical heritage was Polish, most certainly not Appalachian Scotch-Irish, whose deracinated derivative passed as folk music when he arrived in New York. "Polka dances," Dylan says, "always got my blood pumping. That was the first type of loud, live music I'd ever heard. On Saturday nights the taverns were filled with polka bands."[58]

Dylan would say this after he was famous. It was not hip to be pro-polka in New York City in 1961, especially among those Dylan wanted to impress. Israel Young ran the Folklore Center, "the citadel of Americana [sic] folk music."[59] Young, "an old-line folk enthusiast," was "very sardonic and wore heavy horn-rimmed glasses, spoke in a thick Brooklyn dialect."[60] His Center was "a crossroads junction for all the folk activity you could name and you might at any time see real hard-line folksingers in there."[61] Bob Dylan wanted to become a "real hard-line" folksinger, like the lapsed Catholic from Brooklyn, Dave Van Ronk, who showed up at the Folklore Center during Dylan's conversation with Izzy Young.

Dylan would not be satisfied being a second-rate Dave Van Ronk. He wanted to become a second-rate Elvis Presley; or better, he wanted to become the Elvis Presley of folksingers. To do that, he had to impress Izzy Young, and to do that he had to keep his mouth shut about the Polka joints in Duluth and Hibbing. Dylan wasn't going to become as famous as Elvis by playing polkas. After Dylan scandalized the folk world in 1965 by playing amplified instruments at the Newport Folk Festival, Young, the folk music maven, said in *Sing Out!*: "Next year he'll be writing rhythm & blues songs when they get high on the charts; the following year, the Polish polka will make it, and then he'll write them too."[62] By 2004, Dylan was so hip he was beyond hip; he could even say he liked polkas. He could not say this in 1961, not if he wanted to make it in New York City.

But that doesn't mean ethnic connections weren't helpful. Bob Dylan told his first New York girlfriend, Suze Rotolo, that he was an orphan who "had run away from his foster parents in Fargo, North Dakota."[63] It might have been a good line for picking up chicks, but he had something more sophisticated for Young, as he "thumbed through a lot of his antediluvian folk scrolls"[64] at the Folklore Center. When "Izzy . . . asked me about my family," Dylan talked about his grandmother from Odessa: "I told him about my grandma on my mom's side who lived with us."[65] It was easy to string along

a dumb *goy* like Bill from Yale, but Jewish identity had its perks when played right. Dylan's identity had to appeal to those who controlled the media and the folk-song establishment. This meant coming up with something Jewish, but cryptically so. Dylan was the consummate artist of identity. Dylan was in the "long tradition in show business that permits a performer to adopt an ethnic identity not necessarily his own."[66] As Al Jolson put on black face, so Bob Dylan put on white face, literally, during his days with the Rolling Thunder Revue. Figuratively, the scion of Odessa Jews put on both black face and white face in his search for a compelling, marketable identity. First, black face, as, according to Spitz, "he embodied Little Richard's black gospel performance,"[67] and then "white face," as he imitated Okie Woody Guthrie. It soon became impossible to distinguish the mask from the face behind it.

The most obvious identity for Bob Dylan in the early '60s, the singing Jewish cowboy, had already become a standing joke that got Lenny Bruce lots of laughs. Dylan had to come up with something more subtle without disguising himself so thoroughly that he would lose the benefit of knowing Izzy Young and Irwin Silber and all of the other singing Jewish cowboys. So Bob Dylan went to work assembling an identity from the sources available. There was, of course, Woody Guthrie but there was also, at least according to the autobiography, Bertolt Brecht, Albertus Magnus (who "seemed like a guy who couldn't sleep, writing this stuff late at night, clothes stuck to his clammy body"),[68] Sophocles, who wrote the Oedipus trilogy, but who, according to Dylan, was the author of a "book on the nature and function of the gods" which also explained "why there were only two sexes," and, of course, Thucydides.[69] How could we leave out Thucydides? Albertus Magnus, Dylan the polymath tells us, "was a lightweight compared to Thucydides."[70]

Dylan never explains the link binding Albertus Magnus and Thucydides, except that translations of their books sat next to each other on some bookshelf in some apartment in Greenwich Village. However, when Dylan expounds on the influence of other seminal figures, a pattern emerges. "Picasso," he says, "had fractured the art world and cracked it wide open. *He was a revolutionary.* I wanted to be like that."[71] Dylan projected as much into this disparate group of thinkers as he drew from them. He drew from them what he thought would play well with Izzy Young. That meant, in short, a penchant for revolution.

Dylan says he spent long hours hanging out with Liam Clancy of the Clancy Brothers at the White Horse Tavern on Hudson Street (Jack Kerouac's hangout ten years earlier), which by the '60s had become "mainly an Irish bar frequented mostly by guys from the old country."[72] Bob was thus exposed to another form of ethnic music as genuine as the polkas. Dylan says "All through the night," he and the Clancys and their Irish buddies "would sing drinking songs, country ballads, and rousing rebel songs that would lift the roof."[73] Ever the chameleon, Dylan "was beginning to think I might want to change over," i.e., become Irish, but he restrained himself because "The

Irish landscape wasn't too much like the American landscape."[74] Before he could appropriate ethnic Irish music, he would "have to find some cuneiform tablets, some archaic grail to lighten [*sic*] the way."[75] Dylan discovered in the Irish music at the White Horse what he had already discovered in Picasso, namely, revolution. "The rebellion songs," Dylan says, "were a really serious thing. The language was flashy and provocative—a lot of action in the words, all sung with great gusto. . . . They weren't protest songs, though, they were rebel ballads. . . even in a simply melodic wooing ballad there'd be rebellion waiting around the corner. You couldn't escape it. . . . Rebellion spoke to me louder. The rebel was alive and well, romantic and honorable."[76]

Like Captain Ahab who stared at the coin he nailed to the mast and saw in it only himself, Bob Dylan sailed to New York, and everywhere he looked he saw the revolutionary Jew staring back at him. Dylan was the '60s version of Jay Gatsby, another Jew who reinvented himself according to American myths and expectations. If you take America and place the Clancy Brothers on top of it, and place Woody Guthrie on top of that, and place Picasso over him, what you come up with is revolution. The only persona—what Dylan calls the "Archaic Grail"—that could unite these disparate personae was the revolutionary Jew. Suddenly the singing Jewish cowboy had become plausible in a way Lenny Bruce could not understand. Bob Dylan took the popular front persona Woody Guthrie had created and updated it to meet the exigencies of college students plunging toward the sexual revolution. But the persona of the revolutionary folksinger didn't begin with Woody Guthrie. It began with Joe Hill, the Swedish immigrant who fought in Mexico and later wrote songs for the Wobblies. "Joe," Dylan says, "wrote the song 'Pie in the Sky' and was the forerunner of Woody Guthrie. That was all I needed to know."[77]

NEW YORK 1961

As we have seen, when Bob Dylan arrived in New York City in 1961, he found a world as avid to publish his fantasies as he was to spin them. *New York Times* folk music critic Robert Shelton was Dylan's most avid acolyte. Spitz says, "Shelton played the indulgent straight man as Bob shoveled it on thick."[78] Dylan recounted the "I'm a rambler; I'm a gambler; I'm a long way from home" line with every clichéd variation imaginable. Shelton dutifully regurgitated what he heard to credulous *Times* readers. Shelton was to Dylan what the Bosnian Franciscans were to the seers of Medjugorje. He was the authority that gave an air of plausibility to the secular equivalent of the phony apparition—the urban Jew as the avatar of the '30s Okie. The important thing was not what Dylan said but that someone with the credibility of the secular clergy believed it. Once the secular clergy accepted his myth, his myth became a reality. That happened on September 28, 1961 when Shelton's article appeared in *The New York Times*. According to Spitz, Dylan read and "reread the words

in a state of shock."[79] The first article ever written about him appeared in a less august a forum than the *New York Times* "and it was a goddamn rave."

A day later, Dylan went to the Columbia recording studios to play harmonica for Carolyn Hester, knowing producer John Hammond would be there to offer him a recording contract on the strength of Shelton's review. Hammond "liked what he saw—the whole Dylan package, the angry young folksinger. It hit the right chord."[81] Dylan got the contract.

Dylan knew who were the players in the folk music scene and how to appeal to them. There was something artful about his deceptions and something methodically calculating about them too. Within weeks, Dylan was sleeping with a 17-year-old Italian girl, Suze Rotolo. He was also sleeping on the couch at her sister's apartment, and her sister, Carla Rotolo, was secretary to Alan Lomax.

RAMBLING JACK ELLIOT RETURNS 1961

In 1961, Ramblin' Jack Elliott returned to America after a six-year sojourn in England and Europe. The folk music movement was a cultural craze "sweeping the nation." Elliott's timing was exquisite. A new generation born after the war and bred in prosperity was looking for a leader on whom they could shower money and adulation. Elliott, 15 years their senior, looked the logical candidate. "It was like the messiah coming down from heaven,"[82] said Izzy Young, broker of folk music and messianic politics, describing Elliott's return to Greenwich Village.

When Ramblin' Jack traveled to New Jersey to visit Woody in the hospital, he found considerable competition for Woody's mantle as the uncontested leader of the folk music movement. While attending the gathering that the Gleasons arranged every Sunday so Woody's army of fans could serenade him, Elliott met Bob Dylan. Dylan ingratiated himself with the returned idol. He told Elliott he had all of Jack's records. He then began to hang around with Elliott as obsequiously as Elliott ten years before had hung around with Guthrie. Dylan couldn't move in with Elliott's family because Elliott didn't have one. So he moved in next door to him at the Earle Hotel. When Dylan played his first gig at Gerde's Folk City, he was billed as "The Son of Jack Elliott,"[83] which wasn't particularly flattering to Dylan or to Elliott either. When Dylan's career took off and Elliott's stalled, Elliott bore his young imitator no ill will because he was simply following in Elliott's footsteps. Sounding like Woody Guthrie had become a Jewish tradition by 1962.

What distinguished the two men was not their musical styles as much as their attitudes toward their careers. Elliott seems to have taken to heart the essential message of deracinated folk music—"I'm a rambler, I'm a gambler, I'm a long way from home" by living that life himself. Elliott had rambled all over Europe and lost his first wife when she put down roots in a Kibbutz in

Israel. Ramblin' Jack just kept on rambling, which meant he didn't stay put even when he got back to Greenwich Village, which was not a smart career move. He stayed only long enough to be greeted like a god at a series of sold out concerts. He was anointed by the secular clergy, praised by *Newsweek* as "authentic." He was anointed by the high priest of the folk movement, Robert Shelton, who claimed this son of a Jewish doctor from Brooklyn had "a remarkable ear for the speech and sounds of the American plains," and that he had "thoroughly mastered the idiom of genuine American folk music."[84] "Mr. Elliott," Shelton concluded, "doesn't know where the road of the future will take him. Some observers think that with stern direction he could channel his drifting and parlay his colorful demeanor and rich musical talents into a stage personality of great popular appeal."[85] "Stern direction," however, was the last thing on Ramblin' Jack's mind.

Unlike Ramblin' Jack, Bob Dylan was smart enough not to believe his own lyrics or take the persona he was cultivating for public consumption too seriously. Dylan's obsession with persona and image made him inscrutable, which further enhanced his image. "I never knew when he was playing a role or being himself," said folk singer Mark Spoelstra.[86] Dylan read the lifestyle needs of his audience and tailored his music to them. The folk music of the popular front did not fit the lifestyle of the baby boomers. When Henry Ford died in 1947, his grandson broke with the family tradition of hiring goons to beat up union organizers. With the autoworkers as a model, the nation enjoyed cooperation between labor and management, which brought unparalleled prosperity. The workers' children raised during the Dylan era would have a hard time relating to the "Ballad Of Joe Hill" and "Solidarity Forever." They needed new music or at least new lyrics to address the big issues of the day, and, as Ron Radosh indicated, the avant garde of the cultural proletariat had decided to get involved in sexual liberation.

In September 1961, Rod Radosh and his wife returned to Madison, where he hoped to earn a Ph.D. in history under William Appleton Williams, whom he describes as "an authentic American radical,"[87] i.e., not Jewish. Soon, a "very thin . . . young kid . . . with traces of baby fat on him" showed up looking for a place to stay.[88] The young kid, Bob Dylan, got Radosh's name and address from Carl Granich, "a friend and awesome guitar picker from the young Communist circle in New York City."[89] Dylan and Radosh shared a desire to subvert what they saw as the inhuman institutions of an incipiently "fascist" America. Dylan did not stay with Radosh—he was sent down the road to the apartment of Danny Kalb, who later formed the late '60s variation on the Jewish folksinger, the Jewish blues band.

Where Bob Dylan spent the night was irrelevant. In Madison, he lived in the Wisconsin equivalent of Jewish Bohemia. He fit in by playing the guitar at the regular impromptu Hootenanny sessions at "a small new cafe on State Street. . . modeled on Greenwich Village hangouts."[90] Dylan wasn't yet a star.

Indeed, he took a back seat to Radosh, who performed an agit-prop ballad by Irwin Silber, "Talkin' Un-American Blues," which attacked the House Un-American Activities Committee in the style of Woody Guthrie. The song delighted Dylan, who added it to his repertoire. Dylan then sang a few Guthrie songs, including "New York Town," which must have resonated with Radosh, the New Yorker in exile. Radosh says Dylan was actually too ready to pick up his guitar. At one party, he was told "Bob, would you put that damn guitar away already? Nobody wants to hear you anymore!"[91] Dylan meekly put his guitar away and left Madison for New York.

Dylan claimed he was a rambler and a gambler and a long way from home, but only when it fostered his career. Radosh was understandably skeptical when Dylan told him "with a tone of complete assurance," that he was "going to be as big a star as Elvis Presley."[92] Dylan insisted, "No, you'll see. I'll play the same and even bigger arenas. I know it."[93] "Destiny," Dylan said of his life in 1961, "was about to manifest itself." It "was looking right at me and nobody else."[94] Often, as in the *60 Minutes* interview following the release of the first volume of his autobiography, Dylan spoke as if he had been singled out by the "powers of this world"[95] to fulfill some cosmic design.

The *Zeitgeist* needed someone bright enough to put two and two together, or at the very least, to write new lyrics to the old melodies. The sexual revolutionaries would soon run into the same problem that their parents encountered. "Wildwood Flower" still wasn't a revolutionary melody. And it was even less appropriate for sexual revolution than it had been for the popular front. To update the music of the popular front, Bob Dylan had to tap into the cultural aquifer that produced the tourists that inundated the Village every weekend. The Kingston Trio was popular but culturally irrelevant. Pete Seeger had been relevant, but the Popular Front was long dead and gone. Because he was a Jew working in the Jewish folk music subset of the Jewish popular music industry, Dylan could count on a sympathetic hearing when he articulated his deepest feelings of rebellion or revolution. "Nothing seemed to delight Bob more than undermining the power of an authority figure," one biographer says.[96] Dylan was only doing what other Jews had done before him—Marx and Freud and Reich—and what they were going to do with more gusto as he redefined folk music in places like The Wha? a club owned by Manny Roth (uncle of rocker David Lee Roth), as the vehicle for the cultural revolution, with a little help from his friends.

Dylan's biggest friend in this regard was the self-described "Jewish businessman"[97] from Chicago Albert Grossman. Grossman, according to Spitz, was "neither a gentleman nor political," but rather a "Jewish businessman," who was "a cagey operator who lived by the Teutonic [*sic*] theory that those who struck first and fastest usually eat best."[98] Grossman claimed to have graduated from the University of Chicago, which was not true, and to have walked away from a career in Chicago city government, which was also

not true. He did, however, manage a folk club there and was astute enough to understand that the future of that musical movement lay in Greenwich Village, where he arrived shortly after Ramblin' Jack Elliott and Bob Dylan. Dave Van Ronk, approached early on by Grossman, called him "an astute but very cruel man—extraordinarily cruel in a very cold and calculated way," who went out of his way to corrupt the performers he represented.[99] Grossman played "a kind of Mephistophelian role"[100] with young village folksingers. He guaranteed them stardom "in return for their integrity."[101]

Grossman approached Van Ronk to see if he were interested in becoming part of a folk supergroup trio which he planned to manage. Grossman saw a large gap between commercially successful but insipid groups like The Kingston Trio and the "authentic" but commercially unappealing imitators of Woody Guthrie. Grossman's solution was a trio, Peter, Paul, and Mary. PP&M combined the talents of a stand-up comic, Noel Stookey (who changed his name to the vaguely religious sounding Paul), a singer, Peter Yarrow, and Mary Travers, the sexually liberated, platinum blonde bombshell from the Elisabeth Irwin School. Van Ronk was Grossman's' first choice as Mary's foil, but to get into the act, Van Ronk had to "change my name to Olaf the Blues Singer . . . wear a helmet with horns growing out of it, and pretend to be blind."[102] Van Ronk had to be willing to make a fool of himself on stage because "Integrity bothered Albert," who "used to say that there was no such thing as an honest man, and it was merely a question of finding out what my price was, even if it cost him $300,000 of his own money. That was the kind of guy Albert really was."[103]

Dave Van Ronk, five years older than Dylan, was an established figure in the Village when Dylan arrived. In his autobiography, Dylan describes meeting Van Ronk under the watchful eye of Izzy Young. Dylan describes Van Ronk as singing songs "originally sung by singers who seemed to be groping for words, almost in an alien tongue."[104] Van Ronk had recorded his first album in 1959 for Folkways Records, a company founded by Moses Asch, and one of the critical links between the Popular Front and the folksong revival of the '60s. From a broken family in Brooklyn, Van Ronk was taught by "vicious Irish nuns"[105] in Queens. Originally a merchant seaman who sang songs and played the guitar, the blossoming folk music craze changed that. Odetta listened to him and suggested he "make a demo tape" and "send it to Albert Grossman."[106] Van Ronk hitchhiked to Chicago to present the tape and perform for Grossman, but their personalities never meshed, prossibly because of ethnic differences, although the suggestion that he change his name to Olaf the Blues Singer didn't help. The persona of the urban folksinger had already been set, and it was cryptically Jewish, not Dutch/Irish Catholic. Van Ronk abandoned the religion of his youth for socialism, but abandoning his ethnic identity proved more difficult. Paradoxically, the compatibility between Grossman and Dylan lay in the shared ethnic identity they had abandoned,

or, perhaps, reworked with the *Zeitgeist* in mind. Spitz says Grossman, "much like his protégé Bobby Dylan," developed a new persona by concocting "an apocryphal autobiography."[107] And he helped Dylan do the same thing.

Bob Gibson, a successful folksinger managed by Grossman, didn't come up with the proper image either. The *goyim* were finding it difficult to compete as cultural revolutionaries. The revolutionary Jews had an advantage, especially since music promoters shared their views. According to Gibson, Grossman gave "highest priority" to "class," which meant that "you had to . . . embody Albert's elitist tendencies, which also meant taking regular instruction and criticism from him and assuming aspects of his personality."[108] That meant combining the "Jewish businessman" with messianic cultural politics, because, as Gibson notes, "Albert envisioned himself as a cultural messiah."[109] Grossman wanted to get rich off his singers, but to do so he first had to "create a legend,"[110] to elevate the enthusiasm of the folk music fans flooding into college campuses to "a level that separated his new client from every other performer, so that no comparisons could be drawn."[111] "The cultural revolution had officially begun, and God help the folk singer who couldn't conceptualize his own myth."[112] Bob Dylan "was in a class all by himself," and Albert Grossman was "going to make damned sure that he remained there," by promoting "'the Dylan mystique,' as he refered to it."[113]

Bob Dylan's first album was released in March 1962, earning a glowing pseudonymous endorsement by the fawning Robert Shelton. He wrote under the name Stacy Williams because "it would have been regarded as un-ethical for a *New York Times* critic to objectively review an album that carried his byline on the back cover,"[114] especially in light of payola scandals. The album consisted of covers of folk tunes popular in Greenwich Village, including a version of "House of the Rising Sun," appropriated without permission from Dave Van Ronk. His only original piece, a tribute to Woody Guthrie, lifted Woody's melody from a song written about a 1913 mining disaster that Ramblin' Jack Elliott popularized.

Dylan's original music first appeared in spring 1963 when *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* album was released with a picture on its cover of him and Suze Rotolo walking down Great Jones Street together. "Don't Think Twice It's All Right" was the album's biggest hit, and, like the cover photo of the two, it involved Suze Rotolo, who had gone to Europe at the urging of her mother. Dylan was desolate; the song has a clear emotional and musical focus that disappeared from his music when Dylan later joined the sexual revolution. He would then sing indistinguishable songs about indistinguishable women. But in 1963, the revolution hadn't taken place yet. He could still focus one song on one woman.

When Dylan's third album, *The Times they are a Changin'*, was released in February 1964, the revolutionary cat was out of the bag. Even though written in the folk mode, the title song had clear revolutionary intent, tailored

specifically to the generation that was then coming of age and buying lots of records in their search for a new lifestyle identity. The music was different enough (a weird G chord to an insistent strum and forthright harmonica which disguised the standard G, C, D progression) to add urgency to the lyrics, which were undeniably powerful. No more Popular Front working men, but rather a denunciation of parents! "Your sons and your daughters are beyond your command/Your old road is rapidly agin'/Come get out of the new one if you can't lend a hand/ For the times they are a changin."

It wasn't the Fugs. It wasn't Dionysian excess, but it didn't throw cold water on the disordered passions either. It ennobled those passions by associating them with the civil rights movement, messianic politics, and a host of equally revolutionary themes. Everyone was blown away by the bard who made Jewish revolution plausible in a peculiarly American way. Dylan's next four albums established him as "the spokesman of his generation."[115] To explain how Dylan revolutionized folk and popular music, Spitz mixes metaphors: "Natural selection," he writes, "had chosen Bob Dylan to be the high priest of protest singers."[116] Then he calls Dylan "an enlightened prophet."[117] Finally he settles on business metaphors, saying "beneath his scruffy folk exterior beat the heart of a Jewish businessman from Minnesota" who "knew the value of self-promotion," and "in an offbeat way he courted the establishment crowd when he thought that could help his career."[118] In a plutocratic society, it's unnecessary to distinguish between businessmen, political messiahs, and revolutionaries; one person can be all three. Or, to put it succinctly, to succeed with your cultural revolution, you have to be all three rolled up in one. In America, it was all three rolled up in two—Bob Dylan and Albert Grossman.

Once Peter, Paul and Mary proved folk music could pull in mainstream money, recording contracts began to pour into Greenwich Village. Dave Van Ronk noticed that "all of a sudden there was money all over the place."[119] From 1960 to 1965, recording company executives began:

> handing out major label recording contracts like they were coming in Cracker Jack boxes. People who had been sleeping on floors and eating in cafeterias a year or two before, all of a sudden had enough money to buy a suit, if they wanted to.[120]

Mark Spoelstra pinpoints the change in folk music from something practiced by sincere amateurs to something controlled by the music "industry" to a specific week in 1962. He went to visit friends in Canada, and when he got back, Bob Dylan and his friends "were sitting around talking Big Bucks. . . . You'd have thought I'd walked in on a dinner party of wealthy industrialists. . . . What the hell happened while I was in Toronto? . . . The object of our closely knit folk community had always been to sing and have fun. And suddenly it seemed as if everything had changed."[121] Spitz claimed that the point "at which folk music merged with show business . . . could actually

be seen by the human eye."[122] The notion that folksingers and money were incompatible became "obsolete."[123] Bob Dylan was to become the well-paid "poet-philosopher of his generation,"[124] who could satisfy "Young middle-class Jewish intellectuals' . . . hunger for someone to put ideas into their heads."[125]

Bob Dylan's revolutionary music arrived not a moment too soon, because the other side of the collective Jewish personality in America, the Jewish comedian, had been subverting the folk scene by making it look ridiculous. In 1962, Allan Sherman released his album *My Son the Folksinger.* Dylan was no stranger to parodies of Jewish folksingers (his "Talkin' Hava Nagila Blues" is a case in point) but Sherman took the tradition established by Mickey Katz and his Kosher Jammers to a new level precisely when the folk bubble was threatening to burst. Jewish involvement in the resurrection of Popular Front Appalachian or Negro Music was a satirical target too big to ignore, and many scored direct hits, including Shel Silverstein in his parody, "Folk Singer's Blues," which talked about what to do when

> the only levee you know is the Levy who lives on the block, Yes
> The only levee you know is the Levy who lives on the block. . . .[126]

Young middle class Jews singing about picking cotton in Mississippi was prime comedy material. If folk music was to survive the assaults of Alan Sherman singing "Catskill ladies sing your song, doo dah doo dah," it needed different lyrics, and a more Dionysian music to fit the mores of the new generation of Jews who went to camp not to sing folksongs around a campfire but to have sex with the Negro lifeguard.

Bob Dylan provided that music. More importantly, Dylan provided the new persona of the folksinging revolutionary that enabled others to make the music too. "What folk music needed," according to Spitz, "were performers who were willing to invest in it something unique and intensely personal," rather than simply recycling labor movement songs in the style of Woody Guthrie.[127] That music was "no longer vital to the younger generation."[128] Bob Dylan was the *Zeitgeist* on a motorcycle. "By writing new folk songs, Bob had a chance to say something compelling about the current scene and comment on his own life and times."[129]

Chapter Twelve

The Second Vatican Council Begins

In 1960, shortly before Bobby Dylan arrived in New York City, a French Jew by the name of Jules Isaac went to Rome to discuss what he saw as the Catholic Church's 2000-year-old "teaching of contempt"[1] against his people. Isaac was the former inspector general of France's public schools and a historian who had written two books on Catholic attitudes toward the Jews after losing a number of family members during the war. In *Jesus et Israel* (1946) and *Genese de l'Antisemitisme* (1948), Isaac made two points that would dominate Catholic Jewish dialogue for the rest of the century. Isaac claimed 1) the Catholic Church had preached an anti-Semitism for 2000 years which 2) found its ultimate expression in the mass murder of Jews during World War II.

Father Paul De Mann from Paris and Father Gregory Baum, a Jewish convert from Canada, spread his thesis in Catholic circles. Baum called *Jesus et Israel*, "a moving account of the love which Jesus had for his people, the Jews, and of the contempt which the Christians, later, harbored for them."[2] In 1947 Isaac participated in a conference in Seelisberg, Switzerland, that issued a memo on "The rectification of Christian teaching concerning Israel."[3]

In 1949, Isaac met with Pope Pius XII. Isaac wanted the pope to write an encyclical condemning anti-Semitism, but nothing came of the meeting. It's not difficult to understand why. Despite the openly pagan ideology of National Socialism and the havoc it wrought, Isaac felt the most dangerous form of anti-Semitism was the oxymoron known as Christian anti-Semitism. Because it was theological and not racial, it perdured much longer than Hitler's racial views. Its roots went back to Christianity's fundamental texts, in particular, the Gospels of Matthew and John and the writings of Church Fathers, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Pope St. Gregory the Great.

When Isaac arrived at the Vatican in 1960 for his second visit, the times had changed dramatically since 1949. The genial Giuseppe Roncalli had succeeded the austere Eugenio Pacelli, but the changed atmosphere was traceable to more than just a difference of personality.

Roncalli had lived through the war, but Pacelli had been nuncio to Germany during the rise of National Socialism. He had been in Munich during the First and Second Bavarian Soviet Republics. He had seen the Levine administration and their slutty hangers on when he visited the Wittelsbach Palace in 1919, and he knew the rise of Hitler in Bavaria in 1923 was predicated on the excesses of Jewish Bolshevism there and not on readings of the sermons of St. John Chrysostom or the Gospel of St. John.

Pacelli had emerged from World War II as a hero, a status the world's Jews confirmed at his death in 1958. But now a new spirit was blowing through the Vatican, and Isaac saw a window of opportunity. Aside from its position in Communist countries, the Catholic Church was an object of universal esteem in 1960, and it wanted to use that esteem to promote unity among Christians and reconciliation with the Jews. The Vatican Secretariat for promoting Christian Unity had been set up months before Isaac's visit under the leadership of Augustin Cardinal Bea. Bea had known Jews from his days as a student and teacher in Berlin. From the Jewish perspective, the time was ripe to press for a condemnation of all it disliked about Catholic teaching on the Jews.

The French Embassy, knowing the people behind Isaac, arranged a meeting with Cardinal Tisserant, who gave Isaac the run around. Isaac wanted to meet with Pope John XXIII, but he was sent instead to the prefect of the Holy Office, Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, who then sent him to 83-year-old Andrea Cardinal Jullien, hoping that a meeting between two old men, both hard of hearing, would lead nowhere. Ottaviani was wrong. After pleading his case, Isaac sat in silence, waiting. Jullien finally said the word that provided the key for the door Isaac wanted unlocked: "Bea." Augustin Cardinal Bea, the German Jesuit and Biblical scholar who had authored Pius XII's encyclical on biblical scholarship, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*.

On June 13, 1960, Isaac got his meeting with Pope John XXIII. The only account comes from Isaac, who introduced himself to the pope "as a non-Christian, the promoter of *l'Amities Judeo-Chretiennes*, and a very deaf old man."[4] The pope took the initiative by discoursing on his devotion to the Old Testament. Sensing an opening, Isaac told the pope this "kindled great hopes in the people of the Old Testament."[5] It was time to fulfill those expectations by issuing a condemnation of anti-Semitism. Pope John had been thinking along those lines, but he could not do this unilaterally because the Church was not a "*monarchie absolue*."[6]

Not long thereafter, Isaac "learned with joy"[7] that the pope had conveyed his suggestions to Cardinal Bea who had been commissioned to work toward "a firm condemnation of Catholic anti-Semitism."[8] Bea would draft a text about Jewish-Christian relationships for the Council's consideration. Thus was born what came to be known as the Jewish Declaration.

The pope's desire soon was transformed into something radically different when it made contact with the realities of 20th century Jewish interest groups and publicity organs. Before long "the people of the Old Testament" were represented by international Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. Rather than formulating the Catholic position on the Jews in light of Catholic tradition, Cardinal Bea became a go-between between the Jewish organizations and the Council Fathers, who initially were also under the impression they were dealing with the "people of the Old Testament." Because the Council Fathers were favorably impressed by Jules Isaac's petition (as opposed to his books, which they had not read), Isaac was allowed to determine the terms of the debate, becoming the principal theorist for the Vatican's statement on the Jews. Isaac's friend Bishop Provencheres tried spin this positively by claiming it was the first time a layman and a Jew had initiated a council document, without bringing up the nagging question of who benefited from this break with tradition. Viscount Leon de Poncins was less reticent, claiming Isaac was "the principal theorist and promoter of the campaign being waged against the traditional teaching of the Church."[9] *Nostra Aetate* was destined to become "a weapon designed to overthrow traditional Catholicism, which they consider the chief enemy."[10]

Such thoughts were far from the minds of the participants in the early dialogue between Catholics and Jews. The goal of condemning anti-Semitism seemed noble enough, but the spirit of the times precluded close theological examination of the terms of the discussion. Just who was going to determine the precise meaning of "anti-Semitism"? Popularized in Germany in 1870 by the racial thinker Wilhelm Marr, the word had a racial meaning. This was not problematic for German racists, but it was problematic for the Catholic Church, especially if she were to incorporate uncritically an essentially a-theological and ideologically racial term into a conciliar document. It would contradict a crucial assertion of the Catholic faith, the age-old admonition *Sicut Iudaeis non*: Jewish converts were to be accepted "without prejudice." If Jewish identity was based on race or blood or DNA and not on rejection of Christ, then baptism had lost its efficacy.

By the time Jules Isaac finally got his meeting with the pope in June 1960, Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani had already commissioned the preliminary documents for the Second Vatican Council. The conventional explanation of the council is summarized in one word: *aggiornamento*; which was taken to mean bringing the Church up to date. From Ottaviani's point of view, the Church referred to the Curia, which had reached a state of near paralysis during the last days of Pius XII and was seen as inadequate to the challenges facing it. In the hands of the revisionists, *aggiornamento* has taken on another meaning, namely, getting the Church to accept the tenets of the Enlightenment that Pius IX condemned in his Syllabus of Errors. According to this view, *aggiornamento* meant "reversing the craziness that had compelled

Pope Pius IX to produce his famous Syllabus of Errors, which condemned a number of almost selfevident propositions—including this one: "The pope can and must try to achieve a reconciliation and a settlement with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.'"[11] From an American point of view, the term meant support for the theories of John Courtney Murray, who wanted "to baptize America's religious freedom and make it a part of Pope John's aggiornamento."[12]

According to the Americanist reading, "there was that rumor that Giuseppe Roncalli, Pope John XXIII, had been a covert sympathizer with the Modernists."[13] Ottaviani's involvement in the preparatory stages of the council tells another story, supported by a close reading of the preliminary documents. Judging from them, the point of the Council was not to baptize the Enlightenment, but to reform the Curia and make Catholics aware of a threat to faith and morals coming from the West, in particular, the United States, more particularly, Hollywood.

In January 1962, the preparatory document on "The Moral Order" was submitted to the Council for deliberation. In it, Cardinal Ottaviani sketched out the moral challenges facing the Church. The Church needed to challenge

> The attempt . . . to substitute the useful, the agreeable, the good of the race, the interests of a class, or the power of the state, as the criterion of morality. Thus, philosophical systems, literary fashions, and political doctrines have been created and propagated. These try to substitute for the Christian moral order the so-called morality of situation or individualistic morality, often condemned by Pius XII and finally condemned by a decree of the Holy Office in February of 1956. These also try to substitute the morality of independence (i.e., divorced from the Christian morality) for the idea of God, sanction and obligation.[14]

The reference to moralities of race and class referred to Nazism and communism. But they were conjoined in condemnation with "the so-called morality of situation or individualistic morality,"[15] which could only refer to errors emanating from America. There was risk involved here, since American Catholics were overwhelmingly pious church-goers at the time (in comparison to their brothers in Europe) and contributed significantly to the Vatican's finances.

As the Council progressed, the condemnation of the American threat to Catholic morality became more and more overt. To "defend. . . the immutable principles of Christian modesty and chastity,"[16] the Council warned of the energies spent by the world of fashion, movies, and the press to shake the foundations of Christian morality, as if the Sixth Commandment was outmoded and free rein should be given to all passions, even those against nature. The Council was to clarify and eventually condemn attempts to revive paganism and the abuse of psychoanalysis to justify even things directly contrary to the moral order.[17]

In May 1962, Ottaviani issued The Esteem of Virginity and Chastity, which he said, "reflects the most acute and discussed moral problems of our day."[18] As Italian director Federico Fellini was saying in films like *La Dolce Vita*, American films as the vehicle for American mores were undermining the traditional way of life in Catholic Europe and in Italy in particular. If the Church lost its hold on sexual morals, it would lose control of "the ordinary way of sanctification for the majority of the human race."[19] Far from baptizing modernity, the preparatory documents condemned it as one long, drawn-out occasion of sin:

> Modern life, without doubt, multiplies invitations to evil by such distractions as beauty contests, spectacles, billboards, songs, illustrated magazines, beaches, places of vacation, promiscuity, and certain forms of sport. This is why the Church never ceases to recall to each one the principles of prudence, conscience, and responsibility, the rights and duties of liberty, and the obligation of vigilance and precaution on the part of parents, educators and civil authorities. This is also why the church points out as dangerous and condemns as erroneous all theories that are then translated into practice concerning the cult of movie stars, naturalism, the so-called sexual education, pansexualism, and certain injurious aspects of psychoanalysis.[20]

It didn't take a genius to know who in America was prominent in supporting "the cult of movie stars, pansexualism, and psychoanalysis." It was the Jews. So the Council became a battleground over whose interpretation of the Jews was going to be normative. Were the Jews the "people of the Old Testament" as Jules Isaac portrayed them? Or were they, in practice, the avant-garde of modernity and the promoters of sexual deviance as a covert form of control, as Ottaviani implicitly portrayed them?

The American hierarchy was plagued with its own Jewish problem ever since they began censoring Hollywood in 1934 with the creation of the production code and the Legion of Decency. Psychoanalysis had also come in for condemnation by the famous TV priest, Fulton J. Sheen. In March 1947, Sheen gave a sermon on "psychoanalysis and confession"[21] in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. In it, Sheen derided Freudianism as a philosophy based on "materialism, hedonism, infantilism, and eroticism."[22] In the February/March 1947 issue of *McCall's*, Clare Booth Luce told of her conversion to Catholicism. Luce had undergone psychoanalysis by a Jewish psychiatrist shortly after divorcing her first husband. After exposure to confession, Luce resented her treatment at the hands of Jews. "We Christian innocents," she wrote, "have been duped into our present godless condition by the unholy triumvirate of communism, psychoanalysis and relativity. These three symbolized by Marx, Freud and Einstein, are the result of the messianic impulse of the religiously frustrated Jewish ego."[23]

It didn't take long for the Jews to react to this shot across their bow. Sheen and Luce were accused of anti-Semitism in 1948 in the *American Scholar* because they "leave the careful reader an impression that responsibility for our present spiritual inadequacy rests not only on Freud but as well on the other outstanding thinkers of Jewish origin."[24] *Time*, run by Mrs. Luce's husband, tried to patch things up by contrasting Sheen with Father Coughlin, but the cultural battle lines had been drawn; as in the Hollywood obscenity battle of the '30s, the Jews were on one side and the Catholics on the other.

By the time the Vatican Council convened, the American bishops were showing signs of battle fatigue in their culture war with the Jews, and the Council looked like a way of declaring a separate peace. Or like a battle between Americans who wanted an accommodation with the Jews versus traditionalists like Ottaviani who saw Hollywood Jews, Reichian pansexualists, and Freudian psychiatrists as the main threat to Catholic morals in a Europe weakened by two catastrophic wars. Given Jewish dominance in the media, it was easy to see who was going to be portrayed as the villain in this scenario.

If someone had pointed out that the preparatory reports had used Hollywood, pansexualism, and psychoanalysis as code words for Jewish subversion of morals it would have exposed the ethnic dimensions of a struggle generally perceived as an intra-Catholic struggle between liberals and conservatives. So no one portrayed it in those terms, not in the major media anyway. As in most ethnic battles, political surrogates replaced the real players. The Vatican Council was portrayed as a battle between the forces of darkness and reaction, symbolized by Cardinal Ottaviani, and the forces of light and progress, symbolized, in American journals, by the Jesuit John Courtney Murray, who appeared on the cover of *Time* when contestation over the Council began.

If there was one man responsible for this Manichean scenario it was Robert Blair Kaiser. If there was one organ responsible for the dissemination of those views it was *Time Magazine*. Kaiser entered the Jesuits in the late '40s and was out by the mid-'50s, convinced by modernism and the evolutionary thought of Teilhard de Chardin that he could better achieve the goals of the Jesuits by leaving the order. Given what became of the Jesuits, this was at least an arguable proposition, but not as Kaiser wanted to argue it. He soon became a bachelor reporter in California, driving from one sexual encounter to another in his '56 Thunderbird. Then he married and landed a job at *Time*.

When the Second Vatican Council opened in October 1962, Kaiser was there to cover it. Kaiser takes credit for converting *Time* to the "global vision"[25] he learned as a young Jesuit scholastic by reading de Chardin and Cardinal Suhard. "By making information available to an international community of men and women who had an uncommon say in running the planet, *Time* was contributing to a better world, by opening up channels of communication that had long been clogged. That was a worthy cause."[26] Kaiser's reporting bespoke

a meeting of the minds, mostly of Jesuits, who had committed themselves to "Church reform"[27] through the media. Kaiser was so zealous in "coming down in favor of the liberals,"[28] that he was reprimanded by his bureau chief, who sketched *Time*'s editorial policy in a memo to Kaiser: "We have clearly opted in print for the reformation of the Catholic church undertaken by Pope John, and now presumably being carried forward by Pope Paul. My caution is this: we should not make our stories and our reporting so one-sided that we become naked partisans in this rather than skeptical spectators."[29] *Time*'s "reformation of the Catholic church"[30] involved leveraging the pope's genial personality into sympathy for everything the modern world hated about the Catholic Church. So Kaiser portrayed the pope as "a secret Modernist all along, and then, when he became pope, an open one."[31]

The one area in which the Church was most glaringly out of sync with the modern world was its attitude toward the Jews. To remedy that, John XXIII, according to Kaiser, "asked Cardinal Bea to prepare a schema for the Council that would revise the old Catholic story about the Jews killing Christ, and thus bringing eternal damnation on them and on their children too. It was a myth that had nurtured anti-Semitism for centuries."[32] One of the tenets of Roncalli's modernism, according to Kaiser, was the belief that Jews did not need to convert in order to be saved. Kaiser related an anecdote he got from Msgr. Loris Capovilla, the pope's personal secretary. When a young Jew came to Roncalli and asked to become a Catholic, the future pope put him off, saying, "Be a good Jew" because "becoming a Catholic would kill your parents."[33] Roncalli eventually relented and had the man baptized in secret. After Roncalli became pope and the man asked the pope to confirm him, the pope allegedly replied: "All right, all right, but you've got to continue being a good Jew in your own synagogue, support the Jewish schul, because by being a Catholic, you do not become any less a Jew."[34]

If true, the anecdote reveals a fatal ambiguity at the heart of the Jewish question as discussed at Vatican Council II. The question was simple: Did a Jew remain a Jew after he was baptized? The traditional Catholic answer was no. The Jew, a rejecter of Christ, ceased being a rejecter of Christ upon baptism. Jews should be admitted to the Church "without prejudice" because through baptism they ceased being Jews. If, on the other hand, becoming a Catholic meant "you do not become any less a Jew," then Jewish identity was bound up with blood, race, and DNA, the very view which Christ rejected in the Gospel of St. John, At this point it wasn't clear which view the Church was going to espouse in its schema on the Jews.

In August 1962, Cardinal Bea granted an interview to the *Jewish Chronicle*, in which he stated unequivocally that the Church intended to use the Council to issue an official and radical condemnation of anti-Semitism. After the first session of the Council, Bea used the hiatus before the second session to consult with Jewish groups. The major Jewish organizations used the opportunity to

lobby for concessions from the Church. Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, who met Bea when both were students in Berlin 30 years earlier, collaborated with the American Jewish Committee, which had issued "The Image of the Jews in Catholic Teaching," which Bea had read in preparation for dialogue with the Jews which began in earnest in January 1963. Heschel wanted the Vatican to ban what he termed proselytizing, which meant a revocation of the belief that Jews had to accept Christ as their Savior to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. He also wanted the Council to ban any reference to the Jews as an accursed race. The "cursed race"[35] claim was a Jewish extrapolation from Matthew 27:26 in which the Jewish people "to a man shouted back [to Pilate, after he offered to release Jesus], 'His blood be on us and on our children.'"

The real issue, the issue the Jews did not want to face, was the Jewish rejection of Christ, which was on-going not by occult force but because of Jewish will. By portraying this rejection as a curse, the Jews trivialized it and placed the onus not on their rejection of Christ but on the Church as the perpetrator of some occult voodoo spell, which, while harmless of itself, had caused prejudice, which led to persecution, culminating in the Holocaust. B'nai B'rith wanted the Church to delete any language it deemed anti-Semitic from the Catholic liturgy. This was a tall order because the liturgy was based on Scripture that was, if not anti-Semitic, then certainly anti-Jewish. Virtually the entire Gospel of St. John and the Acts of the Apostles revolved around the conflict between the Jews who accepted Christ as their savior and the Jews who rejected him. Since those texts were central to any Catholic liturgy and full of invidious comparisons between the New Israel, the Catholic Church, and the Old, repudiated by Christ for its blindness and obstinacy, it was hard to see how dialogue could succeed. Unless, of course, the purpose of dialogue was something other than what it claimed to be.

Those who came to oppose the schema on the Jews claimed that ulterior motives had been driving the discussion from the beginning. Their fears were confirmed (three years after the fact) in March 1963, when a limousine picked Cardinal Bea up at the Plaza Hotel in New York and deposited him at the offices of the American Jewish Committee six blocks away. When Bea arrived, "a latter-day Sanhedrin"[36] was waiting to greet him. The meeting, of course, was "kept secret from the press."[37] It was also kept secret from the Vatican Council Fathers. "I am not authorized to speak officially," Bea told the Jews. "I can, therefore, speak only of what, in my opinion could be effected, indeed, should be effected, by the Council."[38] The Jews, Bea continued, were accused of deicide and "on them is supposed to lie a curse."[39] According to the only account of the meeting, Bea repudiated both charges. "Because even in the accounts of the Evangelists, only the leaders of the Jews then in Jerusalem and a very small group of followers shouted for the death sentence on Jesus, all those absent and the generations of Jews unborn were not implicated in deicide in any way," Bea said.[40] As to the curse, it could not condemn the

crucifiers, the Cardinal reasoned, because Christ's dying words were a prayer for their pardon.

Bea concluded by claiming it was "wrong to seek the chief cause of anti-Semitism in purely religious sources—in the Gospel accounts, for example. These religious causes, in so far as they are adduced (often they are not), are often merely an excuse and a veil to cover over other more operative reasons for enmity."[41] Bea did not identify the more operative reasons for enmity, or if he did, his explanation went unreported.

As a result of the meeting, the Jewish organizations assigned two lobbyists to monitor the progress of the "Jewish schema" at the council, Joseph Lichten of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League and Zachariah Schuster of the American Jewish Committee. Both men had lost relatives to the Nazis during World War II. Both were determined to bring "the strongest possible Jewish declaration"[42] back from Rome so their respective organizations could claim credit for it.

In addition to lobbying the Church Fathers in Rome, the Jews sought to change the climate of public opinion by other means. In February 1963, Rolf Hochhuth's play, *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*), opened in Berlin. Hochhuth portrayed Pope Pius XII as criminally negligent because of his silence on the deportation of the Jews during World War II. After it opened in London, Giovanni Battista Montini, archbishop of Milan and soon to be Pope Paul VI, attacked it as a defamation of Pius XII, whose secretary he had been. The pope was probably aware that Erwin Piscator, a Jewish communist, along with the Jewish organizations ADL and AJC, provided financial backing for the play. Msgr. John Oesterreicher, the Jewish convert responsible for the Jewish schema under Bea, accused the AJC and the ADL of poisoning the waters by promoting the play. "Jewish human-relations agencies," he wrote in *America*, "will have to speak out against *The Deputy* in unmistakable terms. Otherwise they will defeat their own purpose."[43] The press ignored Oesterreicher's warning, playing up Hochhuth's accusations instead. Hochhuth's message was clear. If the incoming pope (John XXIII was dying; who would succeed him was unknown) didn't want to go down in history as another Pius XII, guilty because silent, he better pass the schema on the Jews.

As Oesterreicher warned, the Jewish media campaign caused a reaction. Amleto Cardinal Cicognani, a powerful conservative in the Curia and former delegate to the United States, expressed fear that issuing a statement on the Jews might not be in the Church's best interest. Bea countered that he had already assured the Jews that a statement was forthcoming, so failure to produce one would be construed as mendacity. As resistance among the conservatives grew, Bea kept claiming he had created a growing tide of expectation in Jewish circles and in the pluralistic society of America and Germany, and that now he had to meet that expectation. The Jewish lobby was not going to take no for an answer.

Hochhuth's play did not begin the campaign against Pius XII. In France, Francois Mauriac had attacked him in 1951, for which he received a Nobel Prize. Mauriac would later be instrumental in cleaning up Elie Wiesel's violently anti-Christian Yiddish memoir *Un di Velt hat geschwigen* and turning in into *La Nuit*, which earned Wiesel a Nobel prize. In 1958 the Jewish Communist Francoise Cousteix-Drohocki elaborated on Mauriac's charges. "Why," she asked, "call Pius XII 'the Pope of peace' rather than of war? He no more stopped the latter than he imposed the former. . . . Pius XII's pontificate was totally bankrupt: war, torture, the annihilation of the individual, and cruelty in all its forms, reached a level never before attained. It's a shame that Pius XII never got around to excommunicating Nazis with the same level of indignation that he had for excommunicating Communists. If he was not aware of what was going on in Germany, then all the Vatican's listening posts are useless. If he was aware. . . ."

In June 1963, Pope John XXIII died, and Montini, who had already attacked *The Deputy* in his defense of Pius XII, was elected his successor, taking the name Paul VI. Paul VI was aware of the expectations Bea had aroused, but he was also aware of the growing conservative resentment, especially over the slander of Pius XII, and equally aware that he had to reconcile increasingly hostile camps.

The second session of the Council opened on September 20, 1963. Its main concern was the schema *De Ecclesiae*. Hearing the schema on the Jews had been incorporated into a larger document on ecumenism, the Israeli ambassador to Italy, Maurice Fischer, called on Pope Paul VI to find out whether the document dealt with the Jewish question. Sensing he must do something to ease the disappointment of the Jews, Paul VI and his advisers came up with the idea of visiting Israel during a trip he was planning to the Middle East. In recognizing the existence of the Jewish state, Paul VI hoped that the disappointment would be lessened. The Jewish lobby, however, was not going to take no for an answer, and resistance to the document was growing among the bishops for precisely that reason. The trip to the Holy Land suggested that the tensions had become more than mere mortals could resolve. From the Jewish perspective, the second session, which ended on December 4, 1963, was a distinct disappointment. The media barrage, however, continued unabated. Schuster and Lichten were experts at getting their views into the *New York Times*. Fritz Becker, lobbyist for the World Jewish Congress, specialized in quiet diplomacy. "We don't have the American outlook," he said, referring to Lichten and Schuster, "on the importance of getting into print."[44]

The Deputy opened in Paris on December 9. Four days later it opened in Basel in Switzerland. The Jewish Lobby kept up the pressure with three more openings: in Vienna on January 22, 1964, in New York on February 28, and in Tel Aviv on June 20. Outraged that the second session ended without passage of the Jewish schema, the Jewish Lobby demanded that the American

cardinals pressure the pontiff for a declaration on the Jews, but at no stage did a delegation of American cardinals go to him and insist on the discussion of religious liberty and the Jewish document.

The Jewish lobbying was beginning to cause a reaction. Pamphlets on the Jews began to appear at the Council. *The Jews and the Council in the Light of Holy Scripture* by Bernardus offered the most rational presentation from the official Church standpoint. Its message: Scripture states clearly that the Jews were voluntary deicides; the Fathers of the Church supported this doctrine. St. Thomas Aquinas wrote that the attitude of the Roman Pontiffs can only be interpreted as an affirmation that the Jews partake of a world-wide plot to destroy the Church. Hence, all should be wary of the Jew and not destroy a fundamental dogma of the Church. The tract of Bernardus was followed by *Complotto contro la Chiesa,* four thousand copies of which were distributed to the Council Fathers.

Fortified with a heavy-duty expense account by *Time*, Robert Blair Kaiser turned his spacious Roman apartment into "a gathering place for conciliar progressives. . . those who were pushing hardest for updating everything, and doing so with a high hilarity."[45] In addition to regular Sunday night soirees of progressives, Kaiser held intimate dinner parties where Church leaders could talk about their hopes with people they would otherwise never meet. Bishop Sergio Mendez of Cuernavaca in Mexico, for example, found himself opposite the Hollywood director Otto Preminger over dinner one evening. Joining them were Kaiser and Gregoire LeMercier, prior of the Benedictine monastery in Cuernavaca, who explained to Kaiser's dinner guests how he had profited from psychoanalysis. He explained to Preminger how Freudian psychoanalysis had transformed his monks into better Benedictines. Preminger, who like Cardinal Ottaviani and Bishop Sheen, felt that Catholicism and Freudianism were like oil and water, asked LeMercier where he had found a Catholic psychiatrist. LeMercier couldn't find a Catholic psychiatrist, and so he brought in one who was an atheist and Jew instead. That psychiatrist brought along a woman assistant who convinced many of the monks that the only reason they had joined the monastery was their fear of sexuality. Once they understood that, many of the monks then abandoned the order. LeMercier's claim that Freudian psychoanalysis had strengthened the monastery left Preminger shaking his head in wonder. Kaiser turned to Bishop Mendez and asked his opinion on the abbot's use of Freud to empty out one of the monasteries under his jurisdiction. "With Gregorio's help," Mendez replied "I am preparing an intervention for the Council. I think it's time we baptized Freud."[46]

One wonders how Cardinal Ottaviani would have replied to Kaiser's question, but Ottaviani was not invited to his apartment. One Council father who showed up regularly was the Irish Jesuit Malachi Martin. Martin, like Bea, was connected to the Biblicum, the Jesuit-run university for scripture scholars in Rome. Like Bea, he was working behind the scenes on the Jewish

schema. Kaiser felt Martin was "one of the good guys," who "cut a fine figure of a priest" in his tailored suit.[47] Martin, Kaiser heard, had been sent to Rome "to save the Biblicum from the conservatives who wanted to shut it down."[48] The admiration was mutual, or so it seemed. After one Sunday evening, Martin "whispered conspiratorially" in Kaiser's ear "how important these Sunday nights have become to the progress of the Council. . . . Every cleric I've met is talking about these parties. They're saying this is where ideas are incubated, friendships struck, new national alliances formed, strategies laid, plans formed for each coming week."[49] Kaiser appreciated the flattery because he believed he had been sent to Rome to influence the events he was supposedly reporting on. Martin's access to key *personae* made him a valuable source of inside information; it also allowed Kaiser to feel he was influencing the outcome of the council.

Before long Kaiser would come to doubt both propositions. The first to go was his reliance on Martin. Martin was forever feeding him inside information, but when Kaiser's reporting was challenged Martin couldn't or wouldn't back it up. Other people were learning the same lesson. After Father Gus Weigel was quoted in the *New York Times* saying the Jewish schema was in trouble, he was reprimanded by Cardinal Bea for spreading lies and blacklisted. Kaiser knew Martin was Weigel's source: Martin had tried to peddle the same story to him for *Time*. Martin maintained the story was true in spite of the denials of Willebrands and Bea, much to Weigel's perplexity, since he lost his credibility due to Martin's false report. Kaiser by this time had stopped using Martin as a source, but was still unable to figure out the agenda behind his actions.

As Bea's assistant, Martin's main concern was the "Jewish schema." Martin supplied Kaiser with a steady diet of stories to show he was thwarting reactionaries in the Curia who allied with prelates from Arab nations to "sabotage Catholic-Jewish relations by scuttling the 'schema on the Jews.'"[50] To do this, they were not above sending phony telegrams from Bea's office to the AJC in New York or forged letters on Bea's stationery to the Council Central Commission.

After the Weigel incident, Kaiser was convinced that Martin was circulating false stories about the "Jewish Schema." Once burned by using Martin's information in stories he had filed for *Time*, Kaiser began to feel that Martin was manipulating him for his own ends. What those ends were became apparent one Sunday evening when Martin showed up at Kaiser's apartment "with a pair of important American Jews, representatives of the American Jewish Committee" in tow.[51] Suddenly, Martin's reason for circulating the stories that had ruined Weigel's reputation became clear. "Martin," Kaiser now realized, "was their lobbyist. These Jews were using him and paying him well for his help, which they thought they needed because they were reading those stories in the *New York Times*."[52] Martin had planted the stories to give

the Jews the impression his efforts were indispensable in saving a document that wasn't in trouble. The Jews had been taken in by Martin's ruse, and they rewarded him handsomely for his duplicity. During the summer between the second and third session, Kaiser "noted that Malachi had always had a wallet stuffed with hundred-dollar bills."[53] Now Kaiser knew "where he was getting them."[54]

Kaiser told his wife, but he was taken aback by her response. "What's the matter with that?" she asked.[55] "Well," Kaiser stammered, "if he's a paid lobbyist, at least he ought to register, so people know where he's coming from."[56] Regaining his composure, Kaiser went on the offensive. "Have you ever wondered why he is always with Zachariah Schuster? He used to get spending money from me. He doesn't get it from me anymore. I think he's getting it from the American Jewish Committee. . . . I think he's keeping the pot boiling just to make himself more indispensable to the Jews."[57]

Kaiser found his wife's response unsettling. Martin had given Mary Kaiser a copy of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, underlining portions denigrating husbands and writing comments in the margins. Seeing Friedan's book as a seduction device, Kaiser suspected that Martin had designs on his wife. Michael Novak, another American correspondent at the Council, aggravated Kaiser's fears by claiming Martin and Mary were having an affair. During one of his wife's increasingly frequent absences, Kaiser, consumed with suspicion, discovered birth control pills while rooting through his wife's lingerie. Kaiser had been researching a birth control story he hoped would help overturn Church teaching. In his misguided way, Kaiser thought his "reporting might help overturn the tyranny of an authority with a very limited view of marriage, one that I believed was having a damaging effect on millions of Catholic marriages."[58] Instead, it looked as if it had facilitated his wife's adultery.

The pill, however, wasn't the only facilitator that Kaiser had to worry about. Jewish activists, in exchange for Martin's contribution toward a Jewish schema favorable to their interests, were willing to facilitate the Irish Jesuit's adultery with Mary Kaiser. While hoping for a reconciliation with his wife, Kaiser noted that instead of coming to the hotel where he had arranged to meet her in Paris, his wife, "stopped off to see Zachariah Schuster and two other friends of Malachi Martin's in the Paris offices of the American Jewish Committee."[59] The American Jewish Committee had agreed to (or led Mary to believe) give her a job when she ran off with Malachi Martin. Mary, Kaiser writes at another point, "planned a European rendezvous with Malachi in Paris, where she thought she would be given a job by the American Jewish Committee."[60] Zachariah Schuster was not only paying Martin to subvert the document which became *Nostra Aetate,* he was also helping him commit adultery.

Blinded by his commitment to views he considered progressive, Kaiser failed to see that the Council was providing an opening for all of the Church's traditional enemies. Around the time that Kaiser's wife began taking birth control pills to conceal any possible effects of her affair with Malachi Martin, Kaiser discovered that the Church was thinking of changing its teaching on birth control. Predictably, he considered it a good thing "if frozen Catholic attitudes on birth control would start melting under the great reforming heat of this Council," because "then the Council would start meaning more to American Catholics"[61] in the same way that it was having more meaning for Kaiser's wife.

Kaiser also came into possession of a memo written by Planned Parenthood Federation of America Chairman, Donald B. Straus, describing his visit to Rome in February 1963. Straus met with Msgr. Cardinale, who told him "that the church had no quarrel with Planned Parenthood over its goals, only wanted its assurance that the organization was not pushing 'all kinds of contraceptives without regard for moral considerations.'"[62] Straus was taken aback by the "liberal views expressed by Msgr. Cardinale" and "wondered if the word could be passed along that discussion with Planned Parenthood representatives did not amount to consorting with the devil."[63] Two years later, in the summer of '65, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC, president of the University of Notre Dame, arranged a meeting between John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, and Pope Paul VI, during which Mr. Rockefeller offered to write the pope's birth control encyclical for him. This "openness to the modern world"[64] also led to the Commission on Birth Control which Paul VI rejected when he issued *Humanae Vitae* in 1968.

Kaiser soon discovered that Martin was writing his own book on the Council under the pseudonym of Michael Serafian. Kaiser was taken aback by the news but hardly in a position to object since much of his own book on the Council had been written by Martin. Martin would later become a prolific author of books of dubious accuracy. His book on the Jesuits purportedly was based on inside sources but was riddled with obvious factual errors. By the end of his career, Martin confined himself to *romans à clef*, like *Windswept House*, a purported expose of corruption in the Church from a conservative viewpoint.

During the Vatican Council, Roger Straus, "one of the most distinguished guys in the New York publishing world,"[65] took on Martin as an author and established publishing connections for Martin that lasted for the rest of his life. No matter how savagely his books were panned, Martin never lost access to big name publishing houses. When Jack Shea showed Kaiser the manuscript of Martin's *The Pilgrim*, Kaiser "turned quickly to a passage concerning the schema on the Jews," and concluded, "It's Malachi all right, and it looks like a fabrication."[66] From the Jewish perspective, however, *The Pilgrim* was far from a fabrication. It was a faithful rendition of the Jewish indictment of the

Catholic Church launched by Jules Isaac. "From the tolerance of an Innocent III to the attitude of most Catholics toward Jews today," Martin wrote, "there is a direct line of filiation. Between the burning and plundering of all Jewish synagogues in Mesopotamia in 388 AD on the order of the Bishop of Callinicum and the destruction or desecration of all synagogues under the recent Nazi regime, we cannot but see a relationship of origin."[67] Martin continued:

> no one conscious of what has made modern Europe can deny that the pyres and the crematoria, the mephitic smoke and stench of the extermination camps in Nazi Germany, were, if not the logical conclusion, at least one extremist consequence of the normal Christian attitude to the Jews.[68]

In June 1964, *The New York Times* reported that the denial of Jewish responsibility for deicide had been cut from the latest draft of the schema. Bea's office quickly denied the charge; the source of the rumor was most likely Malachi Martin. The Jews, however, were upset. Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston arranged a personal meeting between Rabbi Heschel and Pope Paul VI. Heschel, who attended the meeting with Zachariah Schuster, wanted the pope and the council to ban the proselytizing of Jews. Sensing in mid-interview that Heschel's *chutzpah* offended the Pope, Schuster switched to French, freezing Heschel out of the conversation.

The conservatives at the Council were even more offended by Jewish effrontery. The AJC tried to distance itself from Heschel's remarks, but the conservatives used the incident to discredit their opponents, especially the American bishops, who were seen as Jewish lackeys. As if to prove the conservatives were right, Cushing demanded that the deicide denial be put back in the document, and Bishop Steven Leven of San Antonio called for a ban on converting Jews.

The heavy-handed Jewish lobbying tactics backfired. Heschel maintained that his chutzpah did some good, but the consensus began to emerge that Jewish effrontery had harmed the Jewish cause. Even a devoted supporter of the Jews like Cardinal Cushing was forced to conclude that "the only people who could beat the Jewish declaration were the Jewish lobbyists."[69]

Chapter Thirteen

Folk Music Meets the Civil Rights Movement

In 1963 the personal became political, or politics became personal. In February, Ron Radosh's wife gave birth to their first child, but the arrival of that child did not help their marriage, which in distinction to his "exciting" intellectual life, "involved constant bickering and fighting."[1] Radosh repressed the recurring thought they should have never married by throwing himself "into what we were beginning to call 'the Movement' and into folk music."[2] By this time, that "movement" was defined more by Freud than by Marx. When Radosh's wife insisted they undergo therapy, Radosh didn't know how to say no, because "besides Marxism, our other chosen -ism was Freudianism, which we thought could do for the individual psyche what Marx could do for society."[3] So Radosh and his wife made a weekly pilgrimage to Chicago where a cut-rate shrink named Alan Robertson initiated them into the mysteries of "sleep therapy," something "that allowed the patient to reach the deepest levels of the unconscious."[4] This particular form of therapy involved Robertson charging Radosh and his friends for the naps they took in his office, during which Robertson also napped. The therapy didn't help Radosh's marriage. When his wife developed a "serious medical problem,"[5] she moved back to New York to her family.

The personal became political for Bob Dylan too. On May 2, 1963 Gene Shay picked up Dylan and his girlfriend Suze Rotolo at the 30th Street Station in Philadelphia and drove them to Tossi Aaron's home in Cheltenham, where they rested in anticipation of Dylan's concert the following day at the Ethical Society building on Rittenhouse Square. The release of *Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* with Suze on the cover was a month away, but Dylan and Suze were already having problems. Dylan had met Joan Baez and they had fallen in love—she with his music and he with her career. An affair ensued, and a concert tour followed. On tour, Joan Baez would sing a few songs and then invite Dylan on stage, where he stole the show. The culmination of the affair and the tour was the 1963 Newport Folk Festival where Dylan was inducted into the folk music pantheon. A picture shows Dylan linking arms with Peter Paul and Mary, Baez, Odetta, Pete Seeger, and Theodore Bikel—all singing

"We Shall Overcome" with unidentified Negro representatives of the Civil Right Movement.

Bob's legendary mystique took a major hit shortly after that festival when an article entitled "I am MY Words," appeared in *Newsweek*. The article exposed Dylan's roots as a Jew named Zimmerman from the Midwest. He could no longer deny the existence of his parents because they had been seen at his recent concert at Carnegie Hall. People with middle-class Jewish parents from the Midwest didn't arrive in New York City in boxcars, certainly not in 1963. According to Spitz, Dylan "flew into a rage" because "he had been unmasked as a fraud."[6] The unmasking, however, would have little effect, because by this time Robert Shelton had become a member of Dylan's entourage, hanging out, drinking, and partying with Dylan and Grossman. Shelton still had the *New York Times* at his disposal to repair Dylan's myth whenever it got threatened by impious outsiders. Shelton accused *Newsweek* of "a hatchet job on Dylan,"[7] and that laid the roots issue and the issue of Dylan's truthfulness about those roots to rest.

Actually, what the *New York Times* defense of Dylan did was simply repress the truth so that the protest which the paper fueled would appear in another form. The success of Peter Paul and Mary ensured that a reaction would occur, especially when one of the biggest hits of 1963 was their cover of "If I Had a Hammer," a song which HUAC condemned as "communist inspired"[8] in 1955. In 1963, millions of high school students "from San Diego up to Maine, in every town and mill" were singing it. Pete Seeger had been sentenced to prison for writing the song, and now Albert Grossman and his protégés were making millions off it. Some people interpreted the situation as a sign of how far the country had fallen.

In summer 1963, Pete Seeger showed up to perform in Los Angeles, only to be denounced by "The Fire and Police Research Association of Los Angeles, Inc.," for using folk songs as "an unidentified tool of Communist psychological or cybernetic warfare to ensnare and capture youthful minds."[9] Perhaps sensing folk music had become a leading tourist attraction, New York's Senator Kenneth Keating denounced the California cops and fire fighters, announcing he was "stunned by the revelation that folk music is part of the Communist arsenal of weapons."[10] Keating labored under "the impression . . . it was thoroughly American in spirit, it was American folk music,"[11] indicating that he was either naive or pandering for the Jewish vote in Manhattan. Jere Real, writing for the John Birch Society periodical *American Opinion*, disabused Keating of any naiveté. Folk music, according to Real, was "a very subtle but highly effective presentation of standard Communist party propaganda" in spite of, or perhaps because of, "the handclapping, the guitar strumming, the banjo-picking the shouting and the howling" accompanying it.[12] As a result, "Not since the 1930s have so many people of the United States

been so directly, so cleverly, deceived into a widespread parroting of the Communist line."[13]

The Birch Society was right about the subversion, but, as usual, they were wrong about who was subverting whom. Even Party hacks like Irwin Silber, still editor of *Sing Out!* in 1963, had resigned from the Communist party in 1958. The Birchers failed to understand that people like Silber were revolutionaries not because they were Communists, but because they were Jewish folksingers. The Right always had a difficult time distinguishing between form and content and the part and the whole. The form in this instance was the revolutionary Jew. The revolutionary content was no longer communism; it was folk music. What the communists construed as a vehicle for Popular Front era propaganda had taken on a life of its own. The party no longer directed the revolution, nor did it define its content. People like Dylan did that based not on any party line but on the lives they were leading, as seen through the lens of the ancestral Jewish penchant for revolutionary activity. Bob Dylan was not a communist, but he was a revolutionary Jew, and as such he could redefine the revolution to meet the needs of the *Zeitgeist*, which, as Norman Mailer, another revolutionary Jew, announced in his essay "The White Negro," were increasingly sexual.

RIGHT-WING CRITICS

Other right-wing critics were equally obtuse. Rather than risk accusations of anti-Semitism, they beat the dead horse of communism. In *The Marxist Minstrels: A Handbook on Communist Subversion of Music*, David Noebel wrote "The Communist infiltration into the subversion of American music has been nothing short of phenomenal and in some areas, e.g., folk music, their control is fast approaching the saturation point under the able leadership of Pete Seeger, *Sing Out!*, Folkways Records and Oak Publications, Inc."[14] Three years earlier, Serge Denisoff, in his book *Great Day Coming*, had documented "the Old Left's discovery and use of folksong materials."[15] Irwin Silber could resign from the Communist party, but he never stopped being a revolutionary Jewish folksinger, and that was precisely the persona which the revolutionary Jew adopted when it got tired of defending the largely irrelevant dogma emanating from Moscow in the years after Khrushchev denounced Stalin. Music may very well have continued to be a vehicle for revolution, but the revolution was not communism, nor was it run by commissars from Moscow. It was run by the children of the commissars from Moscow, who now considered themselves Americans, largely because of all the folk music they had played at summer camp. The Reusses explain the fate of the revolutionary Jew when he made contact with American folk music but only obliquely when they say that "to the extent that participants in the communist movement came from recent immigrant stock, absorbing American folk song and folk lore was

one way to assimilate into American society."[16] So communism didn't, in the final analysis, subvert folk music; folk music subverted communism. The real continuity was ethnic, not political. The revolutionary Jew would redefine the revolution to suit his needs, even if he destroyed himself in the process.

The Summer of '63 was folk music's "moment of glory,"[17] and nothing epitomized that moment more than the duets of Joan Baez and Bob Dylan. Those duets also unfortunately signaled the end of Dylan's relationship with Suze Rotolo. The lady who had marched down Great Jones Street adoringly hanging on Dylan's arm was now history, in more than one sense of the word. After Dylan left on his concert tour with Baez, Rotolo moved out of their apartment and got a job as a waitress at a luncheonette on 12th Street. Rotolo was now finished with Dylan, or so she thought, until she discovered that she was pregnant. Bob Dylan dealt with his paternity by having Albert Grossman arrange for an illegal abortion at a doctor's office on the Upper East Side. It was a defining moment both for Dylan and for the movement he would lead. The emotional clarity of ballads like "Don't think twice" would now become muddied by a torrent of surrealistic imagery. The imagery of songs like "Mr. Tambourine Man," are usually and correctly traced to drugs, but the increased use of drugs is rarely traced back to one of its most common functions, namely, anesthesia, specifically anesthesia of conscience. Bob Dylan was notoriously cruel with anyone around him. His favorite targets were folk singers who admired him, people like Eric Anderson and Phil Ochs, who idolized Dylan in spite of the abuse they took at his hands. Eventually, Dylan turned on Joan Baez as well during their tour of England. Dylan and his buddy Bobby Neuwirth ridiculed Baez so mercilessly—some of which is caught on the Pannebaker film *Don't Look Back*—that she eventually dropped out of the tour. This is the way that Dylan repaid her kindness in fostering his career a few years earlier.

Dylan's music began to take on the characteristics of his deformed soul. The music became harsh and electronically amplified and the lyrics became increasingly opaque, as Dylan fell more and more under the influence of degenerates like the Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, whose poetry mirrored an equally depraved soul. Since the people who bought his records were undergoing the same sort of moral degeneration, each innovation in his music was greeted as an artistic breakthrough.

Chapter Fourteen

The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window

As if in recognition of her new-found fame, Hansberry and Nemiroff left Greenwich Village in 1962 and moved to a country estate in Croton-on-Hudson. Hansberry, because of her marriage to Nemiroff, had become a living embodiment of the Black-Jewish alliance. She had also become increasingly involved with SNCC, which began to attract significant amounts of Jewish money because "a small coterie of radical northern Jews. . . were attracted by SNCC's militancy and by its willingness to take help from sources viewed with suspicion by more moderate civil rights groups."[1] Because of her Jewish husband and her new-found fame as a playwright and politically engaged intellectual, Hansberry was poised to become a spokesman for the Black-Jewish Alliance at the moment of its greatest success; at precisely this point, however, the theoretical issues which would eventually lead to its demise began to emerge.

In February 1963, Norman Podhoretz published "My Negro Problem, and Ours" in *Commentary*, the official organ of the American Jewish Committee, disputing the official view of the nonviolent Negro based on his own experience with Negro gangs in New York. Podhoretz, like Irving Louis Horowitz, who had grown up in Harlem under similar circumstances, grew up in a world where Negro violence was a daily fact of life. Hansberry, whom Friedman describes as "one of the most convinced exponents of Negro-Jewish unity,"[2] was blindsided by the Jewish attack and could only retort lamely that Podhoretz had "to hold his nose"[3] in dealing with Negroes because of some personal aversion. Podhoretz's piece prompted Harold Cruse to write "My Jewish Problem and Theirs," in which "Cruse described his mistreatment by Jewish teachers as he grew up in Harlem and the subordination later of black intellectuals to Jewish control."[4]

But Norman Podhoretz wasn't the only Jew who was calling the terms of the Black-Jewish alliance into question. Hansberry had had a similar run in with Norman Mailer, whose essay "The White Negro" had effectively defined the Negro as a Jewish fantasy of liberation from sexual morals. Hansberry suddenly found herself caught in the middle. She believed in sexual liberation

because she was a revolutionary, but she didn't like the way that Jews like Norman Mailer defined the Negro as a paradigm of sexual liberation. Setting a precedent which she would follow in her second play, Hansberry saw Mailer as "symbolic of all who fashion their particular fantasies and "Take the 'A' Train" to Harlem to find them . . . and go back downtown and write essays not on the prostitutes they met, but on—'Harlem,'"[5] but she did not bring up the Jewish issue. Instead she faulted a phantom group known as "The New Paternalists." Even though she mentioned that "the most lowly of the barflies in Harlem" would start talking about the Jews the moment a writer like Sejmour Krim or Norman Mailer "left the room," she ended her essay on a consciously irenic note urging Mailer "not to write of the greatness of our peoples—yours or mine—in the past tense," because better days for the Black-Jewish alliance were just around the corner.[6] In a move that must have set Harold Cruse's teeth on edge, Hansberry ended her essay with a quote in Yiddish, "Vail kumen et noch undzer oysgebenkte sho," which Hansberry rendered in English as "Because the hour we have hungered for is near" after lifting it from "Song of the Warsaw Ghetto" by Hersch Glick.[7]

Hansberry was learning the hard way that if she aspired to be an official spokesman for the Negroes she was going to have to do it on Jewish terms. It was a lesson that James Baldwin had already learned. James Baldwin was

> another black writer whose talent was first recognized and nurtured by Jewish editors of small but influential magazines: Elliot Cohen and Robert Warshaw at *Commentary,* Saul Levitas at the *New Leader*, and Philip Rahv at the *Partisan Review.* In 1946 Levitas gave Baldwin his first book review assignment, an act the grateful author never forgot; indeed, in 1961 he told his biographer that these editors had helped save his life.[8]

Baldwin repaid the favor to the Jews who launched his literary career by misconstruing the conflict in Harlem as Black vs. White. "The Negro facing a Jew," Baldwin wrote in *Commentary* in 1948, 13 years after the Harlem riots had caused a mass exodus of Jewish merchants, "hates at bottom, not his Jewishness but the color of his skin. It is not the Jewish tradition by which he has been betrayed but by the tradition of his native land. But just as society must have a scapegoat, so hatred must have a symbol. Georgia has the Negro and Harlem has the Jew."[9] Baldwin, who apparently never had his Christmas bulbs tested in the Horowitz hardware store in Harlem, claimed that "The Negro identifies himself almost wholly with the Jew. The image of the suffering Christ and the suffering Jew are wedded with the image of the suffering slave."[10]

Cruse claimed that Baldwin was being disingenuous when he referred to the conflict in Harlem as Black v. White. Even when he admits that the Jews in Harlem are guilty of exploiting the blacks there economically, Baldwin attempts to exonerate the Jews by claiming that they are only operating "in

accordance with the American business tradition."[11] Baldwin's essay on Harlem in *Commentary* forces Cruse to conclude that he wants "to avoid dealing with the facts of Harlem as they exist." This means "bending over backward to avoid criticism of Jews while pretending to be angry with whites," as well as overlooking the fact that "American Jews . . . are very much in control of their situation and have their enemies well 'cased' from all directions."[12]

In concluding that the battle in America is ethnic not racial, Cruse has discovered the triple melting pot, which claims that there never has been nor never will be one homogeneous mass of Americans. The same theory states that, after three generations, religion replaces country of origin as the source of ethnicity in America. By claiming that the Negro was a separate ethnic group, and by denying (or ignoring) the role which religion plays in defining ethnicity in America, Cruse effectively cut Negroes off from their most important allies in America's *Kulturkampf*, namely, their co-religionists, and it is precisely this issue which Hansberry explored in her second and final play, *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window.*

After public brawls with Jews like Norman Mailer and Norman Podhoretz, when a younger generation of Jews was spreading revolution in Mississippi during the Freedom Summer of 1964, Lorraine Hansberry decided it was her turn to speak out on the Black-Jewish alliance. Her vehicle was the play *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window,* which opened on Broadway in the fall of 1964. As an omen that this exploration of the Black-Jewish Alliance was not going to go well, Hansberry and Nemiroff divorced in 1964. Cruse claimed that Hansberry was "making. . . noisy, but superficial integrationist propaganda"13 when she wrote *Raisin.* His criticism of *Brustein* is even more biting. Harold Cruse claimed that Hansberry had in effect become a Jew when she married Nemiroff:

> Witness the jesting "ethnic" idea behind the bit of dialogue in *Brustein's Window* to the effect that Brustein was an "assimilationist Jew." But this line has serious "folksy" intent as far as the playwright's ethnic sentiments went. Lorraine Hansberry had not simply married a man who "just happened to be of Jewish antecedents" as the liberal-humanist-moralists would have it: she had "assimilated" into white Jewish cultural life.[14]

If so, Hansberry was not a happy Jew. Lorraines's sister Mamie tried to minimize the Jewish/Black antagonism that comes out in the play by claiming that Nemiroff's family, "in their ethnic way, was very similar to our family."[15] Ossie Davis tried to pour oil on the troubled waters of the Black-Jewish Alliance after *Brustein* riled them up by claiming that "all subcultures share the common bond of being outsiders."[16] Cruse's analysis of the play is better than the generally clueless interpretation of *Brustein* as reflecting "harmony and acceptance between blacks and whites, Jews and Christians, and people of varied backgrounds" that has succeeded it, but even a cursory reading of

Brustein indicates that the situation, as the divorce indicates, isn't as simple as he portrays it either.

Fourteen years after arriving there, Hansberry had discovered that she didn't like Bohemia or its American incarnation, Greenwich Village, which she describes as "the preferred habitat of many who fancy revolt or at least detachment from the social order that surrounds us."[17] Sidney Brustein, the main character in the play, is an unhappy Jew, and he is unhappy because he has turned his back on the only identity a Jew has, namely, being a revolutionary. Brustein longs to "smite evil" with "the sword of the Maccabees," but instead he says L'chaim and "takes a pill" for the pain in his "oozing intestine."[18]

The oozing intestine image is especially interesting as Hansberry, not Nemiroff, was dying of duodenal cancer when the play was being written, in rehearsal, and being performed on stage. By conflating her own very real cancer with Brustein's fictional "oozing intestine," Hansberry identifies herself as having internalized the Jewish revolutionary spirit, but not leaving it at that, hints symbolically that it is precisely the internalization of the principles of Jewish revolution that ends up killing her.

Hansberry claims to be grateful for what she has learned from the Jews. Speaking through the persona of Iris she tells Sidney, "I have learned a lot after five years of life with you, Sidney. When I met you I thought Kant was a stilted way of saying cannot; I thought Puccini was a kind of spaghetti. . . .Thanks to you, I now know something that I wouldn't have learned if it hadn't been for you."[19]

In spite of her gratitude, Iris, speaking for Hansberry, feels that she has lost more than she has gained. The Jews have exacted a price for their participation in the Black-Jewish Alliance that was far higher than the one which Harold Cruse complained about. The price the Negro has to pay for marriage (both literal and figurative) with the Jews is loss of faith in God and moral corruption. At the end of her life, clutching her "oozing intestine" Hansberry suddenly realizes that the price she paid was too high but is unclear what to do about that.

Hansberry could invoke the name of John Brown, but her diary entries toward the end of her life indicate that she was an ambivalent revolutionary at best. "Do I remain a revolutionary?" Hansberry wrote in her journal seven months before her death. "Intellectually—without a doubt. But am I prepared to give my body to the struggle or even my comforts? This is what I puzzle about."[20] One month later she seemed determined to resolve the issue by throwing herself "back into the movement," but no sooner are the words out of her mouth (or pen) and the native hue of resolution is once again sicklier o'er with the pale cast of thought and

> that very impulse is immediately flushed with a thousand vacillations and forbidding images. . . . Comfort has come to be its own corruption.

> . . . Comfort. Apparently I have sold my soul for it. I think when I get my health back I shall go into the South to find out what kind of revolutionary I am. . . .[21]

Rather than allowing her to find out what kind of revolutionary she was, *Brustein* allowed her to find out what kind of revolutionary she was not. As W. A. Domingo pointed out 40 years earlier, any Negro who aspired to be a revolutionary had to sit at the feet of Russian Jews. But Hansberry soon discovered that the revolutionary spirit was spiritually destructive, to Jews and Negroes both. In becoming a Jewish revolutionary, Hansberry alienated herself from her own people, who were for the most part devout Christians. As when Ottilie Assing introduced Frederick Douglass to the writings of Feuerbach and the Communists collaborated with Haywood Patterson in the writing of *Scottsboro Boy*, the Jews in Hansberry's day were still busy trying to turn Negroes into atheists to complete their revolutionary education.

The conflict had already appeared in *Raisin,* which was written four years after Hansberry married Nemiroff. When Mama says, "God willing," Beneatha launches into an atheist tirade:

> "God hasn't got a thing to do with it. . . . God is just one idea I don't accept . . . I get tired of Him getting credit for all the things the human race achieves through its own stubborn effort. There simply is no God—there is only man and it is he who makes miracles."[22]

At this point, Mama slaps Beneatha violently in the face and instructs her, "Now you say after me, in my mother's house there is still God." The stage directions for *Raisin* indicate that Beneatha has been "defeated," when she repeats, "In my mother's house there is still God." In *Brustein*, Hansberry indicates that the Negro revolutionary has been defeated for the exact opposite reason. Iris and Mavis have been defeated by revolutionary Jews like Brustein, who "have all so busily got rid of God for us."[23]

Hansberry would later tell Mike Wallace "Beneatha is me, eight years ago," because, as her biographer puts it:

> At twenty, Beneatha is very much the new woman: she is planning to become a doctor, she will delay marriage until she completes her training, she doubts God, and various institutions and she toys with diverse forms of self-expression—playing the guitar, acting and horseback riding.[24]

But by now it should be obvious that every character was Hansberry, especially by the time she got around to writing *Brustein*. So perhaps Hansberry is also Ruth, who "considers having an abortion in order to prevent adding another financial burden to the family." The issue is formulated in a way that bespeaks rationalization, for no one in the Hansberry family was ever in financial straits, dire or otherwise. And yet, in spite of all of the talk about race, *Raisin* revolves around abortion. Mama has her plant, which is associated with life; it

is she who is determined that Ruth not have an abortion; it is she who decides that a move is necessary, no matter what the cost, because, as she puts it, "We was going backwards 'stead of forwards—talking 'bout killing babies and wishing each other was dead. . . When it gets like that in life—you got to do something bigger . . ."[25]

The conflict of ideas in *Raisin* is between Lena and Beneatha, not between Lena and Ruth. Lena believes in God and is against abortion, reflecting the Christian roots of America's blacks; Hansberry once described herself as not being "hostile" to religion "unless it happened to be Catholic,"[26] but Beneatha is hostile to religion. Beneatha is an atheist who believes in free love and as a result would be more likely than Ruth to get pregnant and feel that abortion was a way out of that dilemma. So the question is whether Ruth is standing in for Beneatha, who is standing in for Hansberry, who wants to talk about the sexual issues troubling her conscience in disguised form. We know from her biographer that Hansberry made a conscious decision not to have children. "Lorraine's decision not to have children," she writes, "evolved from her nurturance of her art. . . .Lorraine the artist triumphed over Lorraine the Mother."[27] Again the very formulation of the issue smacks of rationalization.

In trying to explain her atheism, Hansberry tells one interviewer, "We only revert back to mystical ideas—which includes most contemporary orthodox religious views, in my opinion—because we simply are confronted with some things we don't understand yet."[28] When the interviewer counters by saying that Mama "gets so much sustenance from this. . . kind of faith," Hansberry goes on the defensive, claiming that she doesn't "attack people who are religious at all, as you can tell from the play." Man, however, no longer needs religious crutches because now "Man exalts himself by his achievements. . . and this power to rationalize—or excuse me—his power to reason!"[29]

At this point, either Hansberry or her interlocutor burst out laughing after Hansberry committed what the folks in Greenwich Village in the 1950s referred to as a "Freudian slip." Then as if to cover over what this gaffe revealed about her state of mind, Hansberry added after the laughter died down, "Well, now, of course, his rationalization has its benefits too. I don't know if he could get along without either."[30]

We'll never know whether Hansberry got pregnant as a result of the affairs she fantasized at the University of Wisconsin or whether the trip to Mexico was to procure an abortion, or whether an abortion had anything to do with the cancer that eventually killed her. An "oozing intestine" was a common complication arising from abortions, which were illegal at the time. Sometimes it led to death by septicemia within days of the abortion, sometimes the damage was repaired in time. Whatever the case, the link between a possible abortion and cancer is no more far-fetched than Mamie Hansberry's post mortem, which claims that "The black experience creates a lot of stress, and. . .a form of cancer can evolve from the emotional stress of racism."[31]

All of that gets covered over by the announcement that Hansberry was a lesbian. The New York critics attacked Hansberry for *Brustein's* homophobia after Hansberry had Alton say, "After a while, hanging out with queers gets on my nerves." Hansberry, according to her biographer, wrote anonymous letters to various gay and lesbian publications, but the main evidence comes from Nemiroff, who claims that Hansberry's homosexuality "was not a peripheral or casual part of her life but contributed significantly on many levels to the sensitivity and complexity of her view of human beings in the world."[32]

A husband attesting to his late wife's lesbianism has an odd sort of ring to it. But when it comes to the posthumous Lorraine Hansberry we are dealing almost exclusively with the mind of Robert Nemiroff. This meant, of course, that whatever misgivings she had about the influence of Jewish revolutionaries on her life got expunged from the public record after she died, which is when Nemiroff took over her literary estate.

When *Brustein* opened at the Longacre Theater on October 15, 1964, the play was met with mixed reviews, which meant financial problems. By November the play was already in financial trouble. To counter the possibility that the play might fold, a number of writers, artists, actors and actresses took out an ad in the *New York Times* telling New Yorkers that "Miss Hansberry's new play is a work of distinction. . . . We the undersigned. . . urge you to see it now."[33] Many of those who signed the ad were Jewish; many were black; one, Sammy Davis, Jr. was Jewish and black. In November 1964, comedian Mel Brooks and his wife, actress Anne Bancroft, opened their home for a midnight strategy meeting to keep *Brustein* alive.

Although prominent Jews like Mel Brooks tried to save the play, most Jews did not like it. *The New York Times* did not like sitting through two hours of listening to, as Hansberry put it "the tortures of the engagé," her way of describing "the generation which grew up in the swirl and dash of the Sartre-Camus despair of the postwar years" as they "crossed each other leaping in and out of the Communist party."[34] Norman Nadel claimed that "this play sinks under its own sordid substance."[35] The worst news of all, however, was that "Hadassah hasn't bought a single theater party."[36] Hadassah stayed away in droves, because it did not like what Hansberry had to say about Jews. Efforts to keep the play on life support failed, and *Brustein* died on the same day that Lorraine Hansberry did, January 12, 1965.

Robert Nemiroff, her ex-husband, chose as the epigraph for her black marble tombstone *Brustein*'s hosanna to the Jewish revolutionary spirit: "I care. I care about it all. It takes too much energy not to care . . . The why of why we are here is an intrigue for adolescents; the how is what must command the living. Which is why I have lately become an insurgent again."[37]

When Nemiroff took over the promotion of her writing, all the ambivalence toward Jewish revolutionaries disappeared. In a letter to Lisbeth Vuorijaervi, a Swedish scholar, Robert Nemiroff wrote that "Jews have played an

extraordinary role, out of all proportion to their numbers. . . in all democratic, liberal and radical, humanizing and liberating movements" and that "other oppressed peoples—especially in the Hitler years and their aftermath—have recognized this tacitly and often explicitly, and have tended to look to Jews for greater understanding. As allies or potential allies or, at least, as the least hostile ethnic group in the society at large."[38] This may or may not be true. The question, however, is, if Hansberry felt this way, why did she write *Brustein? Young, Gifted and Black*, Nemiroff's redaction of her writings, won a Golden Globe award in 1973.

Unlike *Young, Gifted and Black*, which was the Jewish reading of Hansberry, *Brustein* was a prophetic play because it foreshadowed the collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance. Friedman sees the first signs of the collapse at the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City, which was soon followed by a riot in Harlem, which was followed by riots in the ghettoes of cities across the country. As in Harlem, so also in Philadelphia, which had its own riot, blacks targeted small shop-keepers, almost all of whom were Jews. Friedman, who was head of the Philadelphia branch of the AJC, claims that 22 Jewish merchants were killed and 27 were shot or beaten in Philadelphia from 1968 to 1972. From 1964 until 1968 there were 329 riots in 257 cities across the country, and in just about every instance it was blacks attacking Jews and accusing them of price and rent gouging.[39] The riots and the black attack on Jewish merchants prompted many Jews to pull out of the civil rights movement. When Israel went to war in 1967, many Jews pulled out for good and devoted their energies and their money to supporting Israel.

Malcolm X was murdered on February 21, 1965, but by the time he died there were many who were willing to take up the tattered banner of black nationalism and return to a more virulent version of the vision which everyone had pronounced dead when the NAACP silenced Marcus Garvey. Harold Cruse, however, not Lorraine Hansberry, wrote the definitive book on the Black-Jewish Alliance, so definitive that it caused the collapse of the alliance. When *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* arrived in bookstores in 1967, "the civil rights movement was quagmired in a crisis of purpose from which it would never emerge."[40] Of course, one reason it never emerged from its crisis lies in how well Cruse documented Jewish involvement in Negro affairs. Cheryl Greenberg argues that Cruse's claim that Jews "deliberately manipulated the movement for their own ends" is "not simple anti-Semitism" because "a look at the historical record suggests that Jews did have a great deal of self-interest in promoting a civil rights movement based on integration, and they did indeed turn away from the movement in the 1960s as their self-interest increasingly conflicted with it."[41] Greenberg concludes by saying that "The 'golden age of a black-Jewish alliance' never existed."[42] Rather than try to refute what Cruse said, the Jews just lost interest in the plight of black folk.

When Israel warred with Egypt in the same year, that loss of interest became permanent.

When Lorraine Hansberry died in January 1965, her family received a letter of condolence from Martin Luther King which praised "Her creative ability and her profound grasp of the deep social issues confronting the world today" and claimed that it would "remain an inspiration to generations yet unborn."[43] Martin Luther King had just rented an apartment in Chicago's black belt and was planning an assault on what he saw as segregation in housing in that city. A great mystery of the civil rights movement was why Martin Luther King got involved in the housing situation in Chicago, a decision that would bring about the biggest debacle of his career. His letter gives some indication that *A Raisin in the Sun* was on his mind when he made the decision.

After months of preliminary work, Martin Luther King arrived in Chicago to kick off his housing drive in June 1966. As one of his first acts, King, drawing on the symbolism of his namesake, attempt to nail the housing equivalent of 95 theses to the door of Chicago's city hall, but had to settle for taping his theses after he discovered that the door was made of steel.

Chicago had been a racial battlefield since the Chicago Housing Authority, the Quakers, B'nai B'rith/ADL and Louis Wirth redoubled their efforts to complete the social engineering of Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods that had begun during World War II. Beginning in 1946 at Airport Park and spreading across the South Side, racial war raged throughout the 1950s and 60s. The local politicians reached a *modus vivendi* in 1954 when the mayor fired the head of the Chicago Housing Authority, but the issue was not local. The federal government was promoting racial migration and the ethnic cleansing of Catholic neighborhoods in the major cities of the North and East. The Catholic Church, which had a huge financial stake in the outcome of this battle, was divided on the issue, with rank and file Catholics throwing rocks through the windows of newly arrived Negroes while the hierarchy and much of the clergy welcomed the civil rights movement with open arms.

In 1963 Chicago's branch of the Catholic Interracial Council organized a centennial celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation which featured speeches by Martin Luther King and Chicago's ordinary, Albert Cardinal Meyer, who told the assembly, "Our whole future as a nation and as a religious people may be determined by what we do about the race problem in the next few years."[44]

Meyer's successor, John Cardinal Cody, continued this rhetorical and symbolic support for civil rights, and many priests, nuns and lay people played an active role in the growing civil rights movement. Cody met privately with King on February 2, 1966 and gave his tacit support to King's housing campaign. When King held his mass rally at Soldier Field that summer, tacit support became open support when Auxiliary Bishop Aloysius Wycislo, representing the Archdiocese of Chicago, read a statement from Cody

affirming that "your struggle and sufferings will be mine until the last vestige of discrimination and injustice is blotted out here in Chicago and throughout America."[45] Since Chicago had acquired a reputation as "a Catholic town,"[46] King's success there seemed assured.

But things started to go wrong from the beginning, and they never ended up going right. When King stepped out of his car to lead a march through "segregated" Marquette Park, he was greeted by a hail of rocks and bottles, one of which hit him on the head and made him stagger to his knees. The Lithuanians who would later set fire to the marchers' cars and chase Jesse Jackson down 63rd St. were outraged that people from another part of the country would come into their neighborhood and tell them to sell their homes. That wasn't precisely King's message, but no one, not even the *Chicago Tribune*, knew exactly what King's message was. According to an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, the message of the "paid professional agitators" who made up the march was "give up your homes and get out so that we can take over."[47]

King was befuddled, as Mayor Daley indicated, because he didn't understand Chicago. One of King's lieutenants only strengthened this suspicion when she said, in effect, Chicago was different than what they had expected. "Down South," the SCLC's Dorothy Tillman opined, "you were black or white. You wasn't Irish or Polish or all of this."[48]

Mayor Daley was quick to capitalize on SCLC ignorance of Chicago. When King announced that he intended to end slums in Chicago, Daley announced that Chicago already had a slum clearance program staffed by people who knew more about the city than he did. "What the hell is [King] doing here anyway?" Daley's staff wanted to know. "Does he think we don't care about slums? Why Chicago, instead of Atlanta or Harlem? King has no knowledge of Chicago."[49] When King announced that the SCLC planned to march in Gage Park, Daley countered by saying that King was "very sincere" but lacked "all the facts on the local situation" because "after all, he is a resident of another city."[50] When Daley suggested in April 1966 that King go home to Georgia, seven Negro committeemen seconded his suggestion.

King's Jewish backers had a sense of foreboding about Chicago. Both Bayard Rustin and Stanley Levison "sensed disaster."[51] Friedman claims that "Levison sought to restrain his friend but failed to do so."[52] The main problem was King's unfamiliarity with the situation in Chicago. King's knowledge of the housing situation in Chicago was based largely on *A Raisin in the Sun*. When King vowed that "he would lead a rent strike unless the city's landlords improved their properties immediately"[53] he failed to understand that many of the landlords were black, and that Hansberry Enterprises was one of the biggest slum landlords in Chicago. King was caught up in a world he did not understand, and his ill-fated Chicago campaign soon turned into the disaster that Levison and Rustin feared it would become.

Friedman claims that Levison was "the voice of moderation in King's circle," claiming that Levison had told King, "You don't call for insurrection in a place where you're outnumbered, outgunned,"[54] but it was equally obvious that Levison wanted King to succeed for ethnocentric reasons. King "was the last major black leader to promote the legitimacy of Zionism within the black community."[55] If King were to be discredited in Chicago, his defeat would open the door for King's black nationalist competitors, who were no friends of Zionism. Like Marcus Garvey before them, and like Malcolm X and Harold Cruse, the black power advocates of the mid-'60s realized that integrationism and black nationalism were incompatible. They also realized that Zionism and Black Zionism were incompatible according to the terms of the Black-Jewish Alliance. After his failure in Chicago, King's assassination was anticlimactic. The "beloved community" that King and others in the Black-Jewish Alliance had tried to create during the '50s and early '60s had died two years before he did.

Chapter Fifteen

The Third Session of the Council

The third session of the Second Vatican Council began in fall 1964. On November 19, the Council passed a document on the Jews so heavily influenced by Jewish lobbying that many thought it repudiated traditional Catholic teaching. The Jews rejoiced, but their rejoicing was short-lived. Paul VI refused to promulgate the schema. The approval of a flawed document by many bishops awoke conservatives to the dangers of Jewish lobbying. As a result, the conservatives launched their own campaign. The salient issue concerned the Council Fathers' misunderstanding of who they were dealing with. Were the Jews "the people of the Old Testament" or the source of Hollywood star cults, pansexualism and Freudian psychoanalysis, and as a result a danger to Catholic morals? According to Poncins, "The majority of the Council Fathers" were "under a serious misapprehension as to what constitutes the very essence of Judaism" because they "only applied themselves to the humanitarian aspect of the problem, skillfully submitted by the spokesmen of World Jewry and by a Press largely favorable to Jewish interests."[1]

Once the November 1964 document was withdrawn from consideration, Pope Paul VI returned it to the "conciliar commission in charge of the preparation of the schema," where it was "profoundly reshaped" once again.[2] According to Poncins, "The new text submitted for the approval of the council was distinctly less favorable to Jewish demands and more acceptable to conservative consciences; however, it still contained a few ambiguities which could be interpreted as promising a prudent revision but a revision, nevertheless, of the traditional Catholic attitude toward Judaism, which has remained unaltered for 15 centuries."[3] Poncins claimed "the conservative majority had been taken entirely by surprise"[4] by the November 1964 document. If so, they were regaining their composure now that they "had time to take stock of the situation."[5] With a better understanding of "the extreme gravity of this vote" the conservatives were able to "energetically combat. . . the Jewish-Catholic coalition, which was able to dispose of a press almost entirely at its service."[6] Led by Msgr. de Proenca Sigaud, archbishop of Diamantina,

Brazil, Msgr. Lefebvre, Superior General of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and Mgr. Carli, Bishop of Segni, Italy, the conservatives began to influence the mind of the council Fathers. In February 1965, Bishop Carli wrote an article for his diocesan newspaper claiming that the Jews of Christ's time and their descendants down to the present were responsible for Christ's death.

The most devastating blow came on Passion Sunday, 1965, when the pope preached a homily that held the Jews responsible for the crucifixion. "It is an extremely solemn and sad page which recalls for us the meeting between Jesus and the Jewish people," the pope said. "This people was predestined to receive the Messiah and had long been waiting for him for thousands of years and was completely absorbed in this hope and certitude, but at the very moment that is to say, when Christ came and spoke and showed himself, not only did they not recognize him, but fought him, slandered him, abused him and finally put him to death."[7]

The Jews were dumbfounded, then furious. The Chief Rabbi of Rome, Elio Toaff, and Dr. Sergio Piperno, President of the Union of Italian Jewish communities, immediately sent a telegram to the Vatican, published in *Il Messagero de Roma*:

> Italian Jews express their sorrowful amazement at charge Hebrew people in death of Jesus contained in Sovereign Pontiff's homily, delivered shortly before Easter Roman parish Our Lady of Guadeloupe and reported official Vatican press, thus renewing deicide accusation, secular source tragic injustices towards Jews, to which solemn affirmations Vatican Council seemed to terminate for ever.[8]

The Jewish schema was causing unprecedented division at the Council. The more the Church dealt with the Jewish issue, the more contentious it became. The Jews accused the pope of reneging on their agreement with Cardinal Bea. Conservatives accused Bea of "simony,"[9] trafficking in sacred things. Bea was accused "of having accepted Jewish capital for the functions of his secretariat for unity."[10] Bea was "accused of having imprudently promised, *per contra*, a declaration which would, as far as it concerns the Church, be the epilogue to the Nuremberg trial: that she should demand pardon from the Jews for all the persecutions which Christian doctrine has caused them throughout the centuries (deicide Jews, the people accursed by God, etc.)."[11]

The conservatives were "ready to take the necessary steps to save the church from such an ignominy" by "appeal[ing] to the Council Fathers who have not yielded to Jewish pressure, or who have not sold themselves in simony to Jewish gold . . . to repeal the perfidious declaration."[12] Paul VI was faced with the unenviable prospect of fighting both the Jews and their conservative opponents. To rescue the schema, he now had to rescue Cardinal Bea from "the grave insinuations"[13] raised against him, largely, one suspects, because of the machinations of Father Martin.

In April 1965, a *New York Times* report claimed the Jewish schema was in trouble. Robert C. Doty cited "an authorized leak from the Vatican."[14] By now this had become a code word for Malachi Martin. Nine months later, Martin was identified in *Look* as the "double agent" responsible for "Similar stories in the *Times* [that] foretold Council failings before they happened."[15] *Look* identified the priest under another pseudonym, "Timothy Fitzharris O'Boyle, S.J.,"[16] an Irish Jesuit, who wrote books under the name Michael Serafian, articles in "The American Jewish Committee's intellectual monthly, *Commentary*,"[17] under the name F. E. Cartus, and confidential memos leaking inside information to the press under the name Pushkin. Pushkin was the "inside tipster"[18] for *Time* and the *New York Times*, as well as the author of much of Kaiser's book on Vatican II.

Martin, in other words, was Pushkin, who was "Michael Serafian in book length, F.E. Cartus for the magazines, and a translator in the Secretariat for Christian Unity, while maintaining a warm friendship with the AJC. At the time, Pushkin-Serafian-Cartus was living in the Biblical Institute, where he had been known well since his ordination in 1954."[19] Martin was a ladies' man "known to be working on a book at a young married couple's flat," a living arrangement that "finished . . . half of the friendship."[20] Joseph Roddy pinpointed his identification of Martin as a "double agent," by telling his readers whom Martin worked for. In his job at Bea's Secretariat, Martin was "valuable to the AJC and is still thought of by many around Rome as a kind of genuine savior in the diaspora. Without him, the Jewish declaration might well have gone under early."[21]

So Martin was considered "a genuine savior" among New York Jews. He was quoted in the *Times*, discrediting Bishop Segni as an anti-Semite and also the pope, who had said Jews were responsible for the death of Christ because he "was speaking to ordinary and simple faithful people—not before a learned body."[22] Reading Martin's self-serving anonymous account of the council's proceedings in the *Times*, Morris Abram of the AJC professed to be reassured. If so, he was deceived too. The Jewish schema was, indeed, in trouble. Martin had cried "Wolf" so many times that no one recognized the truth of what he was now saying.

FIDDLER ON THE ROOF 1964

Germany and America became more Jewish after the world wars because they became more modern. Modernity, as Yuri Slezkine argued, was Jewish. Modernity was "about . . . dismantling social estates for the benefit of individuals, nuclear families and book-reading tribes (nations). Modernization, in other words, is about everyone becoming Jewish."[23] Friedman says much the same thing. The Jews transformed American society after World War II, remaking it in their image. The older generation of Protestant novelists

and poets, many of whom—e.g., T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound—had serious reservations about modernity even though their writing was "modern" in form, were replaced by almost exclusively Jewish writers. Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot, who came to prominence in the '20s, were replaced in the '50s by Saul Bellow, Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein, Philip Roth, J.D. Salinger, Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Herman Wouk, Bernard Malamud, and Allen Ginsberg. Leslie Fiedler called it "the great takeover by Jewish American writers."[24] Friedman says the Jews not only wrote books, they also

> taught Americans how to dance (Arthur Murray) how to behave (Dear Abby and Ann Landers) how to dress (Ralph Lauren), what to read (Irving Howe, Alfred Kazin and Lionel Trilling) and what to sing (Irving Berlin, Barry Manilow, Barbara Streisand).[25]

Lionel Trilling embodied the ambivalence of American Jews toward American culture. Trilling, through *The Liberal Imagination*, created Liberalism as a way of being Jewish in America. Trilling began his literary career writing for the *Menorah Journal* in the '20s. Once his career took off, Trilling distanced himself from his "provincial and parochial"[26] Jewish roots. Cynthia Ozick recalled being made to feel shame for noting in one of Trilling's classes at Columbia that Marx, Freud, and Einstein were significantly Jewish in their thought. According to Norman Podhoretz, also Trilling's student at Columbia, Trilling was unable to defend the traditional culture "because on some level he himself secretly resented or despised it, or at least he resented and despised that muted form of it that he himself embodied in his own writing and persona."[27]

Hollywood was a Jewish creation. There were always Jewish actors, like John Garfield, né Garfinkel, but they invariably changed their names. Beginning in the '60s, stars like Barbra Streisand portrayed overtly Jewish characters like Fanny Brice. On the eve of breaking the Hollywood Production Code, Hollywood introduced the showpiece of Jewish triumphalism, *Fiddler on the Roof*. Tevye the Milkman of the Sholem Aleichem tales, was proudly Jewish but also open-minded and American, except on the issue of intermarriage: "Tevye stood for tradition, of course, but he also understood the value of progress, freedom of choice, individual rights, and the nuclear family."[28] Tevye brought about a curious change in American culture and Jewish identity. As Jews became more overtly Jewish, Judaism became more American, and America became more Jewish. *Fiddler on the Roof* gave a lot of attention to pogroms but made no mention that they were connected with the assassination of two Czars and the rise of the revolutionary Jew in Russia. There is no mention of Jews like Sverdlov murdering the Czar and his family in the aftermath of the revolution that never got mentioned either, because by then Tevye was living on the lower East Side of New York.

During the 1950s, Jews taught Americans to become "specialists in alienation."[29] In promoting alienation, Jews projected their image onto American culture and weakened the mores of the Christian majority. It was only years after their works had become American icons, that Arthur Miller and Joseph Heller admitted that Willy Loman and Yossarian were essentially Jewish characters. Jews had a difficult time dealing with American culture. They began by subverting it and then began to transform it in their image and finally imposed their own draconian speech codes on it in the age of political correctness. In each instance the relationship was instrumental and manipulative.

During the '50s, New York intellectuals imposed their image of themselves—the lonely, alienated outsider—onto the culture. The Jews imposed their image on American culture not by making Americans Jewish by religion, but Jewish by way of alienation. The new Jewish elite was "judaizing"[30] America by turning it into a nation of alienated strangers. They imposed "their own condition—their loss of religious faith and a sense of estrangement—upon the society."[31]

If the modern age was Jewish, then it was only logical that Jews should become the experts on how to live in that age successfully. "Jews acquired a mystique after World War II" because

> their experience of dislocation and persecution seemed to confer upon them a special sagacity about the human condition. An older myth of Jewish "genius" gave way to the new concept of the Jew as the prototypical "marginal man" who achieved insight into the social order from standing outside it.[32]

Like the European Jew before him, the modern American was "someone who had to live in two worlds at the same time."[33] As a result of dislocations due to two wars, Americans were "cosmopolitans and strangers"[34] in their own country. Before long, many would feel it was not their country.

Freudianism became a "salvation religion,"[35] with a priesthood and sacred texts, shortly after Protestantism handed the policing of Jewish Hollywood to the Catholics in the 1930s. Ministers became therapists, and therapists became ministers, and America became what Philip Reiff called the therapeutic state. "Freudianism, which was predominantly Jewish, proclaimed the beleaguered loneliness of the newly 'emancipated' to be a universal human condition."[36]

Psychology also became a locus of the struggle between Catholics and Jews over who would control American culture, because it

> provided a perfect focal point for a culture clash between Jews and Catholics as they moved from the periphery toward the center of a society traditionally dominated by Protestants. For many Jews, psychology and Freud represented a path toward a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan

> America; for many Catholics, Freud signified a heretical departure from fundamental religious values.[17]

The rise of psychology as a substitute for religion was linked to the de-ethnicization at the heart of the psychological warfare campaign. In ethnic America, religion "dictated what people knew about human nature."[18] "Christian followed Christian and Jew followed Jew."[19] Once psychology replaced religion, ethnic compartmentalization was no longer valid, and the Jew, who was a "genius," became the guide to how everyone should live in the "modern" world.

The redefinition of psychology was a revolution in the truest sense of the word. What was up went down, and what was down went up. Before that revolution, reason sat on instinct like a rider on a horse. After reading in the *After School Library*: "It is the untrained horse that balks or that shies; but the thoroughbred horse stands still the moment his master speaks, and he turns to the right or left at the lightest touch of the bridle," the student of pre-Jewish American psychology was admonished, "Keep your hand firmly upon the helm of thought."[40] Jewish psychologists tended to see passages like this as Christian, even though they derived from Greek sources, such as Plato and Euripedes' *Hippolytus*. Jewish psychology was either covertly, as with Freud, or overtly, as with Wilhelm Reich, instinctual. As a result, the definition of mental illness changed from passion out of control to passion repressed. This unleashing of sexual passion from the bonds of reason corresponded with Jewish involvement in pornography and the constant chafing at prohibitions against nudity in Hollywood films. The Jewish takeover of psychology put instinct in the saddle, where it was used as cultural control, as explicated by Reich in *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*.

Under Jewish influence, American psychology became Talmudic as well. University of Wisconsin psychologist Joseph Jastrow, whose father "was a distinguished rabbi and scholar whose lexicon of the Talmud, completed in 1903, remains a standard tool for English speaking students" saw psychology as the modern equivalent to the rabbinic *responsa*, in which the rabbi answered questions "about the many rituals and actions governing the daily life of Jews."[41] Modern psychology would become Talmudic in other senses too. It was seen as a weapon against Christian culture. Willi Muensterberg, an early Jewish psychologist in America, found his psyche expressed this impulse in a dream in which "a young Jew rises to an awesome height in society"[42] and then "crushes buildings" including "a church steeple—the symbol of Christian dominance above which no synagogue roof was allowed to rise."[43]

Jastrow's attitude toward the overwhelmingly Christian student body he taught at the University of Wisconsin was similarly aggressive. Jastrow

> targeted Christianity . . . as the prime example of the forcible imposition of thought on a community of people. In his course at Wisconsin on the

> "Psychology of Belief" and in his popular writings, he spoke of the "sad page of history" that records the Church's techniques of censorship and suppression of thought. He also used the biblical and rabbinic phraseology of "the remnant" of Israel when he referred to the dissident few who fight in all times and places for freedom of thought: "There will always be a saving remnant," he wrote, "who are willing to give up dogma."[44]

If Freudianism was Jewish, behaviorism was the refuge of divinity students who abandoned religion. The third way of Erich Fromm, Carl Rogers, and Abraham Maslow was less aggressively atheistic but still retained Jewish animosity toward the unthinking *goyim*, who needed to be liberated from repression. In *The Art of Loving*, Erich Fromm "married Maimonides to Freud in order to criticize the infantile conception of God to which, in his view, most people adhered."[45] Fromm

> wanted to reconnect secular Jewish idealists with the "revolutionary" principles of their ancestors. He believed that 'the universalism and humanism of the prophets blossomed in the figures of thousands of Jewish philosophers, socialists and internationalists, many of whom had no personal connection with Judaism.[46]

Abraham Maslow debated changing his name to something less identifiably Jewish, but decided not to because "Jewishness encouraged intellectual independence and even rebelliousness."[47] Like Carl Rogers, Maslow, whom I discuss in more detail in volume three, took Kurt Lewin's research into group dynamics and turned it into a weapon against unsuspecting *goyim*. In April 1962, Maslow lectured to nuns at Sacred Heart, a Catholic women's college in Massachusetts. Maslow noted in his diary that the talk had been very "successful,"[48] which he found troubling. "They shouldn't applaud me," he wrote, "they should attack. If they were fully aware of what I was doing, they would [attack]."[49]

Once the theories of Jewish psychologists like Freud, Reich, and Maslow gained respectability in academe, they were advanced by a horde of female Jewish advice columnists, who popularized and spread the tenets of Jewish psychology in the mass media, contributing to the decline in sexual morals and the rise of feminism. Joyce Brothers rose to fame in the '50s after winning The $64,000 Question as an expert on boxing. Brothers introduced "millions of homemakers to the new feminism of the 1960s"[50] by popularizing the ideas of Betty Friedan (née Goldstein), a Communist who transmuted class warfare into gender warfare in *The Feminine Mystique*. Heinze claims Brothers' *In Defense of Selfishness* was "a homemaker's version of Adam Smith's philosophy of economics,"[51] but it derived more directly from the Objectivism of another Jewish guide to modern life, Ayn Rand (née Alissa Rosenbaum), a Russian Jew who created another largely Jewish sect known as Objectivism in the '50s through best-selling novels like *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*.

Brothers' advice was invariably Talmudic. She favored "contracts between spouses" and "psychological techniques of manipulation" to teach women *How to Get Whatever You Want out Of Life* (the title of her 1978 book). Brothers turned to Judaism for solace after her husband's death, but that did not prevent her from appearing in a comedy skit on a TV show during the traditional Jewish mourning period. Brothers, in fact, agreed to appear on Pat Sajak's TV show the day after her husband's funeral.

Joyce Brothers was the first of a long line of female Jewish advisors who told Americans how to negotiate the shoals of an increasingly Jewish and Talmudic culture. By the 1970s, "If a woman were going to end up as a psychological adviser to Americans, the odds were very good that she would be Jewish."[53] The Jewish twins from St. Paul, Minnesota, Esther Pauline Lederer and Pauline Esther Phillips, became advice columnists Ann Landers and Abigail Van Buren. They invariably advised "seek counseling" whenever a troubled reader brought up a problem involving sexual morality. They and Joyce Brothers contributed to the decline in American morals by psychologizing behavior that had previously been considered under the purview of faith and morals. America's largely Jewish advice columnists had become experts in persuading *goyische* America to ignore what their consciences and their ministers were telling them and to engage in Talmudic rationalization, abetted by the psychologists, instead.

When advice and attitude formation shifted to AM talk radio, Jews moved there too. The most famous radio advice show host was Dr. Laura Schlessinger. Unlike Joyce Brothers and Ann Landers, Dr. Laura was an anomaly in the American Culture Wars of the late 20th century. Dr. Laura identified herself as an Orthodox Jew, but she invariably ended up taking Catholic positions on controversial issues like abortion and homosexuality. The split mirrored her family heritage. Born in Brooklyn to a Jewish father, her mother was Catholic. As a result, her positions frequently offended the Jews whose views she claimed to promote. According to Heinze, Schlessinger's

> sense of "mission" and accusatory style were not characteristic of Modern Orthodox Jews, with whom she identified until her sudden break with Judaism in August 2003. She spoke of homosexuality, in particular, with a strident tone that most modern Orthodox rabbis would have found objectionable. Her pronouncements against abortion also obscured the complexity of traditional Jewish thought. . . . Because she tied her views so closely to Judaism, Schlessinger became an anomalous figure: the only Orthodox Jew ever to gain such an immense audience, yet one whose success in the "shock jock" style of 1990s radio distanced her from rabbinic standards of propriety.[54]

NEWPORT FOLK FESTIVAL 1965

The best proof of Plato's statement "No change can be made in styles of music without affecting the most important conventions of society" (*Republic*, 242c), was the 1965 Newport Folk Festival, the locus of the artistic "breakthrough" that ushered in the cultural revolution of the '60s. In typically subversive fashion, Dylan had named his album of revolutionary music (as opposed to the albums of revolutionary lyrics set to traditional folk music) "Bringing it All Back Home." It was supposed to be a return to his roots, and in a sense it was—not to his roots in Hibbing but rather his psychic roots as the quintessential revolutionary Jew, only at home in some form of subversion.

If the audience in 1965 was expecting a replay of the 1963 "We Shall Overcome" sing along, there were signs early on that they were going to be disappointed. Instead of Fannie Lou Hamer, fresh from a voter registration drive in Mississippi, the crowd was treated to a white guy by the name of Paul Butterfield, playing the blues of the post-War black migration to Chicago, which is to say, with loud amplified instruments.

Bob Dylan exploited the behind the scenes chaos to set up his own band on stage. By now he was a man who needed no introduction at Newport. As Peter Yarrow, the MC, scurried from the mike after performing that act of supererogation, Dylan unleashed a wave of sonic assault on the audience. Technically the song was known as "Maggie's Farm," but since Dylan had instructed his road manager to crank up the amps, no one could hear anything but wave upon wave of electronic distortion over a pounding Dionysian beat. Scandalized by what he heard, Pete Seeger rushed backstage and demanded that the power to their amplifiers be cut. When no one complied, Pete grabbed a fire ax from off the wall and threatened to cut the cable himself. What ensued was the classic revolutionary moment in which the subverters were subverted by their own revolutionary ideology. The confrontation boiled down to a dispute between the old guard and the new, in this instance, a dispute between the WASP Pete Seeger—the Old Left Commie with Puritan American roots, the man who turned folk music into a lifestyle that circumvented American materialism—and Albert Grossman, the "Jewish Businessman," who felt that Messianic politics and making money were two sides of the same coin. Alan Lomax, also backstage, sided with Seeger ideologically, but he also wanted him to put down the fireaxe, even if, some people feel, it was so that he could chop the cable himself. When George Wein, another festival director, suggested that they turn the power off and have a discussion, Grossman threatened in typical fashion, "You do that, and I'll sue you."[35] Finally, Theodore Bikel got Seeger to put down the ax, and he did it by appealing to the "tradition"[36] of revolution. "This band these rebels" he stammered, "they are us. They are what we were twenty years ago. Remember?"[37] Peter Yarrow threatened to have Seeger arrested for assault, but in the end the musical din prevailed.

The musical modes had changed, and, as Plato predicted, political revolution followed. At the post-festival party in 1965, rather than the traditional hootenanny, festival attendees experienced the Negro Dionysian music of The Chambers Brothers. Dionysos is the god of music, intoxication, and sexual excess, and by the early hours of the next day, he was in charge. The revelers were drunk or stoned, sweatily pounding out Dionysian rhythms not on guitars, which seemed suddenly inappropriate, but on chairs, trash cans, and whatever else was available, and those rhythms, new to the folk music crowd, "had a wild effect on the group's already steamy passions."[58] The party, Spitz says, was "unusually loose and informal . . . as if someone had given them a tremendous shove, turned their heads in another direction. A new world awaited them. As such, *the party was marked by the kind of wanton promiscuity that one experiences after a revolution*, a sense of 'anything goes.' . . . There were no rules anymore. . . . The whole place was drunk on cheap booze and excitement."[59]

The 1965 Newport Folk Festival was a metaphor for what happened to the country over the next ten years. As in the Dionysian festivals described by Euripedes, after passions got out of control, Agave would dismember her child; and, as Plato indicated, the ruling class imposed subtle but inhumanly draconian political control on the revolutionary nation blinded by its passions. Maria Muldaur, Spitz says, "remembers dancing like it was the first time she'd been set free."[60] But being set free also meant destroying the community that had nurtured her, the folk music network, especially Greenwich Village, which had been "a wonderful place to come of age in . . . full of music and foolishness and camaraderie."[61] That ended in the waning hours of the 1965 Festival. Everyone was now looking for a recording contract. Everyone was in it for himself. "Even the music had changed."[62] Once the music changed, morals followed, and once morals were subverted, the state was ripe for revolution, and once the revolution succeeded, tyranny would follow. "That night everything seemed up for grabs," Muldaur said later. "Life as we had known it was out of control."[63]

Folk music was replaced by Rock 'n Roll, now fitted with revolutionary political lyrics as opposed to Negro complaints about V-8 Fords and untrustworthy women. Rock 'n Roll itself was Negro slang for sexual intercourse. "Rock 'n roll," according to Spitz, "was meant to shake foundations; it was musical terrorism, a *revolutionary*, attention-grabbing sound."[64] Everybody was determined to imitate Bob Dylan's political amalgamation of revolutionary lyrics and Dionysian Negro music. Known as "folk rock," one of its first hits was the Byrds' cover of Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man," a song, appropriately enough, about intoxication. Dave Van Ronk called it "the hippie nightmare."[65] To show he was amenable to the corrupting influences of Albert Grossman, in 1965 Dave Van Ronk formed the Hudson Dusters, a band which went nowhere. The advent of folk rock meant the folk revival was

officially over, so, as Van Ronk put it, "business got very bad."[66] In the early 1970s, "the rooms were closing down, record labels weren't signing acoustic acts any more."[67]

The demise of folk music also meant the final demise of the Old Left. Woody Guthrie died in October 1967 at 55. Pete Seeger outlived him by decades, but he became increasingly irrelevant. "Everywhere he looked," Seeger's biographer says,

> a new culture spread among young people, one he barely understood. Why should anyone want to take LSD? Why had Abbie Hoffman left civil rights for Revolution for the Hell of It? When people handed him flowers and beads at concerts, Pete didn't know what to say. Pete kept his distance from marijuana, long hair, and free sex. In the middle of one concert, the audience filed out one by one to smoke grass on a darkened balcony. Pete didn't even realize they had gone.[68]

Soon Seeger's politics became as irrelevant as his music. Seeger promoted peace by inviting Jews and Palestinians to a hootenanny at the Tel Aviv Hilton. He dedicated a verse of "Guantanamera" "to exiles of two thousand years and exiles of nineteen years,"[69] a gesture that went over like a lead balloon. Seeger, Dunaway says, "was out of his depth;" he broke off in the middle of the song "close to tears."[70] Three days later the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War began. The Six-Day War signaled the moment the Jews pulled out of the Left and devoted themselves to Zionist causes. It also marked the moment the Left began attacking Zionism as racism. It also signaled the demise of the Jewish folksinger. Ethnicity began to reassert itself in politics and music, but the revolution was still in progress.

PONCINS SHOWS UP AT THE COUNCIL FALL 1965

In October 1965, Poncins showed up at the Council with thousands of copies of his pamphlet *Le Problème Juif face au Concile*, which "contained a brief history of the role of Jules Isaac in the preparation of the conciliar schema on the Jewish question and a summary of the theses."[71] In an article in *Le Figaro* in October 1965, Rene Laurentin, later the foremost promoter of the phony Medjugorje apparitions, cited Poncins' tract as a "vigorously anti-Semitic document" which "had been liberally distributed to the [Council] Fathers."[72] The message of Laurentin's attack was obvious: as Poncins put it, "these 'anti-Semites,' who use a formidable weapon, the texts of Jewish authors themselves, must at all costs be silenced."[73] Poncins was indignant. Isaac could call the Evangelists liars, but "because I simply quote Jules Isaac, Joshua Jehouda and others, I am described as a despicable anti-Semite."[74]

Convinced the Council Fathers who passed the schema had not read their writings, Poncins had the novel idea of reprinting what Jews like Isaac,

Jehouda, and Memmi wrote about the Catholic Faith. Poncins was equally certain

> when Jules Isaac and his associates went to Rome, they were careful not to mention these passages in their books; they spoke of Christian charity, of ecumenical unity, of common biblical filiations, of Judeo-Christian friendship, of the struggle against racism, of the martyrdom of the Jewish people, and their efforts met with success since 1651 bishops, cardinals, archbishops and Council Fathers voted to reform Catholic teaching according to the desires of Jules Isaac, the B'nai B'rith, and the World Jewish Congress.[75]

Missing from the discussion were passages like Memmi's diatribe against Catholicism: "Your religion is a blasphemy and a subversion in the eyes of the Jews. Your God is to us the Devil, that is to say, the symbol and essence of all evil on earth."[76]

Jules Isaac is only slightly less intemperate. After making unsupported claims—"No, Pilate did not wash his hands according to the Jewish custom. . . . No, Pilate did not protest his innocence. . . . No, the Jewish crowd did not cry out: 'His blood be upon us and upon our children.'"—Isaac has the temerity to call the Gospel of St. Matthew "obviously tendentious."[77] After claims based on nothing more than his *ipse dixit*, Isaac appends a "therefore" to his non-conclusion:

> Therefore the total responsibility of the Jewish people, of the Jewish nation and of Israel for condemning Jesus to death is a matter of legendary belief and not based on solid historical foundation. . . . To maintain the opposite viewpoint, one would have to be intractably and fanatically prejudiced, or have a blind belief in a tradition which, as we know, is not 'normal' and thus ought not to be laid down as a rule of thought for even the most docile sons of the Church—a tradition which, moreover, is infinitely noxious and murderous, and which, as I have said and shall repeat, leads to Auschwitz—Auschwitz and other places. Some six million Jews were liquidated solely because they were Jews and thus brought shame not only upon the German people but upon the whole of Christianity, because without centuries of Christian teaching, preaching and vituperation, Hitler's teaching, propaganda and vituperation would have been impossible."[78]

Forty years later, rabbis were repeating Isaac's charge almost verbatim at *Nostra Aetate* celebrations. In fall 2005, Israel's Chief Rabbi Yona Metzger wrote in *America*

> Not only ignorant peasants or monks but also eminent theologians and spiritual teachers had attacked the Jews as the "killers of Christ," as a people now abandoned by God, a race deserving not its envied wealth but revenge for plots and acts against innocent Christians. . . . Not only

> had the Jews of Rome been forced to live in a ghetto until the pope no longer governed that city . . . but almost everywhere in Europe, Jews had been made to seem strange, sinister and repulsive. A long road of disgraceful preaching was one of the paths across the centuries which led to the Nazis' death camps and in the end, not Judaism but Christianity was discredited.[79]

Isaac dealt with the Church Fathers *in simili modo.* They were "all persecutors filled with anti-Jewish hatred, the inevitable forerunners of Streicher and others, morally responsible for Auschwitz and 'six million innocent Jewish victims.'"[80]

Poncins maintained in his tract that the Schema of November 1964 passed because the bishops were ignorant of Isaac's true feelings toward Christianity, but, more broadly, they were ignorant of the difference between the Torah and the Talmud. The former is the Word of God; the latter is its antithesis. The Talmud, Poncins pointed out, was a post-Christian confection designed to keep Jews from converting to Christianity. After the destruction of the Temple, "The Talmud . . . replaced the Torah as the foundation of all wisdom and the guide in every detail of daily life."[81] The point of the Talmud was "to consummate the definite break from triumphant Christianity."[82] So "The imposition of the ideals of the Talmud on the new branch of Judaism has been the calamity of the Jewish people even to this day."[83]

The Council Fathers did not understand the Jews had a fundamentally different understanding of what was going on at the Council than they did. What the bishops saw as a gesture of reconciliation, the Jews saw as "a weapon designed to overthrow traditional Catholicism, which they consider the chief enemy."[84]

The schema was dangerous because "it put the Church in the position of the accused, guilty of the permanent, unjustifiable and unatonable crime of anti-Semitism for two thousand years."[85] Beyond that, it questioned "the good faith and truthfulness of the Evangelists, of St. John and St. Matthew in particular; it discredited the teaching of the Fathers of the Church and of the great doctrinarians of the papacy by depicting them in distasteful colors; in short, it threatened to demolish the very bastions of Catholic doctrine."[86]

Given the gravity of the charges Poncins laid at the feet of the Jews, it was not surprising that the pope withdrew the 1964 text. The 1964 text was Jewish, not Catholic. Poncins cites Malachi Martin's hapless Jesuit confidante, Gus Weigel, as claiming "the declaration condemning anti-Semitism which was accepted by Cardinal Bea in 1964, was suggested by Zachariah Schuster, President of the American Jewish Committee."[87]

Poncins demolished the idea the Jews are "the people of the Old Testament" by showing they want, not a messiah, but "a terrestrial reign in which they will control the social, economic and political life of the nations. . . . Judaism

seeks to impose itself as the sole standard and to reduce the world to Jewish values."[88] According to George Batault, the Jews

> are instinctively sympathetic to everything which tends to disintegrate and dissolve traditional societies, nations and countries. . . .The Jews have a feeling and love for Humanity, taken as an aggregate of individuals as abstract and similar to each other as possible, released from "the routine" of tradition and liberated from the "chains" of the past, to be handed over, naked and uprooted, as human material for the undertakings of the great architect of the Future, who will at last construct on principles of Reason and Justice the messianic City over which Israel will reign.[89]

The Council Fathers forgot the role of the Jews in the revolutionary upheavals after World War I—until Poncins jogged their memory by resurrecting the French literature on that topic. During the 1920s Jews and Catholics knew Bolshevism was a Jewish phenomenon. The Catholics deplored that fact; the Jews applauded it; but no one disputed it. Poncins brought this to the attention of the Council Fathers to contextualize their thinking.

Poncins cited the Jewish writer Bernard Lazare, who praised Karl Marx's "clear Talmudic mind which does not falter at the petty difficulties of fact."[90] Ignoring what Marx said about Jews in his tract on the Jewish Question, Lazare claimed Marx "inspired by that ancient Hebraic materialism which, rejecting as too distant and doubtful the hope of an Eden after death, never ceased to dream of Paradise realized on earth. . . . With Marx, socialism became a secular version of Jewish messianism. The idea was born in Palestine and has now taken root in Moscow and Peking."[91]

Poncins also cited Charles Sarolea, who claimed:

> That the Jews have played a leading part in the Bolshevist upheaval and are still playing a leading part in the Bolshevist Government is a proposition which no one will deny who has taken the trouble to study Russian affairs. . . . Their dictatorship fell not only upon Russia but upon every country in Central Europe when Bolshevism attempted to implant itself by a bloody reign of terror; under Bela Kuhn and Szamuelly at Budapest, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg at Berlin, and Kurt Eisner and Max Lieven at Munich. . . . Unfortunately, not only have men belonging to the Jewish race played a very large part both in the beginning and in the development of the Bolshevist Revolution, but they have also been the chief participators in some of the worst crimes of that Revolution.[92]

Having established the connection between Jews and revolution, Poncins asserted that ecumenism was the latest battlefront in the war against the Church. He cited passages from the writings of Joshua Jehouda, who along with Jules Isaac, B'nai B'rith, and the World Jewish Congress, has "been carrying out a carefully prepared and concerted campaign which resulted in the recent vote at the Council . . . under the guise of ecumenical unity, religious

reconciliation and other plausible pretexts."[93] In spite of public statements of Jewish lobbyists, the object of the Jewish schema was "the demolition of the bastion of traditional Catholicism, which is described by Joshua Jehouda as 'the decrepit fortress of Christian obscurantism.'"[94]

From the Jewish perspective, the Vatican Council was simply one more revolutionary opportunity to "rectify Christianity,"[95] which included, according to Jehouda, "The Renaissance, the Reformation, [and] the Revolution of 1789."[96] Like Rabbi Louis Israel Newman, Jehouda supported all of history's revolutionary movements from the Reformation onward. The upheaval began with Reuchlin, who "shook the Christian conscience by suggesting as early as 1494, that there was nothing higher than Hebraic wisdom."[97] In promoting the Cabala, "Reuchlin advocated returning to Jewish sources," which unleashed "the new spirit which was to revolutionize the whole of Europe" and to find expression in the revolutions of France and Russia.[98] The French Revolution, according to Jehouda, "continues, through the influence of Russian communism, to make a powerful contribution to the de-Christianisation of the Christian world."[99] For Jews like Jehouda, history is synonymous with revolution: "the profound meaning of history, which remains unaltered in every epoch, is that of a veiled or open struggle between the forces working for the advancement of humanity [i.e., the Jews] and those that cling to coagulated interests, obstinately determined to keep them in existence to the detriment of what is to come [i.e., the Catholic Church]."[100]

Poncins concluded the Jewish schema was a covert attack on the Church "under the banner of ecumenism."[101] By allowing Jews unprecedented access in the formulation of the schema, the Church had allowed them to carry their revolutionary "war . . . into the very interior of the Church itself."[102]

In their attack, the Jewish lobbyists used the carrot and the stick. To induce concessions, they promised financial support. In *Le Monde* in November 1963, Label Katz, President of the International Council of the B'nai B'rith, was quoted as saying "if this declaration is accepted by the Council, Jewish communities will explore ways and means of cooperating with the authorities of the (Catholic) Church to ensure the realization of its purpose and projects."[103] But the Jews also slipped into martial imagery. One Jewish writer referred to Jules Isaac's *Jesus et Israel* as "the most specific weapon of war against a particularly harmful Christian doctrine."[104]

Eventually the Council Fathers got the message, and Poncins' pamphlet turned the tide against the November 1964 schema. "There is no doubt," Poncins wrote later, "that the disclosure of these deadly texts was exceedingly embarrassing to the success of the Jewish progressive maneuver, and if they could have been published earlier they would have been even more effective."[106]

FINAL VOTE ON THE JEWISH SCHEMA OCTOBER 1965

A flurry of lobbying preceded the final vote on the Jewish schema. According to the post-mortem published in *Look* in January 1966, Malachi Martin had always been "around Rome when the declaration needed help."[106] But "at Vatican II's fourth and last session there was no help in sight."[107] Everywhere there were speeches on the rise and fall of the Jewish declaration, many preparing for a final letdown. Lichten's executive vice-president, Rabbi Jay Kaufman, told of his puzzlement "as the fate of the section on Jews. . . shuttled between momentary declaration and certain confutation, like a sparrow caught in a clerical badminton game."[108] The Jewish hard-liners wanted total victory or no declaration, but Msgr. George Higgins persuaded them half a loaf was better than none. Lichten and Schuster, who had access to the modifications the bishops proposed, knew the tide had turned against them. So did Msgr. Higgins. Lichten contemplated sending telegrams to 25 sympathetic, mostly American, bishops, but Higgins advised against it.

"Look, Joe," Higgins said to Lichten, "I understand your disappointment. I'm disappointed too."[109] When Higgins had Schuster and Lichten together in his room, he expanded on what he had told Lichten alone. "If you two give New York the impression you can get a better text, you are crazy," he said. "It's just insane to think by some pressures here or newspaper articles back in New York, you can work a miracle in the Council. You are not going to work it, and they will think you fell down on the job."[110] Lichten found Higgins persuasive, even though "I had to break my head and heart to think what should be done. I went through a crisis, but I was convinced by Higgins."[111]

Rene Laurentin made a last minute appeal by hinting darkly that the Church would be responsible if another Holocaust were to recur—but to no avail. The schema on the Jews was incorporated into a "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," known as *Nostra Aetate*, promulgated by the Council on October 28, 1965. Pope Paul VI then flew to New York to give his "*jamais plus la guerre*" speech. In the wake of his departure, the Jews tried to put as good a face on the document as possible.

On the whole, the conservatives were jubilant, and the Jews were disappointed, but the results in the actual document were mixed. Jews were disappointed that the charge of deicide was not rebuked. But conservatives were disappointed the text did not implicate all Jews in deicide. In one of the cleverest lines in the document, the Council Fathers wrote, "Even though the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ (cf. John 19:6), neither all Jews indiscriminately at that time, nor Jews today, can be charged with the crimes committed during his passion."[112] According to the principles of logic, that statement could be taken to assert that some Jews were responsible for Christ's death. If we exclude from that group the Blessed Mother, the Beloved Disciple, and all of the other Jews who

accepted Christ as the Messiah, we come up with a statement that is largely faithful to the gospel texts.

Even though the document finally came out in favor of the truth of the gospels, the Church was left divided in its wake. The Jewish schema, according to Bishop Carli of Segni, subjected the Church to "an indignant Press campaign"[113] of unprecedented magnitude. It provoked "political and diplomatic complications and, unfortunately, in the East it has provided an excuse for some to abandon Catholicism in favor of Orthodoxy."[114] More importantly, the Church was now under suspicion. The court of public opinion had decided that there must have been merit to the charges the Jews had leveled. Both Catholic sides in the battle over the Jewish schema ended up losing: "The Fathers who support it are slandered with having sold themselves to international Jewry, whereas those who, for various reasons, consider the declaration inopportune or a least want to see it modified, are labeled anti-Zionists and practically held co-responsible for the Nazi camps."[115]

The document was testimony to the Jewish lobbyists' skill in getting their enemies to quarrel with each other. Jewish groups profited from the division. They also profited by shifting discussion from Jews' participation in revolutionary movements like Bolshevism and Freudianism. While *Nostra Aetate* retained the charge of deicide and specified who was and was not responsible, the acquittal of contemporary Jews created problems by questioning the continuity and identity of the Jewish people. The disjunction between the Jews of Christ's time and the Jews of their own emphasized the double standard the Jews espoused on collective responsibility. Jews could hold the German people accountable for Hitler's crimes, forcing generations of German taxpayers to pay billions in reparation to Jewish organizations and the state of Israel. But Jews vehemently denied collective responsibility for the death of Christ. The Council's schema tried to have it both ways, repudiating the claim the Romans alone were responsible for Christ's death but limiting Jewish guilt to Jewish leaders and their followers. As Poncins points out, in the case of Germany in the 20th century, "The whole people is considered responsible and subsequently punished for faults committed by its leaders, even when [those faults] are unknown to a great part of the people."[116] On the other hand, the Gospel accounts make clear that many Jewish people in Jerusalem were aware of what their leaders were doing and supported them in their efforts.

All of the Jews who had lobbied for their version of the Jewish schema were disappointed by *Nostra Aetate*, but Rabbi Heschel responded most vehemently, calling the failure to condemn the charge of Jewish deicide "an act of paying homage to Satan,"[118] without considering that his intemperate remarks to Paul VI may have contributed to that outcome.

By the end of the council, the feeling of good will toward the Jews that marked Pope John XXIII's meeting with Jules Isaac had evaporated, replaced

by a feeling of resentment. The bishops "felt Jewish pressure in Rome and resented it."[118] It wasn't the first time in history that the Jews had overplayed their hand. In fact, pressing an issue beyond what prudence dictates had come to be known as the Jewish virtue of *chutzpah*. At the council's beginning, anyone who asserted Cardinal Bea "wants to turn the Church over to the Jews"[119] would have been dismissed as a crank. By its end, that charge was taken seriously, even in the philo-Semitic account of the Council which appeared in *Look*. Nahum Goldmann of the WJC had warned Jews early "not to raise the issue with too much intensity."[120] After Jewish lobbying had backfired, Fritz Becker of the WJC met with Cardinal Bea and both of them discussed, with the now useless benefit of hindsight, "the advantages of not talking."[121]

Despite Poncins' generally sanguine interpretation of the final document, it would have deleterious effects. As Father Brian Harrison pointed out, the November 1964 document, flawed as it was, called for the conversion of the Jews: "It is important to recall that the integration of the Jewish people into the Church is part of Christian hope. For, according to the Apostle's teaching (cf. Rom. 11: 25), the Church awaits with unshakable faith and deep longing the entry of this people into the fullness of the People of God, which has been restored by Christ."[122] In this verse, the Holy Spirit, through Saint Paul, speaks of the "blindness" of the unbelieving Jews as temporary, and prophesies in the next verse the salvation of Israel as a nation, after the "fullness of the Gentiles" has come into the Church. The final version omitted that passage because, Bea explained, "Very many Fathers have requested that in talking about this 'hope', since it has to do with a mystery, we should avoid every appearance of proselytism. Others have asked that the same Christian hope, applying to all peoples, should also be expressed somehow. In the present version of this paragraph we have sought to satisfy all these requests."[123] By removing reference to conversion of the Jews (and by referring to conversion pejoratively as "proselytism"), Cardinal Bea

> 'elevate[d]' the future conversion of the Jews to the ethereal status of a "mystery," thereby insinuating that it will somehow 'just happen' spontaneously one day without the necessity of any human missionary activity on the part of Catholics. Bea himself, of course, was at that time the Church's main representative in relations with Judaism. And it seems more than likely, even though he didn't say so on the Council floor, that in proposing this amendment he had "sought to satisfy" his Jewish dialogue-partners as well as those "very many" (but unnamed) Catholic bishops who, he said, had requested the amendment.[124]

After forty years, that omission translated into a repudiation of the Gospel by prelates like Cardinal Keeler and Walter Cardinal Kasper, who told an audience at Boston College not only that Jews do not have to accept Christ to be saved, but that in taking this stance, they are "in line with God's plan."

"This does not mean that Jews in order to be saved have to become Christians," Cardinal Kasper told the Center for Christian Jewish Learning in November 2002, "if they follow their own conscience and believe in God's promises as they understand them in their religious tradition, they are in line with God's plan, which *for us* comes to its historical completion in Jesus Christ."[125]

As anyone who understands Jewish hermeneutics could have predicted, the Torah of *Nostra Aetate* was irrelevant to the Talmudic interpretations which followed its promulgation. Dr. William Wexler of the World Conference of Jewish Organizations, one of the most prescient commentators on the Jewish schema, said, "The true significance of the Ecumenical Council's statement will be determined by the practical effects it has on those to whom it is addressed."[126] In terms of its practical effects, *Nostra Aetate* became a weapon against the Church, something which Poncins had claimed was its purpose from its inception. The Catholic Church lost control of the document because she lost control of its interpretation, which was forged in the media which the Jewish interest groups controlled. But there were passages that aided the hijacking of its meaning. The most glaring was, "the Church. . . deplores all hatreds, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews."[127] Zachariah Schuster deplored use of the word "deplores," thinking it too weak, but from a semantic viewpoint, the significant word was "anti-Semitism." The Church had condemned anti-Semitism without defining what it meant by that term, an omission of truly catastrophic proportions because, as Poncins pointed out at the time,

> In Jewish eyes, every measure of defense and protection against the penetration of Jewish ideas and conceptions, against anti-Christian Jewish heresies, against Jewish control of the national economy, and in general every measure of defense of national Christian traditions is a manifestation of anti-Semitism. Furthermore, many Jews consider that the very fact of the recognition of the existence of a Jewish question constitutes a declaration of anti-Semitism.[128]

Poncins reminded Catholics

> Jules Isaac accuses all the Fathers of the Church of anti-Semitism . . . He accuses them of having unleashed the savagery of the beast and of being the real people responsible for German anti-Semitism and the gas chambers at Auschwitz. He finds them even worse than Hitler and Streicher and others for their system resulted in the Jews being tortured slowly and being left to live and suffer interminably. . . . Does the Church admit Jules Issac's thesis and plead guilty?[129]

The answer came 30 years later when Pope John Paul II issued an apology to the Jews. Benedict XVI later explained the Church was not apologizing for the Holocaust because Nazism was a "neopagan ideology" for which the Church took no responsibility. But, as the behavior of Rabbi Paul Spiegel

at the synagogue in Cologne during Benedict XVI's visit there in August 2005 indicated, Jews weren't listening. If the Catholic Church was unabatedly wicked, then the only reparation would be self-annihilation. Again, Bishop Carli pointed out the logic and the self-contradictions of the Jewish accusation against the Church. If what Isaac said was true, then the Catholic Church must be "the cruelest and vastest association of evil-doers that has ever existed on the face of the earth."[130] Then comes the contradiction bound up with the double standard on collective responsibility: "The Jews today no longer want to be considered responsible for everything which was done to Jesus Christ by their ancestors, to whom even now they grant the benefit of good faith; but they demand that the Catholic Church of today should feel responsible and guilty for every thing which, according to them, the Jews have suffered for the past 2000 years."[131]

Poncins and the conspiracy theorists were proven right when, on January 25, 1966, *Look* magazine published an article explaining "How the Jews changed Catholic Teaching." *Look* not only made use of the Poncins material on Isaac, it substantiated his central claim that Jewish lobbying behind the scenes was distorting Catholic teaching.

For the next 40 years, *Nostra Aetate* was used as "a weapon designed to overthrow traditional Catholicism." Within a year of its passage, *Nostra Aetate* would be used as a weapon against the Oberammergau Passion Play.

AJC THREATENS A BOYCOTT OF THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY 1966

In November 1966, Phil Baum, director of the American Jewish Congress' Commission on International Affairs, demanded the Oberammergau Passion Play purge its script of anti-Semitism or face a boycott. With a supporting cast including Arthur Miller, Lionel Trilling, Stanley Kunitz, Leonard Bernstein, Leslie Fiedler, Theodore Bikel, Irving Howe, Alfred Kazin, and German writers George Steiner, Guenter Grass, Heinrich Boell and Paul Celan, Holocaust industrialist Elie Wiesel called a news conference in New York City to announce the boycott. Wiesel said "the artist cannot be silent when the arts are used to exalt hatred. If the people of Oberammergau feel that they cannot faithfully represent their vision except though an explicitly anti-Semitic text, then others have no choice but to denounce that vision and urge that all who share our view join with us in condemning the performance."[132]

James Shapiro makes clear no group of literary and artistic luminaries would have gotten anywhere if the Catholic Church had not provided an opening in *Nostra Aetate*, not in what it said but in what the philo-Semitic media represented it as saying. The thinly-veiled aggression behind Jewish enthusiasm for conciliar documents is apparent in Shapiro's claim that "it was only after Oberammergau was caught between the anvil of Vatican II and the

hammering criticism of Jewish groups that serious changes were grudgingly made."[133] The Bavarians were being hammered because of *Nostra Aetate*. Without it, they could have deflected the blows. With it, the Jews played the bishop against his flock to eviscerate anything the Jews found repugnant, leading one observer to conclude "*Nostra Aetate* was the cornerstone of the abusive relationship that has hamstrung the Catholics for the last 40 years."[134] The villagers in Oberammergau blamed the Jews for the assault on their passion play. "But the truth" Shapiro says, "is that without a dramatic turn in the teachings of the Catholic Church, Jewish protesters would not have had much success in changing the play, boycotts notwithstanding."[135]

Because of *Nostra Aetate*, the Oberammergau Passion Play was portrayed "as disturbingly out of step with official [Catholic] dogma."[136] The Jews would have gotten nowhere "without the liberalization of official Catholic policy following Vatican II and the intense pressure subsequently brought to bear on this conservative village."[137] The Jews considered *Nostra Aetate* as their most important weapon in their arsenal of cultural warfare. "It was," says Shapiro,

> a rude awakening for Oberammergau. The ensuing boycott of the 1970 production was the first time in this century when there were blocks of empty seats in the Passion playhouse. Until 1970, the Oberammergau play had been given a *missio canonica*, an official Church blessing signaling that Church doctrine was being taught. In that year, the first production following Vatican II and its revolutionary "Declaration of the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," this blessing was withheld. . . [because the play] was now, according to the archbishop of Munich's pronouncement a play that "contained anti-Semitic elements and needed revision." The play hadn't changed, but the Church's message had. [138]

Shapiro is right in saying that the play hadn't changed. He is wrong in saying that the Church's teachings had changed. *Nostra Aetate*, however, did change the tactics Jews used to undermine those teachings. The Jews co-opted Catholic scholars into accepting their interpretation. Shapiro claims the ADL and the AJC "quickly enlisted" Catholic theologians "in their struggle to change the play."[139] The AJC and the ADL, actively involved in interfaith dialogue, stepped up pressure on their Church contacts. "From the perspective of these Jewish organizations," Shapiro says, "Oberammergau was an important test of the commitment of the Church: if it couldn't change what was taking place on stage at Oberammergau, it could at least condemn it."[140] Cardinal Doepfner of Munich quickly asked the mayor of Oberammergau to submit the script for review. The Jews had succeeded, in the initial stage at least, in dividing the shepherd from his flock.

That this was their intention becomes clear when Shapiro discusses the play's use of typology, the fact that events in the Old Testament prefigured

events in the New. All typology, he says, is triumphalist and repugnant to Jews. As a rabbi "who rejected typology categorically" put it, "all configurations in the Hebrew Bible are the mental property of Judaism" and therefore "off limits to Christians."[141] The Jews, according to Shapiro, could exploit "the sensitive issue of collective Jewish guilt . . . in a post-Holocaust world," but "there is little wiggle room when it come to typology, nor can there be, insofar as Christianity is built upon its foundations."[142] "Oberammergau and the Vatican took one and the same position" on typology "leaving Jewish critics with little leverage."[143]

Leverage is precisely what the Jews got with *Nostra Aetate*—not so much because of what the document said but because the Church could never make its interpretation of its own document prevail over the interpretation which the Jews wanted to impose on it. With the help of Catholic scholars they were able to use their interpretation to drive a wedge between the hierarchy and the peasants. One of the scholars most willing to help in this regard was Leonard Swidler of Villanova University. Swidler had a long history of saying whatever the ADL wanted to say whenever it would have been considered impolitic for the ADL to say it themselves. In the early '80s, Swidler wrote that "Jesus was himself not a Christian. He was a Jew."[144] Swidler left the term Jew deliberately ambiguous as a way of undermining the Church's reading of its own historical roots. This meant that the Gospels could no longer be considered historically accurate. They were, instead, part of the "faith facts" school, which means that they "are records of the way specific communities remembered Jesus the risen Christ, rather than careful accountings of historical accuracy."[145] Swidler then collaborated with Gerard Sloyan, another Catholic, in exploiting "the gap" which "existed between the new historical research and the traditional representation of the characters of the Passion story"[146] to subvert the 1984 Oberammergau production. By supporting the "new historical research" of "Catholic scholars"[147] like Swidler and Sloyan, the Jews were forcing the Bavarians into a bind. Since, according to Shapiro, "the villagers had long insisted that what they were staging was historically true,"[148] they could either capitulate to scholars like Swidler and Sloyan and eviscerate the Gospel or they could accept the Gospel in its entirety but admit that it had no historical foundation.

As a result of their inability to see through the Jewish lobby's strategy of cultural warfare, the Bavarians began to give ground and make concessions. "One by one," Shapiro tells us, "the details of their play were shown to be ahistorical."[149] Since the Jews wanted to eviscerate the play as a prelude to eviscerating the gospels, no amount of concessions would satisfy them. "Even as changes were adopted in 1970, 1980, and 1984," Shapiro writes, "more and more changes were suggested."[150] The more the Jews gained concessions, the less interested they were in historical accuracy. During the seemingly never ending negotiations someone suggested, "Some of the Jews ought to wear

prayer shawls and cover their heads with kippot," *"even if Jews in the first-century didn't."* [112] The purpose of the revisions, according to Shapiro, "was not only to make the play less offensive, *but also to change the story line.*"[113] That meant downplaying the "opposition between Jews and Christians" and rewriting it as "an intra-Jewish squabble that turns deadly only when the occupying Roman forces get involved."[113] The Jews promoted this reading because "arguing for Jesus' Jewishness also has the effect of delegitimizing Christianity itself."[114]

SIX-DAY WAR AND OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE 1967

In 1960 Norman Podhoretz became editor of *Commentary*. Podhoretz was the son of a Brooklyn milkman and spoke Yiddish as his first language. In spite of those potential handicaps, he moved through the New York educational system, ending up as a student of Lionel Trilling at Columbia University, which he entered as a precocious 16 year old. As such, Podhoretz came by his liberalism naturally. But it had never been a particularly comfortable fit. Writing for *Commentary* in the '50s, Podhoretz had harsh things to say about the Beatniks and the novels of Jack Kerouac. He also became the Jewish white racist after the publication of his memoirs about getting into fights with black youths in Brooklyn in "My Race Problem—and Ours."

Shortly after assuming the helm of *Commentary*, Podhoretz noticed how prescient he had been about the race problem. The Jewish-Negro collaboration had begun when the Spingarn brothers created the NAACP. That same collaboration, which created the civil rights movement of the '60s, soon ran into inter-ethnic difficulties. Two-thirds of the white Freedom Riders fighting segregation in Mississippi in 1961 were Jews. Up to one-half of the volunteers during the Mississippi summer of 1964 were Jews, as were two of the three men who died there on that summer's voter registration march. Sexual liberation created ethnic tensions, which led to pressures for racial purity in Negro movements, which offended the Jews who had hoped the oppressed Negro would lead the revolution in America. Instead, ethnicity subverted the class conflict, leaving the Jewish supporters of the Negro civil rights movement dumbfounded. Imbued with Freudian and Reichian notions of the Negro as the embodiment of id-like passions that could bring the oppressive racist regime tumbling down, Jewish revolutionaries unleashed passions that soon led to disillusionment and, in the case of Allard Lowenstein, death.

In 1967, to wrest school boards from benighted local control, the Ford Foundation, under the leadership of WASP scion and social engineer McGeorge Bundy, funded the racial takeover of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in metropolitan New York. The newly-empowered Negroes expressed their newly discovered ethnic solidarity by firing 19 tenured teachers, most of whom were Jewish. This enraged Albert Shanker, the Jewish head of

the teachers union, who called a strike, bringing New York's multi-billion dollar budget school system to a grinding halt. When the strike ended, the Jewish liberalism Norman Podhoretz imbibed at the feet of Lionel Trilling was in ruins, and the phoenix of neoconservativism was extending its wings, ready to rise from the ashes.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville debacle "signaled the collapse of the liberal coalition in which [Jews and blacks] had been joined together since the early days of the New Deal."[155] It inaugurated a change in Jewish political alignment as significant as the switch from communism to liberalism in the late '40s. It marked the beginning of neoconservatism, which, according to Friedman, "was a reaction to the liberal meltdown and the loss of confidence of many Americans. A group of primarily liberal Jewish intellectuals now came forward to challenge the despairing spirit of the times, the counterculture, and most especially what they believed to be aggressive Soviet designs in the world."[156]

Neoconservatism also marked a further stage in the Jewish takeover of the American political landscape. Jews had gone from being communists and socialists to liberals, and in doing so had increased their market share and their respectability. With the rise of neoconservatism, Jews could now dominate both ends of the political spectrum in America. "Ironically," writes Friedman, "the neocons share one characteristic of the New Left: Jewish leadership. Leftists Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Sidney Blumenthal stood on one side; Kristol, Podhoretz and Glazer on the other. The leading publications on both sides of the divide were edited by Jews as well: *Commentary* (Norman Podhoretz), *The Public Interest* (Irving Kristol), and the *New York Review of Books* (Robert Silvers, Barbara Epstein, and Jason Epstein). In some respects the coming struggle between liberals and conservatives was a struggle *within the Jewish community.*"[157]

The situation is better interpreted as bespeaking an increasing Jewish dominance in American culture. The liberal/conservative battle between internationalist Protestants from the East Coast and isolationist Protestants from the mid-West in the '30s evolved by the '60s into a struggle between two groups of Jews: the party of peace, corresponding to the party around Rabbi Hillel, and the party of revolution, around Rabbi Shammai. Together the schools of Hillel and Shammai created a dialectic in which assimilation led to revolution and revolution led to assimilation. The neocons were the party of Hillel; the leftists the party of Shammai, a split that went back to the time of Simon bar Kokhba. The conflict between Jerry Rubin and Norman Podhoretz corresponded to the split at the time of the destruction of the Temple between the Jews who wanted revolution and those willing to bake bread on the Sabbath or do anything else the Roman conquerors wanted.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville debacle occurred at the time of the Six-Day War of 1967, "the most important episode in the history of Soviet (and American) Zionism."[158] That war propelled American Jews from

liberalism and toward Zionism just as the Doctor's Plot and the Rosenberg trial had propelled them from communism toward Liberalism. That war reinforced the ethnocentrism of Jewish liberals when their commitment to increasingly surly and ethnocentric Negroes was diminishing. "If one thing ties Neoconservatives, Likudniks, and post-Cold War hawks together," Ian Burman concludes, "it is the conviction that liberalism is strictly for sissies."[159] In 1967 Norman Podhoretz stopped being a liberal sissy.

Once the Jews recognized that the liberal/conservative conflict was an intra-Jewish debate, they stopped being subversives and instead of working to overthrow the old regime of Protestant culture, they began to demand unconditional allegiance to the new American regime, which was now Jewish and cosmopolitan. *Commentary* was one of the first magazines to recognize the *de facto* Jewish takeover of American culture. Under these circumstances, it no longer made sense to be adversarial. The Jews were now the ruling elite. So now patriotism was the appropriate emotion.

By the mid-'70s, the Jews were the new establishment. In 1982, *Forbes* reported 40 percent of the wealthiest 40 people in America were Jews. Jews made up less than 3 percent of the American population, and yet 15 of the 20 most influential intellectuals were Jews. Jews dominated the "media elite" constituting "more than one-third of the most 'influential' critics of film, literature, radio and television" as well as "almost half of the Hollywood producers of prime-time television shows and about two-thirds of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top grossing movies between 1965 and 1982."[160] When *Vanity Fair* did an article on "the new establishment" in October 1994, eleven of the 23 media moguls it profiled were Jews.

Chapter Sixteen

Jews and Abortion

In 1967, Jewish gynecologist Bernard Nathanson was invited to a dinner party at which the ostensible topic was James Joyce. During that dinner party, Nathanson met another revolutionary Jew by the name of Lawrence Lader. Lader had been a protégé and, some hinted, lover of Margaret Sanger, the recently deceased diva of the American eugenics movement. Lader talked about Joyce, but Nathanson was soon fascinated to learn Lader had just written a book on abortion, a topic even more fascinating to Nathanson than novels by Irish apostates.

Nathanson defines Lader politically rather than ethnically. Lader became involved in radical politics in New York when he went to work for Representative Vito Marcantonio, a man who was rumored to have ties with the Communist party, which was largely made up of New York Jews. Lader divorced his wife and became a freelance writer (a vocation financed by the money he inherited from his father) and became an agitator for the sexual politics of Margaret Sanger shortly after his return from World War II. From the moment he met Lader, Nathanson saw him as "brewing up a revolution" and as a result he felt "a growing sense of excitement."[1]

Nathanson felt that he came by his own revolutionary fervor naturally—he hints at some "Mendelian mechanism"[2]—because he was a Jew. Revolution, according to Nathanson, was another word for "*chutzpah*": "I come by my rebelliousness honestly. As a physician, I doubt that this is a quality passed on by any recognized Mendelian mechanism. But my father had it in abundance, except that in his generation and in the community in which he was brought up they called it *chutzpah*."[3]

Because Nathanson feels "any author on abortion must submit to religious dissection,"[4] he tells of his schooling in New York City. He went to a "fine private school with virtually 100 percent Jewish students"[5] and he attended Hebrew School, where he developed an aversion to the Talmud.

Religious instruction in that era meant endless slogging through turgid passages of Hebrew Scripture, mindless memorization of Hebrew prayers for numerous occasions and sanctimonious lectures about the chosenness of the

Jewish race. Preoccupation with Zionism and fundraising left little energy for instruction in Hebrew or any demeaning excursions into the arcane regions of faith.[6]

Nathanson's experience in Hebrew School confirmed him in his aversion to the Talmud as a compendium of meaningless opinions which the rabbis enforced on Jews to maintain their control over them. In this he was not unlike the revolutionary Jews in Russia during its Maskilic period from 1860 to 1880, when the German Enlightenment destroyed the Jews' allegiance to the Talmud and created the vacuum which was filled by Jewish conversion to messianic revolutionary politics.

Once religion had been discredited in Nathanson's eyes, he had no guide in life other than his own passions. While in medical school, Nathanson had an affair, which led to a pregnancy, which he paid to have aborted. The mother of his child informed Nathanson afterward that "she had haggled down his price to $350 before the procedure." She handed him "the remaining $150"[7] and disappeared from his life. The experience of procuring the abortion of his own child coarsened Nathanson, causing him to become cynical about what other people considered sacred—"Marriage seemed ludicrous now,"[8]—propelling him further along the road to revolutionary politics.

Nathanson arrived at the revolution *via* sexuality, but also *via* the gynecological profession, which he felt predestined to adopt because of the influence of his gynecologist father. Gynecology plus revolutionary fervor in New York in the '60s meant abortion. After having murdered his own child, Nathanson was more disposed to act on his own "natural" Jewish inclination to revolution. He was also more likely to act on the promptings of other Jewish revolutionaries. Nathanson became a crusader for abortion at the time Wilhelm Reich's face and ideas made the cover of the *New York Times* magazine. Before long any ob/gyn who refused to admit involvement in abortion was part of a "loathsome little charade."[9] Anger begat a desire to change the laws to conform to his behavior:

> I suppose that in fury at my own impotence to aid my patients and particularly in anger at the egregious inequity in the availability of abortions, the germination of an idea began: the need to change the laws. There seemed no time for the luxury of contemplating the theoretical morality of abortion or the soundness of freedom of choice. Something simply had to be done.[10]

Because Nathanson considered abortion a revolutionary act and because he considered himself a revolutionary because he was Jewish, he became, in his own words, "an enlistee in the Revolution."[11] In this, Nathanson was influenced by the Jew from Hibbing, Minnesota, Bob Dylan, who had procured an abortion a few years earlier. He even uses lyrics from a Bob Dylan song—"the times they were a changin"—in describing 1967 as the revolutionary *annus*

mirabilis in which he joined with Lader to work for the "total abolition of abortion restrictions."[12]

> I was as enthusiastic and as cooperative a confederate as one could wish for in a revolutionary movement as profound as this one. Larry and I and others were to devote hundreds of hours of our free time to the cause in the coming years. I was almost yearning to be radicalized in a cause. This was 1967. The country was being racked by the Vietnam convulsion and challenges to authority seemed the order of the day, particularly in the intellectual breeding-grounds of the Northeast. Though I was forty, I believe that I secretly longed to be a part of the youth movement that was sweeping the country, demanding justice, pledging change, exalting "love." So my indignation, my rebellious nature, and an undeniable urge to "join the kids," combined to move me into the public arena.13

The abortion movement was part of the sexual revolution. The abortion revolution was, nonethless, unique. It coincided with the rise to cultural prominence of American Jewry in the wake of their breaking of the Hollywood production code and the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War, when it became the opinion of the WASP State Department elite that Israel was a strategic asset in America's quest to secure oil in the Mid-East. The abortion movement took on the same configuration as the revolution in Europe when Philip II contested Elizabeth over religious hegemony during the Counter Reformation. Like Elizabeth's campaign to drive the Spaniards from Holland, the campaign to overturn abortion laws in New York State was largely an alliance of Protestants and Jews at war with the Catholics.

The list of groups attending a June 1970 meeting of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (later, the National Abortion Rights Actions League) bears this out. NARAL always worked toward "enlisting the Protestant and Jewish clergy"[14] to provide a moral counterforce to Catholics.[15]

Karl Marx claimed the revolution would be run by the vanguard of the proletariat, which he associated with the Communist party. But former communists like David Horowitz felt Marx's real "vanguard"[16] was the Jews, who had been involved in every revolutionary movement since the fall of the Temple. Although Protestants were involved, Jews were the vanguard in the abortion movement as they were the vanguard of Bolshevism in Russia and of pornography in the United States. The movement to overturn abortion laws in New York was an essentially Jewish movement that saw itself as a revolutionary force against the darkness of Christianity in general and the Catholic Church in particular. The movement was certainly not exclusively Jewish, but it could not have survived or succeeded without Jewish leadership. The abortion rights movement was a quintessentially Jewish revolutionary movement that mobilized the coalition of Jews and judaizing Protestants that America inherited from the English anti-Catholic wars of the 16th century.

The ethnic configuration of the abortion movement wasn't coincidental. The ethnically ambiguous Lader was to Lenin what Nathanson was to Trotsky. Together they carried out a crusade against Catholics. Shortly after meeting Nathanson, Lader explained his strategy of legalizing abortion by attacking Catholics. The pro-abortion forces had to "bring the Catholic hierarchy out where we can fight them. That's the real enemy. The biggest single obstacle to peace and decency throughout all of history."[17] Nathanson, then no friend of the Church, was taken aback by the vehemence and cosmic scope of Lader's attack. Lader

> held forth on that theme through most of the drive home. It was a comprehensive and chilling indictment of the poisonous influence of Catholicism in secular affairs from its inception until the day before yesterday. I was far from an admirer of the church's role in the world chronicle, but his insistent, uncompromising recitation brought to mind the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. It passed through my mind that if one had substituted "Jewish" for "Catholic," it would have been the most vicious anti-Semitic tirade imaginable.[18]

Lader knew "every revolution has to have its villain."[19] Historically, those villains were Catholic, except in Russia, where the Czar was orthodox, the head of an officially Christian country. "It doesn't really matter whether it's a king, a dictator, or a tsar, but it has to be someone, a person, to rebel against. It's easier for the people we want to persuade to perceive it this way."[20] In America, Lader told Nathanson, the villain would not be Catholics, who could be divided along liberal and conservative lines, but the Catholic hierarchy, which was a "small enough group to come down on and anonymous enough so that no names ever have to be mentioned, but everybody will have a fairly good idea whom we are talking about."[21] The strategy shocked Nathanson initially, but it soon made good sense when Nathanson remembered, "That was how Trotsky and his followers habitually referred to the Stalinists."[22] When Lader brought Betty Friedan into NARAL, she brought with her the communist tactics she had learned from her youthful work with the party. Making it seem that women, irrespective of ethnicity, supported abortion was a "brilliant tactic"[23] that corresponded to the "Popular Front" three decades earlier and showed the abortion movement's revolutionary pedigree.

The new popular front included Protestants and Jews, with women as props in televised demonstrations, attacking doctors and hospitals targeted because they were Catholic. One early victim was the Catholic ob/gyn Hugh Barber. Nathanson chose him to target because he "was a practicing Catholic who had stood adamantly against the widening psychiatric indications for action in his department."[24] According to Nathanson, "there has been. . . no social change in American history as sweeping, as potent in American family

life, or as heavily dependent upon an anti-religious bias for its success as the abortion movement."[25]

By the late '70s, when Nathanson wrote *Aborting America*, he was "heartily ashamed of the use of the anti-Catholic ploy."[26] Nathanson implicated the Jews in this "anti-Catholic ploy" by calling it a "*Shandeh fah yidden*" ("scandal for the Jews").[27] As if admitting the ethnic nature of the struggle, Nathanson converted to Catholicism a few years after converting to the prolife position. The use of anti-Catholic bigotry to promote abortion was more than "a reincarnation of McCarthyism at its worst," it was "a keenly focused weapon, full of purpose and design."[28]

Lader divided Catholics into liberal and conservative factions and then used the former to control and discredit the latter. The "'modern' Kennedy Catholics," who "were already using contraception," could be browbeaten into a public "pro-choice" position without much effort.[29] Then "The stage was set. . . for the use of anti-Catholicism as a political instrument and for the manipulation of Catholics themselves by splitting them and setting them against each other."[30] NARAL would supply the press with "fictitious polls and surveys designed to make it appear as if American Catholics were deserting the teachings of the Church and the dictates of their consciences in droves."[31]

The main public relations weapon, however, was "identifying every anti-abortion figure according to his or her religious affiliation (usually Catholic)" while "studiously" refraining from any ethnic or religious identification of those who were pro-abortion.[32] "Lader's own religious beliefs" were "never discussed or mentioned," but he identified Malcolm Wilson, the lieutenant governor of New York State in 1970 as "a Catholic strongly opposed to abortion."[33] "Neither I nor Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal," Nathanson continued, "was ever identified as a Jew, nor was Governor Nelson Rockefeller ever recognized as a Protestant," even though the abortion movement was disproportionately Jewish and "from the very beginning of the abortion revolution the Catholic Church and its spokesmen took a considerable role in the opposition."[34]

Given the media's liberal bias, "it was easy to portray the church as an insensitive, authoritarian war-monger, and association with it or any of its causes as unendurably reactionary, fascistic, and ignorant."[35] Nathanson thinks Catholics should have pointed out the religious bigotry at the heart of this double standard; they also should have explained that the proabortion side was overwhelmingly Jewish, and, therefore, un-American because:

> In the public mind Protestant America is America, and had Protestant opposition been organized and vociferous early on, permissive abortion might have been perceived as somehow anti-American, the spawn of a cadre of wild-eyed Jewish radicals in New York City.[36]

Instead, there was no Catholic response to the "blatantly anti-Catholic campaign."[37] Catholics concentrated on explaining how the fetus was a human being, as if the other side were ignorant of this. "There was no Catholic equivalent of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith or the NAACP."[38] The Catholic Church "confined itself decently (though as it turned out, disastrously) to the issue of abortion."[39] By not identifying their ethnic opponents, Catholics lost the war.

The media had no qualms and were willing to engage in a flagrant violation of the rules identifying crime by race which they had just established. The "mega-press" (Nathanson's term) collaborated because they were controlled by proabortion Jews and Protestants, who encouraged liberal Catholics like the *New York Times*' Anna Quindlen, eager to make it in a competitive profession. "The media," says Nathanson,

> discreetly ignored the carefully crafted bigotry we were peddling. Many media people were young college-educated liberal Catholics, just the kind we had succeeded in splitting off from the faithful flock, and they were not about to disgrace their newly-won spurs as intelligentsia by embarrassing the liberals with anything as crass as an accusation of prejudice. Prejudice was something evil directed at Jews and blacks, not Catholics. But had our fulminations been anti-Semitic or anti-black there would have been the most powerful keening in the media—strong enough to have destroyed NARAL.[40]

The NARAL strategy was based on chutzpah. "For sheer chutzpah it had no modern parallel."[41] Nathanson calls the "Robert Byrn affair" the "most nakedly bigoted, fecklessly anti-Catholic campaign NARAL ever mounted."[42] Byrn, a Fordham University law professor characterized by the *New York Times* as "a forty-year-old Roman Catholic bachelor," went before Justice Lester Holtzman to have himself declared the legal guardian of unborn children threatened with abortion. True to the ethnic double standard, the *New York Times* "did not characterize Justice Holtzman as a married Jew."[43] When Byrn sued for an injunction against abortions in New York's municipal hospitals, Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz vowed to fight Byrn, but nothing was said about Lefkowitz's ethnic/religious status. When Nancy Stearns, a lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights tried to have Byrn put up $40,000 bond for each woman forced to have a child, *New York Times* correspondent Jane Brody, whose ethnic identity remained shrouded in mystery, "failed to describe Stearns as a single Jewess."[44] Because the *Times* is the national paper of record, this double standard got repeated across the country. In Philadelphia, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* repeatedly referred to anti-abortion crusader Martin Mullen as an "arch-conservative"[45] Roman Catholic, but never referred to Governor Milton Shapp, Mullen's opponent in Pennsylvania's abortion wars, as a pro-abortion Jew. Nathanson notes that Canada's Henry Morgenthaler

used his stay in one of Hitler's concentration camps to justify his role as Canada's leading abortion provider. Morgenthaler's clinics violated Canadian law and yet "Morgenthaler . . . is adored by the Canadian mega-press" even though he "is quite as devoted to malignant anti-Catholicism as our American exorcist, Lawrence Lader."[46]

In 1967, around the time that Bernard Nathanson met Lawrence Lader and NARAL was born, abortion became legal in California. Governor Ronald Reagan signed the nation's first abortion bill into law, but the law was written by Anthony Beilenson, the Jewish representative from Beverly Hills. The ethnic dimensions of the abortion battle were, if anything, even more extreme in California than they were in New York. As in New York, the battle over abortion broke down along ethnic lines. As in New York, Jews generally promoted abortion, and Catholics generally opposed it. From the moment that abortion was legalized in 1967, the abortion battle in California was largely a battle between Catholics and Jews, in much the same way that Catholics and Jews had battled each other over obscenity in the California movie industry 30 years earlier.

Chapter Seventeen

The Black Panthers

On October 15, 1966, when Martin Luther King's failure to reform the housing situation in Chicago had become painfully apparent, three Negroes who were on the payroll of an antipoverty program in Oakland, California sat down and created a new revolutionary organization known as the Black Panther Party. As one of their first acts, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two of the three co-founders, persuaded a Japanese American by the name of Richard Aoki to give them his M-1 rifle and his 9-mm pistol, because, they reasoned, real revolutionaries need guns.

Huey Newton was born in Louisiana and named after that state's most famous governor. His parents came to Oakland during the job boom of World War II, when that city was a major entrepot for the Pacific Theater. Newton may have gotten his first guns from a Japanese-American revolutionary, but he got the idea to turn his shakedown operation into a revolutionary organization from the Jews he met at Merritt College.

"Nothing made the idea of revolution more vivid to the white left," as Todd Gitlin put it in his history of the '60s, "than the Black Panther Party."[1] Unlike the Black Nationalists, David Horowitz tells us, "the Panthers quoted Marx and actively sought alliances with the white left."[2] Horowitz doesn't say so explicitly, at this point at least, but the so-called "white left" in the bay area and elsewhere was overwhelmingly Jewish. The saga of the rise and fall of the Black Panthers was the same old Black-Jewish Alliance story in a new more violent, overtly revolutionary key. The Black Panthers were attracted to the Jews for all of the usual reasons. The Jews were experienced revolutionaries who knew how to run organizations and raise money, and in the case of Bert Schneider, the Hollywood producer who bankrolled the Panthers, give it in large quantities as well. The Jews were attracted to the Panthers, although "no one would publicly say so," because of their willingness to use violence to bring about revolution. Horowitz claims that "it was the Panthers' violent image that provided their real attraction to the new Left."[3]

The Panthers had been inspired by Jews in other ways as well. As part of their 10 point program, the Panthers demanded reparations payments for

American blacks because the Jews had been so successful in shaking down money from the Germans after World War II:

> The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50 million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.[4]

In May 1966, Stokely Carmichael became chairman of SNCC. As one of his first acts, he expelled the Jews from the Civil Rights movement. David Horowitz remembers being stunned by the magnitude of the betrayal:

> Jews had funded the movement, devised its legal strategies, and provided support for its efforts in the media and in the universities—and wherever else they had power. More than half the freedom riders who had gone to the southern states were Jews, although Jews constituted only 3 percent of the population. It was an unprecedented show of solidarity from one people to another. Jews had put their resources and lives on the line to support the black struggle for civil rights, and indeed, two of their sons—Schwerner and Goodman—had been murdered for their efforts. But even while these tragic events were still fresh, the black leaders of the movement had unceremoniously expelled the Jews from their ranks.[5]

Horowitz could not understand how blacks could treat Jews like this, especially "since Jews were a near majority of the whites in these organizations, and had played a strategic role in organizing and funding the struggle."[6] The Jews who had spent roughly 60 years trying to turn the Negro masses into the *avant garde* of revolutionary change in America woke up in the mid-'60s to discover that Tom Watson had been right all along; like Frankenstein, they had created a monster that was no longer under their control. Now that the revolution was actually breaking out in black ghettoes across the country, the revolution looked as if it were going to devour its own Jews.

As a result, the Jews who had poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into the civil rights movement tried to use moderates like Martin Luther King to get back at ungrateful *shvartzes* like Stokeley Carmichael. On July 25, 1966, Martin Luther King attacked black power in a paid ad in the *New York Times.* King's statement had been written by Stanley Levison. Friedman is quick to add that "Levison, of course, was only putting into words what King himself felt"[7] without understanding how this admission lent credence to the SNCC's claim that Martin Luther King had become a Jewish puppet.

SNCC, which John Lewis described as "part domestic Peace Corps and part guerilla warfare,"[8] was the cutting edge Negro revolutionary organization at the time, but since the SNCC was not interested in talking to white people anymore, Jewish alumnae of the Freedom Summer in Mississippi like Bay Area lawyer Faye Stender gravitated into the orbit of the Black Panthers.

Faye Stender was one of the many Jewish lawyers involved in "interracial" romances with their black clients. The big impetus for the sexual phase of the Black-Jewish Alliance was the Freedom Summer of 1964 in Mississippi, an experience which some participants say led to 1) feminism among the Jewish women and 2) the expulsion of whites from the movement because black women had become outraged at the seduction of what they considered their men. Asked for his thoughts on the position of women in the movement in 1964, SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael replied, "prone."

Eldridge Cleaver had been released from prison in December 1966 largely because of the efforts of Beverly Axelrod, his mistress cum attorney, and because of the articles he had written in *Ramparts* magazine. After his release from prison, when Cleaver set himself up in a large Victorian house on Pine Street in San Francisco's predominantly black Fillmore district, Axelrod raised the money from various communist organizations to pay Cleaver's bills.

Using Black House as his base of operations, Cleaver planned to launch a new black political movement which would take up the banner that Malcolm X had let drop when he was assassinated. That meant collaborating with Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, who was invited to the Bay Area for a memorial service and negotiations.

When Malcolm X's widow arrived at the *Ramparts* offices for an interview, a confrontation with the police ensued. When the police ordered the Panthers to put away their weapons, Huey Newton leveled his shotgun at the officer in charge, who promptly backed down. Eldridge Cleaver was impressed. "Goddam," Cleaver said of Newton, "that nigger is c-r-a-z-y."[9] Newton's bravado so impressed Cleaver that he dropped the idea of forming his own organization and joined the Black Panthers, which promptly appointed him their "Minister of Information."

Eldridge Cleaver later wrote an article for *Ramparts* called "How I fell in Love with the Black Panther Party," describing the confrontation as the moment of truth that won his allegiance. In an introduction for a planned Newton biography, he characterized Huey as "the baddest motherfucker ever to set foot inside of history." The line, however, was not written by Eldridge, but by a white *Ramparts* editor named Peter Collier.[10]

It was the first of many instances when a white revolutionary would put words in Cleaver's mouth. One of the things Newton and Cleaver had in common was their acquaintance with a revolutionary Jew by the name of Robert Scheer. Huey Newton had already met Scheer at Merritt College. By the time Newton faced down the Oakland Police at *Ramparts'* offices, Scheer had already made contact with Eldridge Cleaver, who was serving time in Soledad Prison, and had published an article by him in *Ramparts* in June 1966.

Robert Scheer was a writer who had a small political following at his disposal as the result of an unsuccessful campaign to unseat congressman Jeffrey Cohelan. Scheer would go on to write a column for the *Los Angeles*

Times and conduct the famous Jimmy Carter interview which appeared in *Playboy* in the late '70s, but he began his journalistic career as editor of *Root and Branch*, the journal that created the New Left at Berkeley. By the second issue of *Root and Branch*, Scheer had defined the style of the New Left. It was going to be a fusion of "Marxist agendas with the anarchic spirit of American mischief."[11] Once they defined the style of both the "counterculture" and "youth rebellion," revolutionary Jews like Scheer and Horowitz could once again assume their positions at the forefront of the movement and become "the self-conscious vanguard of a social revolution."[12]

Ironically, Horowitz submitted a critique of contraception as part of one of his *Root and Branch* articles, but the idea was shot down by Scheer who dismissed any misgivings about contraception as "a point of view so perverse" that "only a reactionary" and "probably only a Catholic" could hold it.[13] In addition to their work at *Root and Branch*, both Horowitz and Scheer wrote seminal books that helped created the New Left of the '60s. Horowitz dedicated his book *Student* to Justice Hugo Black, half of the radical Black/Douglas faction on the Supreme Court that was busy ratifying the New Left's turn from economics and toward sexual issues as the cutting edge of revolution. Scheer's book was on Vietnam. In fact, Scheer joined the staff of *Ramparts* magazine after the publication of *How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam*, a book *The Nation* called the most important analysis of the war up to that time. Once he joined the staff of *Ramparts*, Scheer took the erstwhile Catholic magazine in an increasingly revolutionary direction, largely because he brought a whole cadre of revolutionary Jews on board with him.

In the fall of 1967, David Horowitz joined Scheer on the staff of *Ramparts* to run its book publishing division. Horowitz had been a member of the NAACP at Columbia, where "like other radicals," he "followed the progress of the Montgomery bus boycott and the early sit-ins."[14] Horowitz "was pleased when my mother indicated in a conspiratorial tone that Rosa Parks was 'one of us'"[15] but doesn't explain whether "us" meant being Jewish or being a revolutionary. That's because the two terms were synonymous for Horowitz when he was growing up. Real ethnicity was bad. Revolution was Horowitz's ethnicity:

> It was Cuddihy's thesis that the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Freud were attempts to deconstruct these civil orders and replace them with a universal one in which they would finally be granted the acceptance they craved. Thus Freud claimed to show that bourgeois civility was a mask for sexual repression, while Marx argued that it mystified economic exploitation. Each had a vision of liberation . . . that would provide a universal solvent in which the significance of ethnic identities disappeared.[16]

Horowitz agonized over the issue of Jewish ethnic identity in his later years. After he had become a conservative, Horowitz decided to force the ethnicity issue when he was invited to take part in a symposium organized by those who still held on to the revolutionary faith. "Just out of curiosity," Horowitz asked his former colleagues on the Left, "I'd like to hear how the other Marxists in the room identify themselves ethnically."[17]

Horowitz goes on to add, "I knew, of course, that they were all Jews, and that not one would demean himself to acknowledge that fact."[18] Rather than admit there was, in fact, a connection between being a Jew and being a revolutionary, Horowitz's colleagues dismissed "his interrogations" as an "attempt. . . to obstruct this seminar with questions that didn't interest anyone else."[19]

By the time he arrived at Berkeley, Horowitz, taking his cue from Marx's analysis of Jews as economic exploiters in "On the Jewish Question," had concluded that ethnicity in general and Jewish ethnicity in particular was a problem which only socialism could solve. "Socialism," Horowitz concluded, "would 'solve' the Jewish question by eliminating Judaism, along with all other ethnic and national identities."[20] As a result, Horowitz wrote,

> I did not identify myself as a Jew. I was a revolutionary and an internationalist. To see myself as a Jew, a member of a real community in all its human limits, with all its human faults, to identify with the claims of such a community, would have been a betrayal of the revolutionary Idea.[21]

Even if that were the case, Horowitz was still forced to grapple with the connection between Jews and revolution and the fact that "For nearly two hundred years, Jews have played a disproportionate role as leaders of the modern revolutionary movements in Europe and the West."[22]

In dealing with the Jewish inclination toward revolution, Horowitz is forced to deal with Jewish religion, but revolution becomes the central event around which everything else revolves. The central religious paradigm for "Jews of the radical Left" is exile. As the Jews' exile from the Land of Israel "became more and more permanent," an apocalyptic strain of Jewish messianism developed "which no longer conceives the event as a restoration of the good of a previous time."[23] Instead Jewish messianism presents the longing for return in a metaphysical or theological light, according to which Jews have been sent into exile so that they can redeem the world or bring about "*tikkun olam*."

This strain can be most easily seen in the Lurianic Cabala where it first appeared explicitly in the aftermath of the Jews' expulsion from Spain in 1492. Jewish exile, according to this new view, was neither an unfortunate accident nor a punishment for having rejected the Messiah, but instead "a mark of our destiny to become agents of salvation."[24] As the Cabalist Hayim Vital put

it, the Jews had to "be scattered to the four winds in order to lift everything up."[25] In their attempt to bring about *tikkun olam*, the Jews became "the first revolutionary internationalists."[26]

Socialism and communism accepted these deeply internalized Jewish principles and secularized them to make them more congruent with the intellectual standards of the 19th century, but Messianic politics retained its religious roots nonetheless:

> By carrying the revolution to its conclusion, socialists would usher in a millennium and fulfill the messianic prophecies of the pre-Enlightenment religions that modern ideas had discredited. Through this revolution, the lost unity of mankind would be restored, social harmony would be reestablished, paradise regained. It would be a *tikkun olam*, a repair of the world.[27]

This paradigm, according to Horowitz, "forges the false bonds between Jewish faith and revolutionary fervor."[28]

By the time he wrote those words, Horowitz had concluded that "the Marxist idea, to which I had devoted my entire intellectual life and work, was false."[29] As a result, he concluded, "I am nothing."[30] When Horowitz lost his faith in socialism, that precipitated an identity crisis similar to the one Lorraine Hansberry described in *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window*. If Jews stop being revolutionaries, both Hansberry and Horowitz began to wonder in their separate ways, do they have any identity?

Horowitz grew up in Sunnyside, a section of New York in which being a Jew meant being a revolutionary and vice versa. In Sunnyside, the rules of normal ethnicity prevailed, but they did not apply to Jews in the way they applied to other ethnic groups. The Jews never referred to themselves as Communists. The common euphemism when Horowitz was growing up was progressive, which was a bland political category and not unlike a Jew taking a WASP name. Even if communists didn't believe in ethnicity, before long young Horowitz began to notice, however, that all of the "progressives had names like Abramson, Adler, Heller, and Wolfman"[31] and that they

> were like a tiny scouting party that had infiltrated the camp of an alien tribe, vastly superior in number who were neither intellectuals, nor communists, nor Jews. They were Irish and Italian, their church was a pillar of the anti-Communist cause. Their names were Bradshaw, Canorazzi and O'Brien, and the institutions of their Catholic life were visible along Skillman Avenue, where the shops of the neighborhood were also arrayed. There were the stations of sin and redemption that marked their moral progress—the Shamrock Bar & Grill, the Amodeo family grocery, the storefront offices of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, St. Teresa's and the Shea funeral home.[32]

Catholics were an especially virulent form of *goyim*, a prejudice which Horowitz's parents had confirmed in their minds when they read the books of Paul Blanshard:

> Many of the existing governments in Eastern Europe were Catholic. Another book on my parents' shelf—*The Vatican* by Paul Blanshard—explained how the Catholic Church was in league with corrupt privilege and was the world's biggest landowner. The Catholic Church had rallied the reactionary forces in the Spanish Civil War, and now was playing a similar role in Eastern Europe. When the Communists seized the government of Hungary, Cardinal Josef Mindzenty took refuge in the U.S. embassy and made himself a symbol of the anti-Communist resistance. In America, Catholic politicians and clerics like Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, became leading spokesmen of the anti-Communist cause. The inflammatory currents of the international civil war simmered in the Sunnyside air.[33]

In Sunnyside, ethnic animosity flowed, not from anti-Semitism, but because Horowitz's parents felt "hostility toward the *goyim*, and indeed everything the *goyim* held dear," and "that incited the hostility back."[34]

In spite of his efforts, however, Horowitz cannot solve the ethnic problem on its own terms. To answer the ethnic question, Horowitz has to probe deeper into areas that are personal, familial, and psychological. Horowitz claims "I do not really have an answer to the mystery of origins—to what in particular had set my father and eventually, therefore, myself on the radical path,"[35] but in mentioning his father, he proposes a psychological starting point for his quest into why so many Jews become revolutionaries.

"My father," Horowitz wrote, "thought of himself as a revolutionary."[36] Horowitz confirms the suspicions Lorraine Hansberry mooted in *Brustein*—once the Jew ceases to be a revolutionary he has no identity—when he writes, "The [Communist] Party has become so much my father's personal salvation that without it the possibilities of life itself vanish."[37] Horowitz has reached the heart of the matter, which is religious and moral. His father is lost because he has rejected the light, and as a result "He had become enclosed in his own darkness, where the only ray of light was his revolutionary fantasy, now reduced to a desperate personal quest."[38]

Irving Louis Horowitz has an equally grim assessement of his own father, whom he describes as "the perfect Sombartian man—the Calvinist Jew, convinced that the road to heaven involved good work and no nonsense."[39] Horowitz's father was a bundle of contradictions right out of Marx's essay *Zur Judenfrage*. He was a petty capitalist who would beat his son unmercifully for lifting a dime from his cash register, but he was an ardent socialist, and he identified socialism as "the religion of the future."[40] In the present, which is to say in Harlem in the 1930s, Horowitz *pere* was in the wrong place at the

wrong time because as his son puts it, "Harlem was the wrong place for a Jewish Calvinist."[41]

Irving Horowitz got the impression from his father that he and his sister were an "unwanted intrusion, mouths to feed, obligations, limitations on his movements—impediments."[42] Unsurprisingly, then, he sums up life at home by saying that "the central aspect of the Horowitz family was the absence of love."[43]

Family finished a distant third behind petty everyday capitalism, which involved cheating the *shvartzes* when they brought in their Christmas bulbs for testing, and the revolutionary fantasies which made this sort of life tolerable. Like David Horowitz's father, Irving Horowitz's father lived "in the imaginary world of Jewish Bundism and Russian Bolshevism,"[44] a world which he characterizes as "a religion without Christ, a church without crucifix."[45]

Revolution, in other words, was the fantasy which Jews conjured in their own minds to make a world without light or love tolerable. The Jews David Horowitz knew as a child were "helpless to control the circumstances of their lives."[46] As a result, they turned to the opium of revolutionary fantasy for solace.

By the time he wrote those words, Horowitz had become a devout American patriot of the neoconservative persuasion, as Kristol *pere et fils* would joke. As a neoconservative, Horowitz was confronted, however, with his parents' hostility toward America. When they arrived at Ellis Island, the Jews had brought with them an ancestral hatred of Russia and the Czar, but America was not Russia. If it ever seemed appropriate, revolution was a wildly inappropriate response to the welcome America had extended to European Jews. David Horowitz feels that it is entirely possible that "Jews were more accepted, and felt more at home in America at that time than they had in the 2000 years since the destruction of the Second Temple."[47] If that is the case, then "Why had they chosen to become Bolsheviks in America?"[48] Why had Horowitz's family become "permanent conspirators in a revolutionary drama"[49] in a land where the response was inappropriate? "Instead of being grateful to a nation that had provided them with economic opportunity and refuge, they wanted to overthrow its governing institutions and replace them with a Soviet state."[50] Why had the Horowitz family proclaimed its allegiance to an ideology "so alien to everything around them"?[51]

The answer to these questions is: because they were Jews. They had been trained to think about the *goyim* in a particular way by their parents, who in turn had been instructed in the same way by their parents, all the way back, to the rejection of light and love that took place at the foot of the cross and sent the wandering Jew off on his revolutionary journey. Horowitz feels that he had no choice. He became a revolutionary Jew because he was raised to be a revolutionary Jew:

> What was my own choice? In the beginning I hardly had one. I understood early that my parents' political religion was really the center of their moral life. This meant—without their necessarily intending it—that the condition of their parental love was that I embrace their political faith.[52]

When David Horowitz arrived in Berkeley it struck him as "a larger Sunnyside where the aliens were fewer in number and our tribe greater. On arrival, I immediately became part of a group of 'red diaper babies'—the designation we used to identify ourselves as children of the Communist left."[53]

Scheer was another New York Jew who was part of the tribe at Berkeley. Scheer, according to Horowitz, "had grown up in the 'Coops' a cooperative apartment complex in the Bronx which, like Sunnyside, had been colonized by the Communist party."[54] Unlike Comrade Jerome and his generation, Scheer was a "beatnik" and had the style of a "political hipster" whose "speech was salted with allusions to Charlie Mingus and Allen Ginsberg, along with Marx and Lenin."[55]

Ron Radosh, another Jewish revolutionary from the same era, describes Scheer in his book *Commies* as a sexual revolutionary who felt the Kim Il Sung regime in North Korea had created heaven on earth. Scheer felt this way about North Korea, according to Radosh, because it eventually offered political sanctuary to Eldridge Cleaver, whom Radosh refers to as Scheer's "protégé."[56]

Scheer and Horowitz came from a new generation of revolutionary Jews, who were more American and less Russian, as well as more cultural and less economic in their orientation. Speaking for himself and the Jews of his generation in America, Horowitz claims that

> It was exciting to hear the Marxist categories revived by someone who affected the style of the Beats and was at home in the popular culture. The Old Left had a snobbish disdain for mainstream entertainments, which it viewed as corrupt expressions of "commodity capitalism." Scheer connected the political failure of the Old Left to its ghetto mentality. To hear him speak of a coming revolution in images that were not those of a marginalized subculture was exciting.[57]

America and communism were made for each other because both taught contempt for ethnicity and roots. The Jew was the ideal cultural intermediary, because he had internalized the principles of what Stalin referred to as "rootless cosmopolitanism" for centuries:

> The revolutionary belongs to a community of faith that extends beyond the classes and the nations and reaches across the boundaries that divide and oppress. Within every National group it forms the basis of a new human community and a new human identity. Today the revolutionary is isolated, obstructed by the divisions that form the cultural and political legacy of the past; the revolutionary is of the nations, but not in them.

> For the revolutionary's eye is on the future. Today there is Black and Jew, American and Russian, Israeli and Arab. But within each nation—Russia, America, Israel, Egypt—there were the aliens, the persecuted, the unassimilated, the "Jews" who know the heart of the stranger and who struggle for human freedom. Today they are separate; tomorrow they will be joined.[58]

Horowitz says that *Ramparts*' "promotion of the Black Panther Party as the new vanguard of the black struggle" was "another source of *Ramparts*' growing influence."[59] The opposite, was of course, just as true. Even if the Panthers increased *Ramparts*' circulation and influence, it was *Ramparts* which created the Black Panthers, because it was Scheer who, in Horowitz's words, "became perhaps the key person to launch the career of Eldridge Cleaver."[60]

Eldridge Cleaver spent the civil rights revolution in Soledad Prison, serving one to 14 years for assault with intent to murder. With his left-wing lawyer/mistress Beverly Axelrod as his intermediary, Cleaver made contact with *Ramparts*, which began to receive letters from him on a regular basis. Out of these letters Scheer would fashion first *Ramparts* articles and then the book *Soul on Ice*.

In his first *Ramparts* piece, "Notes on a Native Son,' which appeared in the magazine's June 1966 issue, Cleaver denounced James Baldwin and just about every other black writer as "buckdancers who were worse than Uncle Toms."[61] Baldwin had become "a white man in a black body. A self-willed automated slave, he becomes the white man's most valuable tool in oppressing other blacks."[62] Conspicuous by its absence from Cleaver's critique of Baldwin was any mention of *Commentary* or any of the other Jewish magazines and organizations which had promoted Baldwin to the position of spokesman for his race. The absence is not surprising because the Jews at *Ramparts* were doing the same thing for the career of Eldridge Cleaver.

Soul on Ice would become one of Ramparts Books' biggest selling titles. In Cleaver, America had discovered a "true black," which is to say, an amoral criminal and rapist who could rationalize his crimes by appealing to the writings of French existentialists. In spite of the adulation which the literary establishment heaped on Cleaver, it didn't take a genius to see that in *Soul on Ice*, the old pattern which Harold Cruse and Lorraine Hansberry had complained about in figures as diverse as George Gershwin and Norman Mailer had reasserted itself. Once again the Jews got to define the Negro as a criminal and a sexual deviant. In *Soul on Ice*, the "true black" expressed his true identity by raping white women. It was as if Scheer and the staff at *Ramparts* were determined to prove that the South's interpretation of the Scottsboro Boys trial had been right all along. The New York Jews, now transplanted to Berkeley, California, were stirring up the Negroes again. How else was one to interpret passages like the following:

> I became a rapist. To refine my technique and *modus operandi*, I started out practicing on black girls in the ghetto where dark and vicious deeds appear not as aberrations or deviations from the norm, but as part of the efficiency of the evil of the day—and when I considered myself smooth enough, I crossed the tracks and sought out white prey. . . . There are of course many young blacks out there right now who are slitting white throats and raping the white girl."[63]

The prose could have been lifted directly from *Scottsboro: The Firebrand of Communism*. The only difference was that Haywood Patterson never used words like "*modus operandi.*" The fact that a Negro who had spent the last few years of his life in Soledad Prison did use phrases like that made Cleaver sound a lot like Ruby Bates, when she told the crowd in Washington that she had lied under oath because "I was afraid of the Southern white ruling class people."[64] Suspicions about who had written this book deepened when Cleaver continued in the same vein, decrying "the Slaughter of Jews by Germans" and "the dropping of atomic bombs on the Japanese people" as "deeds [which] weigh heavily on the prostrate souls and tumultuous consciences of the white youth."[65]

Skepticism about whether Cleaver had actually written *Soul on Ice* surfaced shortly after the book was published, when a black student in Tom Wolfe's book *Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers* announced:

> That book wasn't written for the ghettos. It was written for the white middle class. They published it and they read it. What is this "having previously dabbled in the themes and writings of Rousseau, Thomas Paine, and Voltaire" that he's laying down there? You try coming down in the Fillmore doing some previously dabbled in talking about Albert Camus and James Baldwin. They'd laugh you off the block. That book was written to give a thrill to white women in Palo Alto and Marin County. That book is the best suburban jive I ever heard. I don't think he even wrote it. Eldridge Cleaver wouldn't write something like that. I think his wife wrote it. . . don't preevy-dabble the people with no split-level Palo Alto white bourgeois housewife Buick Estate Wagon backseat rape fantasies."[66]

In discussing how *Soul on Ice* became one of *Ramparts*' best-sellers, Horowitz admits that "The nihilistic view of himself that Cleaver promoted in his book fit snugly into the radical outlook" of the magazine."[67] Horowitz also admits that he was the author of at least one article which appeared in *Ramparts* under Cleaver's name. Horowitz says that Scheer asked him to "take charge" of an article Eldridge Cleaver had written on "the Land Question" when he was arrested for shooting an Oakland policeman.[68] Horowitz also adverts to something that other readers had noticed, namely, that Cleaver's rape fantasies sounded a lot like Norman Mailer's essay, "The White Negro." This similarity

came about either because great minds always moved in the same circles or because

> In a seminal article titled "The White Negro," Norman Mailer had cast America's blacks as Rousseau's "noble savages," representatives of humanity in its pristine state. These were the "oppressed" of the radical imagination. The Panther's roots in the ghetto were the primal symbol of social injustice. Their will to violence was the mark of their revolutionary spirit.[69]

It is entirely possible that Cleaver read Norman Mailer's essay "The White Negro" while in prison. Since David Horowitz admits to writing at least one of the articles which appeared under Cleaver's name in *Ramparts*, it is just as likely that Mailer's "White Negro" made it into Cleaver's writings via the editorial ministrations of Horowitz or Scheer. Either way, Cleaver's image of the Negro rapist came from the mind of Norman Mailer. Whatever the source of the rape material, Eldridge Cleaver was a Jewish creation, and the Black Panthers were a Jewish fantasy of revolutionary Negro sexual deviance in the tradition of Haywood Patterson and *Porgy and Bess*.

As the movement continued on its revolutionary trajectory the fantasy continued, but its imagery became more violent. Robert Scheer, who also volunteered to edit (or ghostwrite) Cleaver's second book, changed the title from Cleaver's original "How I fell in Love with the Black Panther Party" to "Courage to Kill" as if to show that the Panthers were the vanguard which would bring about the eruption, through violence, of Messianic redemption into history. It was an old story by 1968, but it had never lost its attraction to Jewish revolutionaries.

Sol Stern was another Jewish editor at *Ramparts*. Stern wrote an article on the Panthers which appeared in the Sunday Magazine section of the *New York Times* in August 1967, which turned the Black Panthers "into a household name."[70] Because it appeared in the *Times*, Stern's article lent "an authority that *Ramparts* could not have provided"[71] to the Messianic Jewish fantasy that the Black Panthers would bring about *tikkun olam* by murdering white policemen. Stern lent credibility to Newton by cloaking his ranting in the language of the holocaust. "Every time you go to execute a white racist Gestapo cop," Stern has Newton saying, "you are defending yourself."[72] If *Times* readers missed the point, Stern was ready to give the neo-Black-Jewish Alliance interpretation of Newton's words by writing: "To these young men, the execution of a police officer would be as natural and justifiable as the execution of a German soldier by a member of the French Resistance."[73] So, according to Stern's redaction of Newton, all cops were Germans, which is to say, Nazis, which is to say expendable in the cause of revolutionary violence, which the Negroes would carry out per the instructions of their Jewish handlers, flacks, and ghost writers.

Horowitz not only agreed with Stern's take on Newton and the Panthers, he was offended when Joan Didion disagreed in her article on the Panthers in *Look Magazine* and denigrated Newton "as little more than a young hood who had added Marx to his hustler's bag of tricks."[74] When Horowitz laid the responsibility for the coming race war at Didion's feet, she shot back "I thought radicals wanted a race war."[75]

During the summer of 1967 riots in Detroit and elsewhere gave the impression that the race war had finally arrived. H. Rap Brown, new head of SNCC, was arrested in Alexandria, Virginia and charged with inciting a riot and arson. Brown's arrest, however, could not disguise the fact that by the summer of 1967, the Black Panthers had succeeded SNCC as the cutting edge of black revolutionary politics in the United States.

Two months after Stern's article appeared in the *New York Times*, Newton was arrested for shooting an Oakland Police officer in the back at close range. The officer's name, John Frey (the Anglicized version of Frei) indicated that he was of German extraction.

The same media machinery which orchestrated the killing went into high gear to exonerate the killer. Pictures of Huey Newton wearing a black beret and seated in his rattan chair with a spear in one hand and a rifle in the other began to appear on the walls of the counterculture's apartments across the nation, and Eldridge Cleaver, with financing from wealthy Jewish backers like Bert Schneider, mounted the "Free Huey" campaign. Cleaver turned to lawyer Charles Garry and his team of Jewish lawyers, who launched a disinformation campaign among an all-too compliant press, claiming that Newton was the victim of frame-up at the hands of a government that was determined to destroy the Black Panther Party by killing off its members in a series of ambushes.

Before long Newton had become a "national icon,"[76] and a new overtly revolutionary Black-Jewish Alliance was pressing forward with its plans for race war and violent revolution. In the Bay Area, that meant a merger with the Peace and Freedom Party (people like Scheer, Michael Lerner, later editor of *Tikkun*, Tom Hayden, who had been raised a Catholic in Michigan, Jerry Rubin, and Joe Blum, who had attended Merritt College with Newton). In February 1968, both sides closed the deal. The PFP accepted the Panthers' ten point program, and Cleaver accepted their nomination as PFP's presidential candidate with Jerry Rubin as his running mate. As part of his platform, Cleaver endorsed "pussy power"[77] and any group willing to assassinate policemen. When 6,000 people gathered at Oakland Auditorium to celebrate Newton's birthday and protest his arrest for the murder of Officery Frey, H. Rap Brown brought the crowd to its feet by announcing that "Huey Newton is our only living revolutionary in this country today."[78]

Not to be outdone by Brown, former SNCC chairman James Foreman told the crowd: "We must serve notice on our oppressors that we as a people are

not going to be frightened by the attempted assassination of our leaders. For my assassination—and I am low man on the totem pole—I want 30 police stations blown up, one southern governor, two mayors, and 500 cops dead. . . . And if Huey Newton is not set free and dies, the sky is the limit."[79] The crowd responded by chanting: "The revolution has come! Off the pig! Time to pick up the gun! Off the pig!"[80]

Martin Luther King was assassinated on April 4, 1968. The long-awaited revolution arrived two days later when Cleaver ordered an armed attack on the Oakland police force. Four car-loads of armed Black Panthers set out to ambush a police car on April 6. When the police found them instead and attempted to pull them over, a gun battle ensued. As a result of the attack, Bobby Hutton, co-founder of the Panthers, ended up dead, and Eldridge Cleaver ended up back in jail. The neo-Black-Jewish Alliance quickly came to Cleaver's defense, claiming that he was the victim of an assassination attempt followed by a frame-up. In an open letter published in the *New York Times*, James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Elizabeth Hardwick, LeRoi Jones, Oscar Lewis, Norman Mailer, Floyd McKissick and Susan Sontag opined that "We find little fundamental difference between the assassin's bullet which killed Dr. King on April 4, and the police barrage which killed Bobby James Hutton two days later. Both were acts of racism."[81]

In May Cleaver's wife and Bobby Seale set out for New York City to raise money for Cleaver's legal defense fund, where they were greeted as "real revolutionaries."[82] As Tom Wolfe said after witnessing the Panthers' attempt to raise money in Leonard Bernstein's posh apartment: "The very idea of them, these real revolutionaries, who actually put their lives on the line, runs through Lenny's duplex like a rogue hormone."[83] Eventually all of the money raised at Lenny's duplex was forfeited when Cleaver jumped bail and left the country. For the next few years, reports of Cleaver in Korea (Scheer's heaven on earth), Algeria, and France filtered back to America as the movement he inspired turned to more and more suicidal forms of violence and eventually burned itself out by the mid-'70s. But in 1968, "Eldridge's words resonated throughout the community of the Left and inspired white radicals further along the road to revolutionary authenticity and violence."[84]

In the summer of 1970 Faye Stender, the radical Jewish lawyer who had spent Freedom Summer of 1964 in Mississippi and was now a member of Charles Garry's legal staff, succeeded in persuading the appellate court to overturn Newton's conviction for manslaughter. When Newton emerged from prison on August 5, 1970, thousands of his admirers were there to greet him, "as if he were God."[85] As if to show that he agreed with the crowd that he was at least a god of the sort that the Greeks admired, Newton took off his shirt and flexed his muscles, and the crowd went wild.

Stender's brief cited the racial polarization in the Bay Area and claimed that that polarized atmosphere along with the heavy publicity surrounding the Newton case had made a fair trial impossible. No one mentioned it at the time, but Stender's argument was one more version of Louis Marshall's Supreme Court appeal in the Leo Frank case. The euphoria surrounding the release of Huey Newton obscured the fact that the Jewish legal tradition which extended from Louis Marshall to Faye Stender had created a legal argument that would return to haunt the Jews who invented it. In setting Panthers like Newton free, Stender had created a monster that would quite literally return to destroy her. Johnny Cochran would use a variation of the same argument in the trial of fellow Panther Geronimo Pratt and, more famously, in the trial of O. J. Simpson, in which Cochran turned the tables on the prosecution, and focused the nation's attention on whether Officer Mark Fuhrman was a racist and not whether O. J. Simpson, like a latter day Eldridge Cleaver, slit the throat of the white woman who happened to be his wife. Oblivious to his own role in promoting black men slitting the throats of white women, Horowitz accused Cochran of "playing the race card."[86]

"Why hasn't justice prevailed in this matter?" Horowitz fumed. "Why is a clearly guilty individual free? The answer lies in the climate of the times, in which the testimonies of officers of the law have become more readily impeachable than the testimony of criminals."[87] If Cochran's argument "was an attack on law enforcement as a racist conspiracy to get his client,"[88] Horowitz failed to see in that strategy the legacy of the Leo Frank case and *Soul on Ice*. The chickens, as Malcolm X had said when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, had come home to roost. Horowitz criticized "The radical Left and the left-liberal media" for "elevating the rudest, most outlaw element of black America as the true keepers of the flame in all it means to be black,"[89] forgetting for the moment his own role in promoting *Soul on Ice*. Horowitz then brought up the publicity campaign surrounding the release of *Monster*, the autobiography of LA gangbanger Cody Scott. *Monster*, according to Horowitz, "was promoted in a way frighteningly similar to the way Eldridge Cleaver was introduced to the public in the late 1960s."[90] The cultural DNA which enabled Jews in the publishing industry to promote sexually liberated criminals as the "true black" had begun with the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, and it was still alive in the '90s:

> White journalist William Broyles, who facilitated the publication of Scott's book, is analogous to journalist Bob Scheer, who in 1966 was a facilitator of Eldridge Cleaver's career. Atlantic Monthly Press, publisher of Scott's book, is analogous to Ramparts Books, publisher of Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*. Just as Cleaver's book was touted by Maxwell Geismar of *Ramparts*, as "a document of prime importance for an understanding of the outcast black American soul today," Morgan Entrekin of the Atlantic Monthly Press has said that Scott, as a result of his memoir, is a "primary

> voice of the black experience. . . ." Scott was also written about by Leon Bing, a white former fashion model who in 1991 wrote a book about black gangs called *Do or Die*. Bing, a woman, could be analogous to that other facilitator of Cleaver's career, Beverly Axelrod.[91]

This was true, of course, but missing from the indignation surrounding Horowitz's account was an admission that he had anything to do with promoting "the rape fantasies [which] were given direct voice in Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*."[92] Shortly before he died, Eldridge Cleaver was interviewed on *60 Minutes*. The author of *Soul on Ice* had passed through a number of incarnations since returning to the United States to face trial for his role in the uprising of 1968. He had been a Mormon, a born-again Christian, and author of a revisionist, born-again autobiography titled *Soul on Fire*, and even a Republican, but now the chastened revolutionary could only say that the United States had treated him and his fellow blacks decently even if he didn't feel that way when the media was promoting him or because the media was promoting him. Cleaver was now glad that more people hadn't taken him seriously back then, because "If people had listened to Huey Newton and me in the 1960s, there would have been a holocaust in this country."[93]

Horowitz cites the interview but again maintains his innocence. There is no recognition of his responsibility for promoting Cleaver as the black rapist revolutionary. Nor is there any recognition that Cleaver talked the way he did because he had been coached by Jewish revolutionaries like Norman Mailer, David Horowitz and Robert Scheer.

After his release from prison Newton embarked upon a life of wretched excess, involving "tumblers of cognac, taking assorted pills, and, most of all, snorting cocaine,"[94] which eventually led to his death. The "beautiful people" from New York and Hollywood, "offered him drugs, alcohol and women to fulfill his wildest dreams and heavy appetites."[95] One of the "beautiful people" who picked up the tab was Bert Schneider, who had become the Jacob Schiff of the black revolutionary movement of the 1960s. Schneider, who was the son of Abraham Schneider, a top executive with Columbia Pictures, had made a name for himself as the producer of *Easy Rider*, the 1969 countercultural biker epic, and creator of *The Monkees*, a television series about a rock band. Schneider had put up $300,000 just to finance two conferences. He wore one of the gold rings Newton gave to his inner circle and was so free with his money "because he genuinely loved Huey P. Newton."[96] Newton returned Schneider's love by subjecting him and his girlfriend of the time, Candice Bergen, to cocaine-fueled diatribes that lasted into the wee small hours of the morning.

In 1971 Horowitz and Collier ousted Hinckle and Scheer from the board and took over *Ramparts* magazine. It was a bit like staging a mutiny on the Titanic. By the early '70s, it had become clear to Horowitz that the "Movement"

had "flamed out."[97] It had been killed by President Richard Nixon, who killed it by ending the draft. Once that happened "the 'anti-war' demonstrations stopped and the protestors disappeared"[98] and hardcore revolutionaries like David Horowitz were left high and dry. "I felt," Horowitz said later, "a need to do something to fill the void."[99]

Ramparts had become a void that needed to be filled. Now that the movement had flamed out, *Ramparts* was chronically short of funds. That meant person-to-person fundraising, and a donor high on the list of every revolutionary organization in California was Bert Schneider. When Collier and Horowitz met with Bert Schneider to ask for money, Schneider, who had sided with Newton in the Cleaver/Newton power struggle over who was going to control the Black Panthers, suggested that they meet with Newton. He accompanied his suggestion with a $5,000 contribution and a request that *Ramparts* do an article on the Panthers' new school and survival programs. Following Schneider up on his suggestion, Collier and Horowitz met with Newton at his Lake Merritt penthouse, also provided by Schneider's contributions. Expecting a confrontation, Horowitz was taken aback when Newton asked him to come work for the Panther's new school.

Horowitz later remembered Newton making "a dramatic announcement" that "the time had come to 'put away the gun'" It was now time to "serve the people," instead, a suggestion which Horowitz, who was looking for something else to do now that the anti-war movement had flamed out, found "sensible."[100] And so after the meeting, Horowitz "offered to help Huey with the Party's community projects and to raise money for the Panther school." Before long Horowitz had raised more than $100,000 to buy a building for the Learning Center, which was instructing more than one hundred children under the guidance of Herbert Kohl.

With respectability and the money that went with it, Horowitz soon realized that the Panthers needed a bookkeeper. Horowitz asked Betty Van Patter to serve as the Panthers' accountant. Van Patter, like Stender and Axelrod, was part of the revolutionary ladies' auxiliary in the Bay Area. She was good at numbers and enjoyed sleeping with black men. In December of 1974 she was hanging out at a local bar when she received a note asking her to meet someone and left the bar. Van Patter never came back. One month later, her body washed up on the eastern shore of San Francisco bay and an autopsy showed that she had died when a blunt instrument had caved in her head.

By the time she died, Horowitz had already abandoned the Panthers after one of their young members had been shot at a school dance. Horowitz had left the Panthers because

> Underneath all the political rhetoric and social uplift, I suddenly realized was the stark reality of the gang. I remember a voice silently beating in my head, as I sat there during the service, tears streaming down my face:

> "What are you doing here, David?" it screamed at me. It was my turn to flee.[101]

When he fled, Horowitz forgot to tell Van Patter about the "stark reality of the gang," and now Van Patter was dead and David was feeling guilty. Instead of dealing with the guilt directly and assessing his own responsibility, Horowitz once again took refuge in the claim that he didn't really know what was going on. Horowitz, for example, didn't know that Newton was a drug addict, in spite of he fact that Newton had a perennially runny nose and Herbert Kohl "was telling people that Huey was using cocaine."[102] In another account, this time of Newton's all-night harangues at Bert Schneider's, Horowitz says that it was only years later when he "realized that it was cocaine that fueled these marathons, but at the time, I was innocent of the drug and marveled at his stamina."[103]

The same refrain gets repeated over and over in his memoirs. Horowitz portrays himself as a latter day Daisy Miller. He was an American Innocent. Horowitz claimed that he bridled when Scheer referred to him as "Little Davey Horowitz," but adds, "Scheer's ascription of innocence to me was not wholly off the mark."[104] At another point, Horowitz claims that "guilelessness made me impervious to many of the undercurrents in the office, and caused me to misinterpret others."[105]

One of the undercurrents Horowitz missed was that the Panthers were stockpiling weapons and planned to use those weapons. Horowitz missed this even though by the time he joined the Black Panthers, both Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver had been arrested for murdering policemen. After describing Captain Franco's "revolutionary philosophy"[106] Horowitz adds:

> In time, I began to see the dark reality of the revolution according to Franco, the revolution that was not some mystical battle of glory in some distant land or time. At the deepest level there was blood, nothing but blood, unsanitized by political polemic. That was where Franco worked, in the vanguard of the vanguard. . . . The Panthers were. . . a criminal army at war with society and with its thin blue line of civic protectors.[107]

That is certainly a movingly accurate account, but the careful reader is forced to wonder why Horowitz didn't come to this understanding before 1974, when he could have warned Betty Van Patter. When one of his colleagues held Horowitz responsible for her death, Horowitz flew into a rage, but the questions about his innocence and responsibility remain, even if he didn't set her up. Like Claude Rains in *Casablanca*, Horowitz was shocked when he found out that the Panthers had stockpiled "literally thousands of weapons."[108] Is Horowitz the only one who didn't know that the Panthers were violent? Hadn't he seen all of those photos of them carrying guns? Everyone else in America had. Horowitz gets closer to the heart of the issue when he writes that the Left "in creating a protective shield around the Panthers," was merely

following the example of Trotsky, who "had described the Communist parties of the world as frontier guards for the Soviet Union."[109] A more apt example could have been taken from the Black-Jewish Alliance. The Jews had tried for decades to turn Negroes into revolutionaries because 1) they could then use them to fight the revolution by remote control and 2) because the white reactionaries focused all of their attention on blacks, when, in terms of revolution, they were the symptom and not the cause.

By the time Betty Van Patter's body washed up on the shore of San Francisco Bay, the revolution had degenerated into the random acts of violence and criminality that characterize the black ghetto today. The Jews had half-succeeded in turning the Negroes into revolutionaries, which meant that they destroyed their faith, corrupted their morals, and turned them into the half-way house to revolution which Marx described as the *Lumpenproletariat*, which is another word for criminal. Or pimp. The one thing Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver shared with their epigoni of the '90s and beyond was a desire to live off of women.

After Cleaver left the country, his faction of the Black Pathers became known as the Black Liberation Army and their efforts at revolution ended in "total disaster,"[110] but not before a number of people, mostly from warring factions of the Black Panthers, died. One victim was Sandra Pratt, wife of Geronimo Pratt, who "was tortured, shot and killed by Newton faction Panthers,"[111] which caused Newton to apologize eventually to her husband. Newton himself was killed by a drug-dealer, after having spent his final years in Oakland high on crack ranting about how he was "the leader of the coming revolution."

"No radical leader," Horowitz writes, "proposed any second thoughts about a gang they had anointed as their revolutionary vanguard. Nor did any radical critics. This silence of the Left would endure throughout the life of the generation." The deflection of responsibility here is not just personal, although it is certainly that. By constantly referring to the Left, the left-wing media, etc.—"how it is that my former comrades on the left can remain so stubbornly devoted to 'experiments' that have failed, to doctrines that are false, and to causes that are demonstrably wrong-headed and even evil"[112]—Horowitz deflects attention from the role that the revolutionary Jew played in the racial catastrophe which followed the '60s revolutions in America. In this Horowitz is a lot like James Baldwin, who could never quite bring himself to admit that the white people he wrote about in Harlem were in reality Jews. Harold Cruse is still the only writer to face this fact unflinchingly.

In May 1980 Fay Stender committed suicide in Hong Kong. Stender had also defended Black Panther George Jackson and had edited his prison papers into a book and had fallen in love with him and become his mistress. The Jackson story, however, didn't end as happily (at least in the short run) as the Newton story did. On August 7, 1970, two days after Newton's

triumphal emergence from prison as a result of Stender's brief overturning his sentence, Jonathan Jackson, George's brother, took a number of people hostage including Judge Harold Haley, all of whom were killed when they tried to drive away from the courthouse. George Jackson was gunned down on August 21, 1971, during an escape attempt three days before he was to go on trial. Seven years later a member of Jackson's prison gang broke into Stender's apartment and in attempting to kill her succeeded only in paralyzing her from the waist down. Disillusioned with the course of black revolution which she helped orchestrate, Stender had become a feminist over the course of the '70s and at the time of the attack was living with her lesbian lover. Fay Stender, like Horowitz, had been "a missionary to the black revolutionary cause."[113] Unlike Horowitz, she "hid Jackson's dark side from the public by excising from the pages of his manuscript the passages that revealed it."[114] For her pains, the monster she created had returned to destroy her. When the Black Frankenstein she had created failed in his mission, Stender finished the job off herself by committing suicide. In a line that could have come from a feminist-inspired horror film like *Alien*, Horowitz writes that Stender fled to Hong Kong because "The far end of the world was the only place she could feel safe from further retribution."[115] But like Dr. Moebius in *Forbidden Planet*, Stender learned that there was no geographical escape from Monsters from the Id. Stender was killed by the revolutionary spirit which she had nurtured within herself through all of its various incarnations—Freedom Summer in 1964, the Black Panthers in the late '60s, feminism and lesbianism in the '70s, and a Masadah like suicide in 1980. Fay Stender had to learn that the revolution devours its own Jews the hard way. The Jews created Black Frankenstein, who returned to destroy them.

Fay Stender's death by her own hand brings us back to the question of Jewish identity. Stender's identification of her Jewishness with revolution was so complete that when all of her revolutionary options had failed she had no identity left and had to kill herself. David Horowitz, another "missionary to the black revolutionary cause,"[116] came to a similar conclusion. After concluding that Marxism was an illusion, David Horowitz embarked upon a life of promiscuity and nihilism that almost led to his own death in a half-intentional automobile accident. After an affair with one of the Rockefeller siblings wrecked his marriage, Horowitz concluded that

> There was no "revolution" of attitudes or institutions that could overcome the forces of this nature. Through the deaths of Betty and Ellen, through the pain of my divorce, I had acquired a certain philosophical fatalism.[117]

Taking his cue from what he had said about his father, Horowitz indicates that a Jew without revolution is a Jew without an identity. Craving absolution but unable to find it among his former colleagues on the Left, Horowitz concludes in the wake of Betty Van Patter's death that there is no messiah

because the revolution failed to materialize: "Betty's death killed this fantasy in me. There was no revolutionary community. There would be no redemptive future. There is no one to save us from who we are."[118]

This moment was short-lived, however, because Horowitz soon converted to yet another version of Jewish Messianic politics, Neoconservatism. Unable to stifle the desire to be a commissar, Horowitz began a new career by attacking professors who criticized Israel or contested the details of the attack on the World Trade Towers, urging students to inform on their professors in a gesture that recalled all of the worst aspects of the Soviet regime. During the fall of 2007 Horowitz traveled from one campus to another trying to drum up support for an attack—with nuclear weapons if necessary—on Iran.

Chapter Eighteen

The Jewish Messiah Arrives Again

"American Jewish funniness is a form of cultural aggression."

– James Bloom, *Gravity Fails*[1]

February 1969 was a lot like September 1665; the messiah's arrival was announced among the Jews; mass hysteria followed; the hysteria was, in turn, followed by mass disillusionment. In both instances, the Messianic era was characterized by the breaking of sexual taboos. Sabbetai Zevi liberated the Jews from the law in 1665 by telling them, among other things, they could give free rein to their sexual passions. Everything that was previously forbidden was now allowed. The Jewish messiah did much the same thing in 1969. His name was Alex Portnoy. "The publication of a book is not often a major event in American culture," Albert Goldman wrote in the February 7, 1969 issue of *Life* magazine, however, now

> every shepherd of public opinion, every magus of criticism is wending his way toward its site. Gathered at an old New York City inn called Random House, at the stroke of midnight on the 21st of February in this 5729th year since the creation of the world, they will hail the birth of a new American hero, Alexander Portnoy. A savior and scapegoat of the '60s, Portnoy is destined at the Christological age of 33 to take upon himself all the sins of sexually obsessed modern man and expiate them in a tragi-comic crucifixion. The gospel that records the passion of this mock messiah is a slender, psychotic novel by Philip Roth called *Portnoy's Complaint*. . . it is being hailed as the book of the present decade and as an American masterwork in the tradition of *Huckleberry Finn*. *Portnoy's Complaint* was also portrayed as something more sinister than *Huckleberry Finn*. One reviewer compared the binding and cutting of the books pages to "the secret cutting of heroin for injection into the national veins."[2]

But why was Portnoy hailed as the messiah? Because, like Shabbetai Zevi, he had come to liberate Jews from the moral law. Then Jews could act as

missionaries to the Gentiles, as the chosen people, as the revolutionary avant garde, etc. *Portnoy's Complaint* is a 270-page monologue on a psychiatrist's couch. Portnoy's first task is to liberate himself from the curse of guilt inflicted by his Jewish mother. In the pseudo-psychiatric definition that serves as the book's frontispiece, *Portnoy's Complaint* is described as "a disorder in which strongly-felt ethical and altruistic impulses are perpetually warring with extreme sexual longings, often of a perverse nature."[3] The problem is the patient's inability to achieve personal integrity by aligning passion with reason: "as a consequence of the patient's 'morality,' however, neither fantasy nor act issues in genuine sexual gratification."[4]

The premise—that morality is a kind of fascism that is imposed by the strong on the weak to control them—is the only possible premise that makes Portnoy's role as savior plausible. The Jew is going to save the *goyim* from their worst fascist impulses. Portnoy will start his salvific ministry with the *shikses*, the gentile women. "It's the Eddie Fisher in me coming out, that's all," Portnoy confides, alluding to the man who dumped Debbie Reynolds, a Hollywood *shiksa* of the '50s, for Elizabeth Taylor, "the longing in all us swarthy Jewboys for those bland blond exotics called shikses."[5] Elizabeth Taylor was another *shiksa*, a "stupendous purple-eyed girl who had the supreme *goyische* gift of all, the courage and know-how to get up and ride around on a horse."[6] Taylor's interest in Fisher proved *shikses* were secretly dying for liberation from moral constraint. The *shiksa* "was lusting for our kind no less than we for hers."[7] Mike Todd was "a cheap facsimile of my Uncle Hymie upstairs!"[8] Rather than "doing some pathetic little Jewish imitation of one of these half-dead, ice-cold *shaygets* pricks," i.e., act like a "some hook-nosed variety of *goy*," the Jew should aspire "to be what one's uncle was, to be what one's father was, to be whatever one was oneself," which is "a brainy, balding, beaky Jew, with a strong social conscience and black hair on his balls, who neither drinks nor gambles nor keeps show girls on the side; a man guaranteed to give them kiddies to rear and Kafka to read—a regular domestic *messiah*!"[9] As if to ensure the reader that this use of the term messiah is no slip of the tongue, Portnoy goes on to ask, "what was I supposed to be but her Jewish savior?"[10]

Portnoy's Complaint caused Jews severe discomfort because it asked what it meant to be a Jew, an unresolved question raised with monotonous regularity. Gershom Scholem, author of a *magnum opus* on *Sabbetai Sevi*, said *Portnoy's Complaint* was "the book for which all anti-Semites have been praying."[11] *Portnoy* was, he said, "worse than the Protocols of the Elders of Zion"[12] because it was the testimony of a Jew.

An unspoken part of the animus against Roth on the part of the Jews who disliked his book was the accusation that he was a bad Jew because he had brought disrepute on the Jewish people. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin claimed Roth spoke "for a certain segment of alienated Jewishly ignorant Jews who write and teach."[13] To claim Roth was a bad Jew, his accusers needed to define what

a good Jew was, and that got them in trouble. Gershom Scholem was hoist on his own petard when he claimed there was nothing normative—*i.e.,* no religious litmus test—to define a Jew. If Scholem defined a Jew as someone sincerely believing he was a Jew, he could hardly accuse Roth of being a bad Jew. According to Scholem's definition, Portnoy was as much a Jew as Moses Maimonides or Sabbetai Zevi.

As a result of reluctance or inability to define a Jew, the rabbis turned the Jews into a congregation of competing messiahs excommunicating each other for deviations from a code no one properly defined. So Jewish messiahs were raised and deposed with increasing rapidity. Marx was supplanted by Freud; the gentile Stalin was supplanted by Trotsky, who was murdered by Stalin. Marx and Freud were supplanted by Wilhelm Reich. Trotsky got supplanted by Leo Strauss. And so on. Roth was simply proposing his own version of the Jewish savior as the redeemer for the sexually liberated '60s.

And what did the Jewish savior look like in 1969? A lot like a *shvartze*, the sexually liberated Negro promoted as the paradigm of sexual liberation. Portnoy's praise of *shikses* sounds like Eldridge Cleaver's effusions about white women and their dirty underwear in *Soul on Ice*. Sexual attraction was inextricably fused with aggression. Cleaver's aggression was expressed in rape. "Rape," said Cleaver, "was an insurrectionary act."[14] By raping white women, Cleaver "was defying and trampling upon the white man's law, upon his system of values, and. . . defiling his woman."[15]

Whether Jews like Roth got the idea of defiling *shikses* from blacks like Cleaver or vice versa is difficult to say. *Soul on Ice* appeared in 1968, one year before *Portnoy's Complaint*, so maybe Roth got the idea of Portnoy, or at least the idea of defiling shikses from Cleaver, or maybe both were the product of the influence of Wilhelm Reich on Manhattan and, therefore, on the publishing industry. In keeping with the rebirth of Reichian thought in 1969, both the Jewish revolutionary and the Negro revolutionary were above all else, sexual revolutionaries. But whereas Cleaver specialized in rape, Portnoy specialized in seduction. The difference is essentially ethnic. The former relies on brute force, the latter on manipulation. To truly corrupt the *goyim*, their "morality," and their women, the *shiksa* has to collaborate in her own defilement, something that doesn't happen in rape. The best way to accomplish this is repeated incantation of the word "liberation." Like Sabbetai Zevi, the paradigm of every Jewish messiah since the time of Christ, Portnoy was going to liberate the *shikses* by seducing them. He was their Jewish savior, come to save dumb *goyim* from the inanities of their culture. Cleaver discovered in white folk "an irresistible urge—to just stand up and shake the ice and cancer out of their alienated white asses," and discovered in that desire the reason for the popularity of the "Hula Hoop and the Twist," which "offered socially acceptable ways to do it."[16]

Portnoy's Complaint offered the Jewish version of the same thing. The stupid *shikses* have to be saved in spite of themselves, and Portnoy is going to save them by unleashing libido from the bonds of icy Christian morality. Or "morality," as Portnoy/Roth would put it. Portnoy will be the Jewish messiah for the new post-Christian dispensation. The new Jewish savior came "To save the stupid *shikse*; to rid her of her race's ignorance; to make this daughter of the heartless oppressor a student of suffering and oppression; to teach her to be compassionate, to bleed a little for the world's sorrows."[17] And if the Jewish messiah could get laid liberating shikses, all the better. The defilement was more complete and more pleasurable. Together, Portnoy and his girlfriend, the miner's daughter from West Virginia whom he calls The Monkey, make "the perfect couple: she puts the id back in Yid, I put the oy back in goy."[18]

To define the *shiksa*, Roth must first define the Jew; this immediately gets him in trouble. Since the *goyim*, in Roth's view, are Christian, the Jew must be the antithesis of Christianity. Roth defines the Jew as the Semitic Negro, the paradigm of sexual liberation, he turns the Jew into the champion of Dionysian appetite. Portnoy resembles the Jewish stereotype of Nazi propaganda, something which other Jews, for some reason, found offensive. "Portnoy's lust for shikses" was, says Alan Cooper, "precisely what the traditional anti-Semite said all Jews felt, what the Aryan accused the would-be-defiling Jew of trying to perpetrate."[19] Marie Syrkin says something similar

> Like Julius Streicher's satanic Jewboy lusting after Aryan maidens, Portnoy seeks blonde shikses. . . . the dark Jew seeking to defile the fair Nordic is standard stuff . . . There is little to choose between [Goebbels'] and Roth's interpretation of what animates Portnoy. In both views the Jewish male is not drawn to a particular girl who is gentile, but by a gentile "background" which he must violate sexually.[20]

Syrkin is, of course, right. In portraying Portnoy's attraction to the *shiksa* as he does, Roth seems to take his cue from Hitler. Portnoy is a Jew right out of *Mein Kampf*, but once that is established, the reader is left to decipher Roth's motives. "Streicher's and Goebbel's motives," Cooper says, "were clear. But Roth's purpose in giving these thoughts to Portnoy is the bone of all the critical contention that was emerging."[21] The key to understanding Portnoy as savior is to first understand him as the Jewish debunker of Christian myths.

Portnoy is, as James Bloom would say, "a funny Jew;"[22] and the butt of his humor is the stupid *goy* who believes in illusions like Christianity. The dumb *goyim* really believe Christ rose from the dead and Charles van Doren knew the answers to the questions on the '50s quiz show, The $64,000 Question. Portnoy's happiness consists in debunking the beliefs of the *goyim* while defiling their women, something he did while on a congressional committee in Washington; "Yes," he tells his analyst,

> I was one happy yiddel down there in Washington, a little Stern gang of my own, busily exploding Charlie's honor and integrity, while simultaneously becoming lover to that aristocratic Yankee beauty whose forbears arrived on these shores in the seventeenth century. Phenomenon known as hating your Goy and Eating One Too.[23]

The passage was especially painful for Jews who aspired to go to Washington. Unsurprisingly, *Commentary* did not like the book, not even in 1969 before the neoconservatives got their invitation. *Commentary* evaluated Philip Roth and *Portnoy's Complaint* in December 1972. Irving Howe did not like what he saw but found it difficult to say why. The review has the vagueness of the non-ethnic stories Roth wrote as an undergraduate or the literary criticism he read as a grad student in English at the University of Chicago. Howe sees "vindictive bleakness" and "a swelling nausea before the ordinariness of human existence."[24] Almost as an afterthought, Howe mentions that *Portnoy's Complaint* deals with Jews and their relationship to America. Portnoy "contains plenty of contempt for Jewish life," yearning "to be released from the claims of distinctiveness," i.e., being a Jew with all it entails in terms of ethnocentrism.[25]

Even writing to other Jews in a Jewish magazine, Howe is unwilling to tackle the Jewish issue as Roth proposes it—i.e., the Jew as corrupter of morals, the Jew as despoiler of *shiksa* morals and *goyische* culture. All he can see is Portnoy's bad influence on younger Jews, who "have taken the book as a signal for 'letting go' of both their past and perhaps themselves, a guide to swinging in good conscience or better yet, without troubling about conscience."[26] Howe concedes the book has an equally deleterious impact on the morals of *goy* readers, but his foremost concern is the book might have ended "the wave of philo-Semitism" that "swept through our culture" in the decades after World War II, when "books by Jewish writers were often praised (in truth, overpraised) and a fuss made about Jewish intellectuals, critics, etc."[27] *Portnoy's Complaint,* said Howe,

> signaled an end to philo-Semitism in American culture, one no longer had to listen to all that talk about Jewish morality, Jewish endurance, Jewish wisdom, Jewish families. Here was Philip Roth himself. . . confirming what had always been suspected about those immigrant Jews but had recently not been tactful to say.[28]

Of course, the exact opposite was the case. *Portnoy's Complaint* was the high water mark of philo-Semitism in America because Jews were associated in the public mind with sexual deviance at the high water mark of the sexual revolution. *Portnoy's Complaint* inaugurated the era of the Jewish cultural sexual revolutionary hero—Bob Dylan, Abbie Hoffman, Ira Einhorn, Jerzy Kozinski, Erica Jong, Jules Feiffer, Saul Steinberg, Woody Allen—whose

heroics were manifest as ribald, mocking subversion of culture, faith, and morals. If Portnoy was the Messiah, then Lenny Bruce was John the Baptist.

As we have seen, Roth's frankness about Jewish hatred of the *goyim* was deeply embarrassing to Jews who aspired to assimilate. Hence, the attack in *Commentary*, published by the American Jewish Committee. If Howe's essay was full of reticence, Norman Podhoretz's essay in the same issue was obfuscatory, attempting to direct the reader away from what Podhoretz found most embarrassing and offensive in *Portnoy*, namely, its Jewishness. Podhoretz calls Roth the "Laureate of the New Class"[29] though even cursory and superficial reading of the book indicates it is about ethnicity, not class. Roth, according to Podhoretz, "is the New Class writer *par excellence*," pandering to "the snobbery and self-righteousness" that is "one of the distinctive marks of those members of the professional and technical intelligentsia in America who make up what has come to be known as the New Class."[30] Roth, Podhoretz says, "so perfectly embodies the ethos of a group which began coming to consciousness of itself as a distinctive social class around the time Roth first appeared on the scene."[31] Does Podhoretz mean class or ethnic group? Is Philip Roth the spokesman for a class or for the culturally emergent third generation Jews that *Commentary* aspired to speak for? Roth's writings, according to Wisse, were

> the first literary voice that seemed to speak for our bunch, our group, our set, the particular gang of adolescents with whom I shared a mutual affection and an idea of what we stood against. . . a sensibility so familiar that it seemed to have come from our own midst, and in a spark of language . . . attractive to us. . . . Our affection for Philip Roth was part of the tenderness we felt for ourselves.[32]

Portnoy has, as Roth would say, "J-E-W written across the middle of his face"[33] but Podhoretz chooses to ignore this because he wanted to ignore the ethnic issues which Roth raises. According to Alan Cooper, "the *Commentary* mentality seemed to suggest" Jews could only "get into office, administrative posts, and presidencies of formerly exclusive Ivy League universities and multinational corporations" by an "unholy alliance with WASP America."[34] The Jew could succeed "only by a sellout of one's immigrant-rooted integrity."[35] *Commentary* was embarrassed not by Roth's association with a class, but by his presumption to speak for Jews, endangering what *Commentary* felt were unprecedented opportunities for influence through assimilation. *Commentary* was embarrassed by Roth's frank expression of Jewish hatred of the *goyim*. It refused to see the humor, because the humor is a function of that hatred. Roth uses humor to ridicule what the *goyim* hold sacred; doing in public what the Jew does in private made *Commentary* uncomfortable. "To have Portnoy admit to these vindictive feelings," Cooper writes, "and to sharing his father's exhortations about the absurdity of the whole Christian premise—*feelings*

shared by a huge proportion of his Jewish readers!—is from Syrkin's point of view dangerous to Jewish life in a pluralistic society."[36] The issue, in other words, isn't whether what Roth says is true, but whether it's good for Jews to say it so aggressively.

Roth attempted to avoid the issue, claiming unconvincingly that he is not Portnoy. (He dedicated the rest of his literary career to proving his novels were not autobiographical.) Portnoy is a Jew who talks like Hitler, and in that ethnic reversal lies much of the book's humor because Roth is writing about a time when ethnic reversal occurred on a large scale among America's Jews. The sons and daughters of second generation Jews who had made money in the garment industry had enough money to send the third generation to college, where they learned to imitate Bloomsbury and acquired the New Jersey equivalent of the sensibility of Virginia Woolf.

Roth was the paradigmatic third-generation Jew, caught between Newark and Bloomsbury. Roth's father worked for the *goyische* insurance firm, Metropolitan Life. He sent Roth to Bucknell, which Cooper calls "a small Protestant school,"[37] in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. "Lewisburg emanated an unpretentious civility that we could trust,"[38] says Roth. But he could never make up his mind whether to assimilate or to remain the ethnic Jew. After discharge from the army, Roth wrote *Good-bye Columbus*, for which he received The Jewish Book Council's Daroff Award and the National Book Award in fiction. Roth was 26 years old at the time. He was also a graduate student at the University of Chicago, where he met Margaret Martinson Williams, a divorced mother of two, five years his senior, who would become the archetypal *shiksa* in his next few books.

Roth never lost his sense that he was sleeping with the enemy, not even when he married the *shiksa* of his dreams. Lydia, the Margaret character in *My Life as a Man*, shared a room with her mother at the home of two spinster aunts in Skokie, "whose heroes were the aviator Lindbergh, the Senator Bilbo, the cleric Coughlin, and the patriot Gerald L. K. Smith. It had been a life of little but punishment, humiliation, betrayal, and defeat, and it was to this that I was drawn, against all misgivings."[39] In marrying a *shiksa*, the Roth character "was waging a kind of guerrilla war against the army of slobs, philistines, and barbarians who seemed to me to control the national mind, either through the media or the government," by bringing the *shiksa* "something of Bloomsbury—a community of the faithful, observing the sacraments of literacy, benevolence, good taste and social concern."[40] While they lived together, the Roth character, in one version of the story, has an affair with his wife's daughter. In another version, he sees her as

> a replica of those over-dressed little Gentile children who used to pass our house every Sunday on their way to church, and toward whom I used to feel an emotion almost as strong as my own grandparents' aversion.

> Secretly, and despite myself, I came close to despising the stupid and stubborn child when she would appear in that little white church going outfit, and so too did Lydia, who was reminded by Monica's costume of the clothes in which she had had to array herself each Sunday in Skokie, before being led off to Lutheran services with her aunts Helda and Jessie."

His wife's ex-husband and her daughter "were the embodiment of what my grandparents, and great-grandparents, and great-great-grandparents had loathed and feared: *shagitz* thuggery, *shiksa* wiliness."[42] Sexual revenge on the daughter could be an act of virtue for a Jew, because "Dr. Goebbels or Air Marshal Goering might have a daughter wandering out somewhere in the world, but as a fine example of the species, Lydia would do nicely" as a way of getting back at "the puritan austerity, the prudery, the blandness, the xenophobia of the women of her clan [and] the criminality of the men."[43] Lydia "lived now in a neat little apartment within earshot of the bell in the clock tower of the university whose atheists, Communists and Jews her people had loathed, and . . . wrote ten pages for me every week," giving the Roth character great satisfaction.[44]

When the relationship goes sour, his Jewish relatives tell him he has himself to blame. His brother Moe faults him for sleeping with "Another fucked-up *shiksa*."[45] Moe sees his brother either as a sexual anthropologist or as gripped by a fatal obsession. "First the *lumpenproletariat*, now the aristocracy. What are you, the Malinowski of Manhattan? Enough erotic anthropology. Get rid of her, Pep. You're sticking your plug in the same socket."[46] The Roth character concludes, in "Maureen and Susan I came in contact with two of the more virulent strains of a virus to which only a few women among us are immune."[47] After his brother tells him "a nice civilized Jewish boy with some talent and some brains" has no business sleeping with "something savage . . . a little Apache"[48] (his wife is Irish and German), the Roth character concludes he "made the grotesque mistake of elevating" his wife "to the status of a human being toward whom I had a moral responsibility."[49]

The Roth character is caught between two worlds, one Jewish, the other American. According to the latter, all men are created equal. According to the former, the *goyim* are sub-human beasts. Roth married a beast; his desire to free himself from someone he mistakenly thought was human accounts for pages of violent and unpleasant rage in his books. Roth's attempt to pass from one ethnic sphere to another accounts for much of the comedy. Roth was involved in the ethnic equivalent of a sex change operation.

Ethnic reversal means that there is something intrinsically funny about the idea of a Jewish cowboy. It's the ethnic equivalent of cross-dressing. Jews weren't in America in significant numbers in the 1870s; those who were here were selling blue jeans, not herding cattle. The cowboy was never really Catholic either. How could a Catholic spend all that time in the saddle somewhere in

Texas and fulfill his obligation to go to Mass on Sunday? No, the cowboy was a Protestant American. He didn't have to go to church to be pious. He could commune with God in nature, as he did regularly in the comic strip Rick O'Shay. Like a good Emersonian, he was self-reliant; nature was his church. In the mid-20th century, the cowboy became a symbol for the aspirations of the once dominant Protestant middle class, which was losing cultural ground to Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. Michael Landon, who got his start with the TV cowboy series *Bonanza*, understood this. He went on to do the *Little House on the Prairie*, a TV series which extolled American Western Protestant virtues, like self-reliance, keeping your word, hard work, etc.

Turning the cowboy into a Jew is ethnic reversal fraught with comic possibilities. Lenny Bruce did a skit on Yankele, the Jewish cowboy. Leo Kotke released an album, "Ragtime Cowboy Jew," and Kinky Friedman turned the name Bob Wills and the Texas Playboys into Kinky Friedman and the Texas Jewboys. This tradition reached a culmination of sorts in 1974 when Mel Brooks directed *Blazing Saddles*. Its "humor" puts crude language into the mouths of clergymen and women and all of the other stock characters that made the Western an American morality play. The only funny parts involve ethnic reversal; the best example is when Mel Brooks plays an Indian Chief who speaks Yiddish. "*Shvartzes*," he says upon finding a Negro family in a covered wagon. Then, in a hilarious send up of the Indian-speaking mumbo jumbo, Brooks discourses in Yiddish about what to do about Negro settlers, finally bidding them leave with "*Sey gesind*."

Compared to Philip Roth, Mel Brooks is relatively benign, but then leukemia is benign when compared to Philip Roth. Cowboy movies might have expired of their own inanition or hyperviolence in the '70s, but Brook's parody expedited the process. If Jews just ridiculed Hollywood clichés, who could fault them? Their movies would still be funny. Yet Jews like Brooks had to push the envelope beyond what the *goyim* considered decent. One taboo of the Production Code was ridiculing clergy. Brooks takes savage delight in putting filthy language into a clergyman's mouth and then having his Bible shot to pieces as he raises it in prayer. Jews like Brooks took delight in actions deeply offensive to Protestants, for whom *sola scriptura* was a pillar of faith. In post-Production Code Hollywood, the Jew could ridicule the *goyim* and their God with impunity.

As America's cultural taboos fell under the blows of Jewish ridicule, the need to ridicule and subvert intensified. With the collapse of the Hollywood Production Code in 1965, the attacks on manners and the absurdities of movie clichés gave way to attacks on morals, religion, and Christ. Movies, as a result, became progressively less funny. Behind the Jewish humor one could discern the dim outline of "cultural aggression"—the distillation of that ancestral grievance, the ethnically shared satisfaction of putting one over on the dumb

goy. The more the taboos fell, the more cultural aggression became apparent; the more that became apparent, the less funny the gags became.

A good example of how Jewish humor became less funny can be gleaned from its treatment of the *Shvartze*. Ridicule of the Negro had been a staple of Jewish comedy since Al Jolson put on blackface. It is central to *Blazing Saddles*, which probably holds a record for a Hollywood film using the word "nigger." It is also integral to David Zucker's *Scary Movie 3*. By the time Zucker ridicules the *Shvartze*, however, most cultural taboos have fallen. So Zucker ridicules black funerals. "Who said this was funny?" I wondered as the corpse of a dead black woman was thrown around a funeral home. Treating a corpse with respect goes back to *Antigone*, at least in literature.

Portnoy's Complaint jumps into the fray by exposing Jewish embarrassment at their ethnocentrism. Portnoy is commissioner for Human Opportunity in New York City. He threatens his father: "if he ever uses the word nigger in my presence again, I will drive a real dagger into his fucking bigoted heart!"[50] As a teenager, Portnoy writes a radio play called *Let Freedom Ring!*, "a morality play whose two major characters are named Prejudice and Tolerance."[51] During a recitation of his play on a long ride to western New Jersey, "Tolerance," Portnoy says, "defend[s] Negroes for the way they smell."[52] Portnoy is the Jewish messiah, who vows "to use 'the power of the pen' to liberate from injustice and exploitation, from humiliation and poverty and ignorance, the people I now think of (giving myself gooseflesh) as The People."[53] This makes Portnoy "the most moral man in all of New York, all pure motives and humane and compassionate ideals. Doesn't he know that what I do for a living is I'm good?"[54] Roth is mocking the notion of a Jewish messiah, or he is mocking the fact that Portnoy thinks of himself as one? Either way, it's a brilliant satire of the messianic universalism that invariably grows out of Jewish ethnocentrism. Portnoy becomes the commissioner for Human Opportunity to prove that his mother was wrong not to eat off the same plates as her *Shvartze* maid.

And yet satire has to be based on a moral sense. If the satirist sees morality as a convention as arbitrary and artificial as the clichés of cowboy movies, he will ridicule morals with just as much irreverence, and in the process of eroding the moral basis of the culture he ridicules, he will cease to be funny. The Production Code held the Hollywood Jews back for a while, but it expired in 1965. Since then the same corrosive solvent of ridicule has been poured onto layer after layer of culture eating its way down through the rituals of WASP culture which seemed inexplicable to European Jews, as in the Marx Brothers' *Night at the Opera*; all the way down into morals, the substratum of manners, and through that into religion. During this corrosive erosion of culture, Jewish humor ceased to be funny.

James Bloom's *Gravity Fails: The Comic Jewish Shaping of Modern America* points out "American Jewish funniness is a form of cultural aggression"[55] without any sense that the people whose culture was under attack might not

find that aggression funny. Like Roth, Bloom puts morals in quotes; like Roth he seems unable to distinguish between manners and morals. Likewise, he seems incapable of understanding how the cultural aggression overwhelmed the humor. In movies like *Scary Movie 3*, humor evaporated leaving only the residue of Jewish cultural aggression behind. Firing a shotgun at a picture of Mother Teresa may be David Zucker's idea of humor, but all that remains after the long tasteless skit is the taste of cultural aggression—one more Jew making one more attack on *goyische* illusions, like thinking it is meritorious to take care of the poor in Calcutta.

Bloom correctly sees *Mad* magazine as within the tradition of Jewish humor as cultural aggression, but ignores *Mad*'s ridicule of the tropes of Madison Avenue before it discovered the sexual revolution and blasphemy, whereupon it stopped being funny. Even though the Torah is a book about limits, there was something intrinsically Jewish about the inability to recognize limits—decency, propriety, all the traits Groucho Marx associated with Margaret Dumont—probably because the revolutionary Jew was at war with the Torah as an inhibiting superego to be destroyed so liberation could flourish. People who thought *Ozzie and Harriet* and the Gospel according to St. John could all be rolled up into one big ball and dismissed as *goyische* culture, which is what Roth does in *Portnoy*, wouldn't understand moral nuance or the relationship between the moral and the cultural orders.

Portnoy, in fact, links his slide into sexual depravity with the Torah. If there is a distinction between the Ten Commandments and the prohibition against eating shellfish, Portnoy doesn't see it. Jewish insistence on following the law in its entirety leads Portnoy to moral relativism. If it's all irrational taboo as Freud says, then why shouldn't eating lobster lead to sexual depravity? Is Portnoy rationalizing, in the following passage, or is he giving an account of the Law that St. Paul could endorse?

> Now, maybe the lobster is what did it. That taboo so easily and simply broken, confidence may have been given to the whole slimy, suicidal Dionysian side of my nature; the lesson may have been learned that to break the law all you have to do is—just go ahead and break it!. . . . [At] age fifteen, he sucks one night on a lobster's claw and within the hour his cock is out and aimed at a *shikse* on a Public Service bus. And his superior Jewish brain might as well be made of matzoh brei."[56]

The Torah is about limits, but the revolutionary Jew doesn't respect limits because he learned from Freud and Marx that "morality" is an irrational taboo, like not eating lobster. Since the Jew learned as a child, in Portnoy's words, "it doesn't make any difference either . . . how big or how small the rule is that you break, it's the breaking alone that gets His goat," all moral law is one large irrational taboo.[57] If you're going to be hanged for a dietary lamb, why not be hanged for a sexual sheep? Yet Portnoy's conscience is troubled:

"Why," he wonders, "must the least deviation from respectable conventions cause me such inner hell? When I hate those fucking conventions! When I know better than the taboos!"[58]

With reason dismissed as irrational taboo, all that is left is appetite. The superego is seen as a Nazi storm trooper; as a result, ego or reason can only choose appetite: "But then all the unconscious can do anyway, so Freud says, is want. And want! and WANT!"[59] The good Jew thus must wage war on conscience, first in himself through psychoanalysis, and then as the savior of the benighted *goyim*, especially good-looking shikses. Roth redefines the Yid as id waiting to be liberated. The role of the revolutionary Jewish messiah is to "put the id back in Yid! Liberate this nice Jewish boy's libido," Portnoy pleads with his psychoanalyst, "will you please? Raise the prices if you have to! I'll pay anything!"[60]

Given the tenuous Jewish understanding of the distinction between eating shellfish and committing adultery, it is not surprising that psychoanalysis has succeeded in debunking morals. So, Portnoy says, "I simply will not enter into a contract to sleep with just one woman for the rest of my days."[61] Portnoy has been liberated from marriage, the institution that might have turned him into a decent human being. He is free to be bad, "Because to be bad, Mother, that is the real struggle: to be bad—and to enjoy it! That is what makes men of us boys, Mother. But what my conscience, so-called, has done to my sexuality, my spontaneity, my courage."[62]

Convinced his vices are virtues, convinced by Reich and Freud that sexual repression is evil and "morality" is an irrational taboo, the revolutionary Jew can transform American culture by remaking it in his distorted image. Just tell a few jokes and the idols of WASP American culture all crumble into dust. Another word for Jewish humor was "demythologizing."[63] Like Jake the Snake, the ghetto Jew from Newark, Philip Roth, according to Cooper,

> demythologized the world of the respectable. As Henny Youngman, whining about family and friends while eliciting laughable squeaks from the violin (the very violin that was to make of every little Jewish boy, myself included, a world-famous, urbane, poetic, dignified and revered Yehudi) demytholgized our yearnings for cultural superiority.[64]

The rise of Jewish humor meant the transformation of America into something Jewish. That transformation has been so complete that now an alternative is difficult to imagine. Is there an American humor that is not Jewish? Bloom is both fatuous and to the point when he quotes Charles Simic, "it is impossible to imagine a Christian or a fascist theory of humor."[65] By mid 20th century, "Jewish funniness," says Bloom, had triumphed over "the scenes and tropes sanctifying this New England legacy."[66] And "Alfred Kazin ratified this triumph in 1966 by dismissing earnest intellectuals and honoring such funny

Jewish 'clowns and minstrels' as the 'Marx Brothers, Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson and Fanny Brice' for 'establishing the Jew in the national consciousness as a distinctly American figure. . . as a representative national entertainer'."[67]

Philip Roth's alter-egos are, in Bloom's words, "culture warriors" eager to "trespass on the hallowed ground of WASP dominance."[68] Roth is the successor to Groucho Marx, "standing poised to vandalize yet another monument to New England's Brahmin ascendancy,"[69] as Groucho did in *Horsefeathers* by calling himself Quincy Adams Wagstaff. The eclipse of the Irish as the nation's comedians meant what Jews thought was funny was now funny for everyone. That meant the systematic violation of taboos. It was all *goyische* idiocy anyway.

"They worship a Jew," Jake Portnoy tells his son, "do you know that, Alex? Their whole big-deal religion is based on worshipping someone who was an established Jew at that time. Now how do you like that for stupidity? How do you like that for stupidity? How do you like that for pulling the wool over the eyes of the public. . . . They took a Jew and turned him into some kind of God after he is already dead . . . I assure you, Alex, you are never going to hear such a *mishegoss* of mixed-up crap and disgusting nonsense as the Christian religion in your entire life. And that's what these big shots, so-called, believe!"[70]

What Alex Portnoy hears from his father is ethnic prejudice; what Roth writes is cultural aggression, an attack on the Resurrection, the central tenet of the faith of the majority of America's citizens. Every ethnic group has its prejudices. Jews can't be expected to believe in the Resurrection. If they did, they wouldn't be Jews, at least not in the contemporary meaning of the term. In the America that was once a republic based on ethnic pluralism, federalism and the cultural autonomy of the local community, ethnic prejudice was not a serious problem. In Imperial America, which came into its own following World War II, it became a serious problem because in its imperialist phase, America was not pluralistic; one ethnic group dominated the dominant culture for its own benefit and demonized any competing ethnicities.

The existence of one dominant culture meant the prejudices of the group that controls the instruments of culture become normative. The new instruments of culture—movies, radio, TV—were largely in the hands of Jews. With the rise of media power, Jewish cultural prejudice became the norm. Moral subversion and blasphemy also became the norm. This is what the Catholic/Jewish battle over Hollywood films was about. Joe Breen, first head of the Hollywood Production code, framed the issue during the 1930s: should sexually degenerate Eastern European Jews determine the movie fare for the entire nation? Once Hollywood broke the production code in 1965, the answer became an unequivocal "Yes." "During the middle of the twentieth century," Bloom says, "a handful of Jews, who became famous by being funny, rediscovered, recovered and remade America."[71] That entailed redefining what

it meant to be funny. Jewish cartoonist Jules Feiffer lamented that in 1957, "Humor was still Bob Hope," and Bloom applauds the fact that by

> importing Jewish angst, Freud, literacy, and irony into the discourse of mainstream comedy, Woody Allen, Lenny Bruce, Elaine May, Mike Nichols, and others "led comedy away from the ersatz to the authentic." This persuasive and lasting influence led the glossy monthly *Esquire*. . . to pronouncing in 1965 that "for good or ill, the Jewish style with its heavy reliance upon Yiddish and Yiddishisms has emerged not only as a comic style, but as the prevailing comic style." The result, according to Lee Siegel's millennial retrospect was "new life for American culture."[73]

That Jewish transformation of American humor also meant the subversion of sexual morals. Lenny Bruce and Philip Roth focusing "on genitalia as a key site of desire made the comedy of concupiscence central to Jewish funniness in the early 1960s."[73] Bloom cites the heroine in LeRoi Jones's play *Dutchman* who denounces "all those Jewish poets" whose "poems are always funny and always about sex."[74] Jones, says Bloom, "recognized in Jewish funniness a reversal of the prevailing idealistic Platonic trajectory. This overriding Western legacy maintains that, rightly regarded, fleshly desire must lead to spiritual reflection or at least to expressions of worthier aspirations than carnal appetite."[75] Like Philip Roth and Adolf Hitler, Bloom posits the Jew as quintessentially a sexual degenerate. He cites

> Daphne Merkin's reading of Jewish Eros, from the "core of the Jewish stance toward lust," its "emphasis on demystifying the erotic." For all its conjugal emphasis, Merkin stresses the degree to which this stance rests on "a shrewd recognition that marital life and . . . ritual" cannot "fully tame the stirrings of desire."[76]

Before long the *goyim* had to imitate the Jews if they wanted to be published or performed. Jewish control of the media arose in the performing arts as early as the 1930s, when, according to Bloom,

> Cole Porter . . . decided that he needed to steep his art in American popular music's ascendant Jewishness—to write "Jewish tunes" like those of Jerome Kern, Richard Rodgers and George Gershwin. In the course of consequently producing "the most enduring Jewish music" ever, Porter also heralded, in his 1934 standard, "Anything Goes," an emerging sexual frankness in entertainment and arts.[77]

In *Operation Shylock*, Philip Roth claims he got his program for cultural subversion by listening to Irving Berlin:

> The radio was playing "Easter Parade" and I thought. . . this is Jewish genius on a par with the Ten Commandments. . . . God gave Moses the Ten Commandments, and then he gave Berlin "Easter Parade" and "White Christmas." The two holidays celebrate the divinity of

> Christ—the divinity that's at the very heart of the Jewish rejection of Christianity—and what does Irving Berlin brilliantly do? He de-Christs them. Easter he turns into a fashion show and Christmas into a holiday about snow. . . [this] schlockified Christianity is Christianity cleansed of Jew hatred."[78]

Mad magazine continued the trend of "Jewish funniness" as "a form of cultural aggression" after World War II by regularly conflating images of George Washington and Alfred E. Newman. Actor John Goodman recalled the arrival of *Mad* in his hometown in Missouri as "the only cultural event of the month" and claimed it "formed his boyhood consciousness" by teaching him "Jewish funniness," which meant "the smart-aleck skepticism, suspicion of authority, and Yiddishisms like furghlugginer [*sic*] and portezebie [*sic*]."[79] In its campaign to ridicule "the Father of his country,"[80] *Mad* also ran variations on Larry Rivers' 1953 parody of Leutze's painting of Washington Crossing the Delaware. *Mad* became the vehicle whereby Jewish Greenwich Village Bohemia found its way into the cultural mainstream. Rivers, born Irving Grossberg in the Bronx, played the saxophone when he wasn't painting parodies. He tried to explain his version of Washington crossing the Delaware in his autobiography. He painted it to calm "paranoid fantasies" because "I was a Jew, and unless I could produce evidence to the contrary, I was a communist."[81]

His parody of Washington Crossing the Delaware was "evidence to the contrary"[82] in case he got called before the House Unamerican Activities Committee like "some blacklisted Hollywood Jews."[83] He had his cake and ate it too, ridiculing icons in the act of reproducing them for self-protection: "Despite my smoking of pot and my sucking of cunt and the occasional cock . . . . I could always point to George."[84] His guilty conscience, in other words, prompted paranoia, which he assuaged by subverting the manners and morals of the dominant culture, the superego he incorrectly assumed was the source of his guilty conscience. Alfred Kazin makes the same point in his autobiography *New York Jew* when he claims "the debunkers had destroyed Parson Weems."[85] Jules Feiffer continued the trend in *Carnal Knowledge*, which, in Bloom's words, "savaged both mid-century collegiate and courtship mores."[86] *Carnal Knowledge*, Bloom continues, "aims, in Philip Roth's phrase, to 'demythologize the respectable,'"[87] a project Roth has pursued his entire career.

When *Commentary* re-evaluated Philip Roth in 1972, the dichotomy "American vs. Jew" no longer had much meaning. There was no reason to agonize about whether being Jewish prevented *Commentary* readers from sharing the American Dream because the American Dream had become a Jewish *shtick* anyway. Milton Berle competed head to head with Bishop Fulton Sheen on prime time TV and lost. Fifty years later, Bloom says

laconically, "shows like Sheen's no longer air in network prime time or even on the national cable spectrum."[88] They have been replaced by "the Shticks of numerous funny Jews, such as Seinfeld, Paul Reiser, Fran Dresher, Richard Lewis, and Jenna Elfman," not to mention the ineffable Howard Stern, whose "conquest of cable and radio, of movie theaters and bookstores, marks for better or worse the unequivocal arrival of Jewish funniness" as well as the triumph of Jewish sexual degeneracy.[89] Portnoy, the domestic Jewish savior, obviated the problem of assimilation that plagued his father's generation of American Jews by conquering the culture, just as Albert Goldman said he would.

By the 1970s, being Jewish and being American meant one and the same thing, certainly in humor, but in other areas too. The average American had become a sexually addicted zombie, like Portnoy, content to let the offspring of ghetto Jews manage his freetime. What the Hollywood Jews were to Bill Clinton, the New York neoconservative Jews became for George W. Bush. The average American could choose Hollywood pornography or neoconservative wars in the Middle East for his nightly entertainment.

Roth was genius enough to propose the final solution to the Jewish assimilation problem in *Portnoy's Complaint*, and the Jews at *Commentary* chose to kvetch about "vindictive bleakness" and "the new class" instead of lauding him as the Einstein of his generation. Roth solved what Bloom called "the eternal Jewish conflict" namely, "maintaining their identity while participating in a wider national life" in a breathtakingly simple manner.[90] The Jew no longer had to become "an American" because America had essentially become Jewish. Portnoy, the comic Jewish messiah, conquered America by corrupting the morals of American women. "What I'm saying doctor," Portnoy tells his psychoanalyst, "is that I don't seem to stick my dick up these girls, as much as I stick it up their backgrounds—as though through fucking I will discover America. *Conquer America*—maybe that's more like it."[91]

Yes, that's more like it. This ruthless sexual exploitation of the unsuspecting *shikses* from Irvington, New Jersey, where "there was a tree conspicuously ablaze in every parlor [and] the houses themselves are outlined with colored bulbs advertising Christianity"[92] is justified as ethnic warfare, cultural guerrilla warfare, to subvert the morals of the enemy as revenge for the *goyim*'s treatment of Roth's people. In screwing the WASP patrician Portnoy calls The Pilgrim, Portnoy is taking revenge on the insurance firm that employed his father because "she could have been a Lindabury, don't you see? A daughter of my father's boss!"[93] Only in ethnic solidarity can Portnoy find the anodyne for his troubled sexual conscience, the anodyne psychoanalysis promised but could not deliver. Roth is similar to Al Goldstein, editor of *Screw*, who used Jewish ethnicity as an excuse for his pandering. "Jews," Goldstein told Luke Ford, "are into pornography because Christ sucks."[94] In other words, any transgression of the moral law can be justified as long as it can be construed

as aggression against the *goyim*. "No," Portnoy says about his affair with Sally Maulsby, The Pilgrim. There was no love involved after all. It was all just ethnic aggression: "Sally Maulsby was just something a nice son once did for his dad. . . there could never be any 'love' in me for The Pilgrim."[95] What Sally viewed as love was "a little vengeance on Mr. Lindabury for all those nights and Sundays Jack Portnoy spent collecting down in the colored district. A little bonus extracted from Boston & Northeastern, for all those years of service and exploitation."[96] Sexual exploitation in exchange for economic exploitation: the *quid pro quo* of the revolutionary Jew.

Cooper cheers Roth on from the sidelines: "Seeing himself at the mercy of the *goyim*, he could approach them only obliquely through their daughters: he could 'conquer America' by debasing 'The real McCoy' or her nicknamed variants."[97] Cooper applauds Roth for "trying to achieve manhood by being bad. For a Jew of their upbringing, the second quest is harder because it is perverse. And being perverse, being a total inversion of normal expectation, it is comic," at least in the Jewish sense.[98]

The Golden Age of Jewish Humor and Cultural Subversion began in 1965 when the Jews wrested cultural control of the movies from the Catholics by releasing *The Pawnbroker*. *Portnoy's Complaint* followed four years later. Four years after that, America got Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying*, the female version of *Portnoy*, and four after that, in 1977, Woody Allen did *Annie Hall*, the real film version of Roth's book. (The visit to Annie Hall's home in Chippewa Falls is taken straight from Portnoy's visit to The Pumpkin's family in Iowa.) Shortly after the release of *Annie Hall*, *Time* eulogized Allen as an American Genius for directing *Annie Hall*, in which the schlemiel once again schtups the *shiksa* before the eyes of Mr. & Mrs. America, her proud parents. Woody Allen not only gets away with it, he landed on the cover of *Time* for doing it.

Chapter Nineteen

The Jewish Takeover of American Culture

In 1970, when President Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia, setting off campus demonstrations across the country, including at Kent State, where four students were shot to death by National Guardsmen, Ron Radosh was teaching history at the City University of New York, the traditional haven for that city's Jewish revolutionaries. When the revolution came to his campus in the spring of 1970, Radosh was no longer playing the five-string banjo. He had changed his tune, even if he felt he was realizing the revolutionary dreams of his youth. Condemned to prove Plato right, Radosh found he needed new music for a different revolution, and so he concluded his harangue to his students by screaming "Got to Revolution/ Got to Revolution/ Pick up the cry/ Got to Revolution,"[1] which he picked up from a Jefferson Airplane song, "Volunteers." Upon hearing his revolutionary war cry, the students, Radosh says, "went wild."[2] Without any sense there might be a connection, Radosh then tells us that around that time, "my marriage was beginning to unravel."[3]

Radosh's wife Alice was seeing a psychologist who encouraged her to get "stoned on grass and LSD" as "an advanced therapeutic technique."[4] The same therapist encouraged Radosh's wife to divorce him. Even after writing his memoir, Radosh failed to see how Jewish revolutionaries were subverted by their own ideas. Radosh supported the revolution without seeing it was self-destructive because it defined the family as an instrument of oppression. Radosh felt he and Alice probably would have stuck it out "if left to our own devices,"[5] but they were not left to their own devices because the revolution had been redefined. What Radosh calls "the Movement" was "turning towards the politics of personal relationship."[6] Instead of smashing capitalism, revolutionary Jews like Radosh and his wife, taking their cue from "the radical feminism of the early women's liberation movement," decided to "smash monogamy," and they smashed themselves and their children in the process.[7] To liberate herself from "bourgeois possessiveness,"[8] Radosh's wife carried on an affair with David Gelber, another revolutionary Jew, who would become a top-level TV producer with CBS news and then with *60 Minutes*.

Radosh "waged a desperate fight to save the marriage,"[9] he says, but given the arsenal of weapons available to a Jewish revolutionary, i.e., Marx and Freud with a heavier emphasis on Freud, the outcome was a foregone conclusion. Alice "run away with another man, poor boy," as he might have sung to the accompaniment of his five-string banjo a few years back. To cope, Radosh "took a long-awaited sabbatical to try to dig out of the wreckage of my life."[10] Radosh "spent most days severely depressed, sleeping all night and half the day, and then shut up alone watching television until I crawled into bed."[11]

In his autobiography, Dylan recounts meeting Archibald MacLeish, who told him "if anything costs you your faith or your family, then the price is too high."[12] MacLeish was right. The Left was destroyed by its fatal attraction to sexual liberation. When the Left went down in flames, it took folk music with it. Some would say it took the Jews as well. Alan Dershowitz is of that opinion, writing about the demographic collapse among American Jews in *The Vanishing American Jew*. Bob Dylan's marriage to Sara Lowndes, which produced five children, broke down a little after Radosh's for roughly the same reasons.

Both men compensated by substituting quantity for quality. Bob Dylan linked up with musicians who came to be known as "the Band," whom he lured away from Screaming Ronnie Hawkins. The Band, according to Spitz, was "one of the earliest bands to perfect the ethic of sex, drugs and rock 'n roll as an alternative life-style."[13] Dylan's music continued its downward spiral, becoming "aggressive, cynical, hard-edged, highly mannered and surrealistic."[14] The lyrics, as a result of the loud amplified music, became first incomprehensible and then inconsequential. Why should the man who revolutionized the folk song with his lyrics care about meaning "when the electricity simply picked you up and carried you into outer space for a hour or two."[15] And if the electricity didn't, drugs would. When Mick Jagger came to Dylan's apartment to pay homage, he found the revolutionary bard unconscious on the floor, offering devout homage to the god Dionysos, who had control of his music and the revolution that flowed from it.

Linking up with Danny Kalb, the Jewish Blues singer who had shared his apartment with Bob Dylan in Madison in the early '60s, Ron Radosh made up "for what I now regard as lost time with Alice," by having sex "with virtually any woman I was attracted to who crossed my path."[16] Radosh says "It was a good time to be single" because

> everyone was available, and almost no one thought twice about immediately hopping into bed on the first day. I had never thought myself particularly attractive to women, but suddenly I had a full dance card and even got a reputation as a womanizer. Some of the things I did were questionable, but in the period when smashing monogamy was the new standard of the Movement, I could always rationalize my behavior as helping to free society from bourgeois definitions of reality.[17]

Radosh still doesn't understand the consequences of his actions. "My major preoccupation, aside from socialism," Radosh says, getting to the point and also avoiding it, "became looking for new women. . . . I rehabilitated the sexual self-esteem that my former wife had crushed. But I wasn't especially happy."[18] During his Lothario period, Barbara Garson, author of the anti-Lyndon Johnson play, *MacBird*, called Radosh to see if he could give her "banjo lessons."[19] Within 15 minutes of arriving at her apartment, Radosh was having sex with the playwright.

The sexual revolution had replaced the Marxist revolution, and, in doing that, it had destroyed everything that Radosh's parents had worked for. "The Marxist revolution we had hoped for was stillborn," Radosh writes, "but the sexual revolution was alive and well."[20] The sexual revolution killed the Left, just as it killed the fight for workers' rights, the antiwar movement, and the Jewish birth rate, but the Left was too intoxicated to notice. When the drug-induced intoxication wore off, their minds were so darkened by their passions that years later they still couldn't understand what had happened.

Radosh's memoir is one indication of that; Bob Dylan's is another. Radosh's memoir provides the more comprehensive picture of what happened to the revolutionary Jew in the folk music movement when the sexual revolution hit. Radosh had an extended liaison with a woman he called Judy, "an extremely pretty, outgoing and freewheeling woman, who believed in free sex anytime and anywhere" who occasionally "managed to find work in theater and film in exchange for sexual favors."[21] Judy was a true devotee of Dionysos, "a serious alcoholic, who after some days of sobriety would end up dead drunk, crazed and violent."[22] Radosh persuaded Judy to drive to Washington State, where he planned to work in an archive. Radosh described the trip as their "own version of *On the Road*,"[23] Jack Kerouac's 1957 Beatnik novel. Judy would "sometimes drink herself into a stupor and at other times insist on rounds of non-stop sex," including one session on top of Mount Rushmore.[24]

Once they arrived on the West Coast, Radosh looked up comrades from the commie folk music network only to discover they were living the same lifestyle he was. Bob Scheer, former editor of *Ramparts*, was in a radical Berkeley commune, the "Red Family," which, like Radosh, eschewed workingman's rights in favor of sexual politics and burning questions like "whether or not it was 'bourgeois' to want to close the bathroom door while using the toilet."[25]

Scheer took a fancy to Judy, and when he made a move on her in Radosh's car, Radosh kicked him out, stranding him by the side of the road. The only thing that kept Scheer's interest, other than sex, was Kim Il Sung. Scheer would enthuse for hours about "the paradise he had seen during a recent visit to North Korea" and "about the greatness of Kim Il Sung."[26] Scheer had arranged asylum in North Korea for Eldridge Cleaver, the founder of the Black Panthers who was on the lam from the U.S. Government and a faction of the Panthers that wanted to eliminate him in a power struggle. Scheer

was the rule not the exception. "Others in the Movement had," says Radosh, "found heaven on earth in places like Cuba and even China," so why shouldn't Scheer find paradise in Pyongyang.[27]

Once again, we have to distinguish between form and content. The form was the revolutionary Jew, blind and carnal, forever seeking heaven on earth and forever ending up disappointed. The content was the particular heaven on earth known as Moscow, Cuba, Hanoi, Nicaragua, and then later, when he got the neoconservative religion, post-Communist Poland and eastern Europe. Radosh's memoir is written in the form of a religious conversion story, except the religion he converted to is neoconservatism, which, upon closer inspection, is just one more form of Jewish revolutionary activity and subversion. The only form that provided any political coherence to Radosh's life, which oscillated between Stalinism and Neoconservatism, was the persona of the revolutionary Jew, determined to engage in subversive behavior even when he subverted his own marriage and family.

The revolutionary Jew was not averse to subverting his brain as well. Judy moved out of Radosh's apartment after they returned to New York, but not before encouraging him to take LSD. Chemically induced derangement was now part of lifestyle "liberation" which was, sometimes literally, killing the Left. After taking LSD, Radosh lived in "virtual terror"[28] for five days. His liberated mind noticed "monsters, snakes, devils," and "anything my imagination conjured up" would leap out of the walls and attack him, leaving him "frozen in fear, not being able to speak, walk or even move."[29] Radosh had hallucinations for weeks afterward, or at any time the residue of the LSD got metabolized from his fat cells.

After reading in *Liberation* magazine that attending political demonstrations was the best way to get laid, Radosh took a sleeping bag to a sit-in at Columbia, where, as *Liberation* had predicted, he found someone to sleep with. Allis Rosenberg was another revolutionary Jew, recently divorced from yet another revolutionary Jew, Alan Wolfe. All the revolutionary Jews, it seems, were looking for love in the wrong places. When the president of Columbia accused Radosh of criminal activity in the sit-in, Radosh became worried "that the letter could have a damaging effect on my own prospects for promotion and advancement at the City University of New York, and could easily be used against me."[30] Radosh called Alan Dershowitz, who used his well-known reputation as a legal intimidator to get Radosh off the hook, even though Radosh readily admitted, in his memoir at least, that he was guilty of all of the offenses Columbia's president laid at his feet.

Radosh's recourse to Alan Dershowitz is more than an indication of Jewish solidarity trumping political differences: it also indicated that the revolutionary Jew will turn on the movements he has created when Jews no longer control them. Without Jews like the Spingarn brothers, there would

have been no NAACP, but when the Jews were no longer welcome in civil rights circles, the Jews turned on their erstwhile protégés.

In 1973, Radosh's second wife got involved in a turf battle with the feminists. Allis Rosenberg Radosh was a feminist because that was the revolutionary activity for women of her class and ethnic background in the early '70s. Allis was part of "a socialist, feminist, consciousness raising group, and was planning to obtain a Ph.D. in history at the CUNY Graduate Center" when Radosh met her.[31] She then taught in the women's studies department at Richmond College of CUNY in proletarian, i.e, ethnic Catholic, Staten Island. Richmond had already been taken over by the Left, which, in New York, meant Jews like Radosh and Rosenberg, even though "most of the students [there] were Italian Catholics far removed from any sympathy or association with the faculty teaching them."[32]

At Richmond College, however, the revolution proceeded to devour its own children. The lesbians wrested power over tenure and promotion from the Jews, who then became counter-revolutionaries. Allis Radosh vented her anger in *The Village Voice*. "What Allis recorded in the *Voice* and what she daily came home to tell me about," Radosh says, barely keeping his indignation in check, "was almost unbelievable."[33] The women's movement had been hijacked by lesbians. Of course, the Jews had done the same thing a few years earlier, but as Breshnev and George W. Bush would claim, revolutions were supposed to be irreversible. That means that those who wrested power from others were never supposed to have it wrested from them, but it turns out that history didn't work that way. According to revolutionary principles, the fact that lesbians were the "most oppressed women," automatically catapulted them "into the vanguard of the women's movement," displacing the children of the Jewish communists who had popularized the idea of the revolutionary vanguard in the first place.[34] The revolutionary Jew was once again hoisted on his own petard. Or so it seemed. All the two incidents really meant was that the Jews would create new anti-black, anti-feminist organizations they could control under the rubric of neoconservatism. Once again the content of revolutionary activity would change, but the form—the revolutionary Jew—would remain.

By the time the revolutionary Jew got what he wanted, he no longer wanted it. The Vietnam War was a classic case. In the spring of 1975, Radosh and his new wife attended a victory celebration for the Vietcong in Central Park, where they listened to Joan Baez, "the diva of the antiwar movement," as well as "the artist who stood alongside the young Bob Dylan and epitomized the union of art and politics," and Phil Ochs, as they sang Ochs' anti-war anthem "I declare the war is over."[35] A few months later, Ochs, an alcoholic wreck, committed suicide when Bob Dylan did not include him in the Rolling Thunder revue. Radosh and his wife experienced a milder form of letdown. Instead of a moment of triumph, "the end of the war," Radosh says, "produced

a great void."[36] It was "an occasion for deep melancholy" because the war and the draft had been "the issue that had given meaning to our lives" and *now* that issue was "beginning to evaporate," and when Nixon abolished the draft, it evaporated.[37]

Radosh's melancholia is easy to understand. The end of the Vietnam War was supposed to mean the beginning of heaven on earth, as the end of capitalism was supposed to signal the same thing to his parents' generation. When the war ended, Radosh knew it didn't begin anything, certainly not heaven on earth, and so it became a reproach to the idea the revolutionary Jew had been propagating for two millennia. At moments like this, the revolutionary Jew was haunted, for a moment, by the thought there might not be heaven on earth ever, a thought that recurred each time one of his gods failed. "The idea of an immediate, no-fault revolution, a fantasy of the previous decade, was no longer tenable. We would not break on through to the other side, as in the Doors' revolutionary anthem, or at least not overnight as we had hoped."[38] The Vietnam War "had been the center of everything," even for those who "thought the revolution would be cultural and had abandoned politics for dope and rock and roll."[39] But now the center of their lives was gone. "None of us admitted it," Radosh says, "but we almost all looked inside ourselves with a rising sense of panic and wondered, 'What now?'"[40] Rather than accept that heaven on earth is an illusion, the revolutionary Jew searched for it more feverishly:

> It was a time when some of my old comrades went looking for love in all the wrong places—human potential movements, therapeutic ecstasies and personality cults—while others began the long march though the institutions. And I, desperately afraid that my god would fail, went looking for another party to join, communism having long since withered away for me.

THE ROLLING THUNDER REVUE OCTOBER 27, 1975

On October 27, 1975, six months after the fall of Vietnam and shortly after Rod Radosh married his second wife, three chartered buses rolled out of New York City, headed north, beginning Bob Dylan's Rolling Thunder Review, his way of compensating for the void the end of the war created in the tattered remnants of the folk song movement. It also compensated for the family he had just destroyed. Spitz claims the music "scene" destroyed Dylan's marriage. "Scene" is a code word for adultery and drugs: "The scene is what ended it. Sarah just couldn't compete with the sideshow allure of New York."[41] Spitz is more explicit when he describes the ambiance of the Rolling Thunder Revue:

> The unwritten rule in every male musician's life was that touring gave him license to go wild. It was the place where, for one or two months

> out of the year, he was free to get all those freaky fantasies out of his system before settling back into fidelity with the little woman and the kids. What you did on the road was your business. It was like being a member of the music masons.[42]

Sara Lowndes Dylan wouldn't file for divorce until 1977, but the Rolling Thunder Revue shows the marriage ended two years earlier. Bob Dylan compensated for the loss of his family by surrounding himself with "weirdos,"[43] people of his own background, revolutionary Jews who gave toadying approbation to his wretched excess. He missed his family nonetheless, and "as a result, he manufactured this big musical family to help fill the void."[44] The Rolling Thunder Revue may have been a *faux* family but "the spirit of it was patterned after a summer camp;"[45] indeed, the Jewish communist summer camps where many musicians learned American folk music. The Rolling Thunder Review bespoke Dylan's nostalgia for the America the Jewish cultural revolutionaries had destroyed. They were still conflicted, because the one thing the New Left refused to relinquish was sexual liberation. The Revue was to post-revolutionary America what the workers' revolutionary theater trains were to post-revolutionary Russia, an attempt at agit-prop to convince the masses that, contrary to all evidence, the revolution was still a good idea. That meant bringing sexual revolution to small towns of New England in 1975. "All those small towns whose womenfolk were struggling against the yoke of repression were sexual time bombs waiting to go off. The Rolling Thunder Revue rolled into town and—Whammo!—teenagers and young moms suddenly found themselves doing things they'd only read about in *Penthouse*. Leave it to rock musicians!"[46]

Instead of Phil Ochs, Bob Dylan chose Ramblin' Jack Elliott to accompany him. Elliott was eventually replaced by Kinky Friedman—minus the Texas Jewboys. Kinky sported menorah-embroidered silk cowboy shirts even when that parody of the singing Jewish cowboy had worn thin. The quality of Dylan's music can be deduced from his Rolling Thunder lifestyle. He put on a cowboy hat, painted his face white, and sang one song after another in the same voice without indicating when he moved from one song to another. It was a musical rendition of his sex life; the songs and the women became interchangeable and indistinguishable. The revolutionary Jew had succeeded beyond anyone's expectations. He had subverted the morals of "puritanical" America, and wrecked his own life too. Archibald MacLeish was right, "if anything costs you your faith or your family, then the price is too high."

In 1975, about the time the Rolling Thunder Revue pulled out of New York, the Bothy Band released its epoch-making album of traditional Irish music. A rhythm section propelled by Donal Lunny on the bouzouki and Michael O'Domhnaill on the acoustic guitar showed the band had been influenced by the folk revival, but the music was pure Irish ethnic, passed on the traditional

intra-family way. Michael and Triona Ní Domhnaill's aunt had contributed 286 songs to the Dublin University folklore collection.

Four years later Mick Maloney arrived in Philadelphia. Under the guidance of Ken Goldstein of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dennis Clark, with whom Goldstein collaborated in the creation of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Maloney used the nearly defunct folk music network to promote traditional Irish music. An Irish music renaissance would spread for 20 years through the ruins of the old folk network. By the late '70s, popular front folk music had morphed into folk rock, which had morphed into hard rock, heavy metal, disco, and any number of minor variations promoted intensely but with diminishing returns by "the music industry." The music industry could be compared to a layer of asphalt that gradually covered large areas of fertile musical ground in the same way mall parking lots covered acres of fertile farmland. The point of the music industry was commerce and control, or commerce as a form of control, as pioneered by Jewish businessmen like Albert Grossman, and epigoni like David Geffen. If, by the late '70s the music industry could be compared to one large metaphorical mall parking lot, then The Bothy Band's 1975 album was a hardy plant popping its first tendrils from a crack in the asphalt caused by the thaw after a long winter of ice and cold. There was still life in the subterranean stratum of ethnic music the industry had tried to colonize and control.

THE RISE OF ETHNIC MUSIC 1976

Other plants soon bloomed in the cracks in the asphalt. In 1976, Jewish refugees from the defunct folk music movement formed the band Klezmorim in Berkeley. "Klezmer," musicians of the Irish revival of the 1980s said, "was God's way of keeping the Jews from taking over Irish music." When folk music morphed into Heavy Metal, the Jews turned to "Heavy Shtetl." In 1978, the Los Angeles based NAMA Orchestra released their album, "Mazltov!", and Klezmer music was born. Although the term came into common parlance around 1980, the music was not new. Klezmer (based on the Hebrew kle and zmer, meaning vessels of song) was the ethnic music of the southern Jewish Pale of Settlement. If New Orleans was the catch basin for Southern musical traditions and the place where they got forged into something typically American, known as Jazz, Odessa played a similar role in the evolution of Klezmer. In Odessa, Gypsy, Greek, and Romanian music merged into the *frehlekhs* and other manifestations of Jewish dance music eventually known as Klezmer.

Since Bob Dylan's grandmother came from Odessa, there is a certain element of irony here. When Jewish banjo pickers emerged from the rubble of the folk movement Dylan destroyed, dusting off their grandparents' 78 records, Dylan became a Christian, baptized in May 1980, and released

three Christian albums that revitalized his career, allowing him to reach a new audience. Spitz, displaying the animus against Christianity one expects of Jews, claims "Dylan fans were shocked and bewildered by this newest transformation."[47] He indicates Dylan was another Jewish performer adopting an alien ethnic stage identity; his conversion was the religious version of black face. Dylan's conversion appears sincere, but whether Dylan will perdure is unclear. Life on the road destroyed his marriage, so it is unlikely that it will help him lead a life worthy of a Christian.

TIME CROWNS WOODY ALLEN AN AMERICAN GENIUS 1977

Beginning in 1970, *Time* was in the forefront of announcing the Jewish takeover of American culture. "The United States," claimed *Time*, "is becoming more Jewish. . . . Among American intellectuals the Jew has even become a culture hero."[48] *Time* quoted poet Robert Lowell: "Jewishness is the center of today's literature much as the West was in the '30s."[49] Twenty years later, *Time* repeated the theme, "Jews are news. It is an axiom of journalism. An indispensable one, too, because it is otherwise impossible to explain why the deeds and misdeeds of a dot-on-the-map Israel get an absurdly disproportionate amount of news coverage around the world."[50]

Seven years after the first article, Woody Allen released his film *Annie Hall*, and *Time* certified Allen as the quintessential Jewish comic genius. *Commentary* followed suit in less breathless fashion two years later, but not all Jews were happy at having Allen proclaimed their cultural representative. Twenty years after *Time* crowned Allen, Rabbi Samuel Dresner still expressed his reservations in an unanswered culturally anomalous attack. The issue was: who speaks for the American Jew? If, as Dresner noted, "American Jews accept the categorization of themselves as advocates of Woody Allen," then Judaism is another word for "sexual permissiveness and even perversity," a proposition which Dresner found unacceptable.[51] According to Dresner, "The lifestyles of Jews should not determine the Jewish style of life." The former, according to Dresner, "should not be determined by the latter, even if the latter should become a majority in the Jewish community." Dresner says if American Jews become "advocates of Woody Allen," that would be "not only a betrayal of Jewish values but a betrayal of the Jewish people, for no one more than Allen has enabled so many to view the Jew, especially the religious Jew, in so corrupt a manner."[52]

Dresner thus raises the perennial issue: who defines what a Jew is? Dresner sees

> Woody Allen as the classic example of how America has become more Jewish while "American Jews are becoming less Jewish." Because of his popularity and because mainline Jewish organizations leave his attacks on Jewish tradition unmentioned, Allen has become a paradigm for the

> majority of American Jews. To understand what that means, we must understand what Woody Allen symbolizes to most American Jews. "

Woody Allen, Dresner notes, has had a "persistent fascination"[54] with incest. He has been in psychoanalysis for over 30 years; his fascination, whether expressed in his writing ("It's a whole new ball game," she said, pressing close to me. "Marrying Mom has made you my father."[55]), or through his seduction of his and Mia Farrow's adopted daughter is best explained by an analysis of Freud. Freud, too, was obsessed with incest. In *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud makes clear that, as in the case of the Pharaohs of Egypt, incest confers god-like status on its perpetrators. Freud also claims Moses was an Egyptian, thus de-legitimatizing the man who gave the Law to Israel. David Bakan has written a book commenting on these passages; he claims Freud was a follower of the false messiah Shabbetai Zevi whose attack on Moses was an attempt to abolish the Law as Zevi did, through ritual impurity.[56] Jews who promote sexual revolution are in this tradition: "They," Dresner says, "conjure up painful memories of the infamous seventeenth-century false messiah Sabbatai Tzvi or his successor, Jacob Frank. Their coming was to mark a new age when the rule of Torah was to be superseded—'What was forbidden is now permitted'—and transgressions would become a mitzvot."[57]

"For those who seek the forbidden in Jewish guise," Dresner continues, "Sabbatianism points the way."[58] Sabbatianism gets to the heart of Judaism, a religion, says Dresner, forged in opposition to the fertility cults of the ancient Middle East. "In biblical times," Dresner continues, "Judaism waged a battle against sexual excess *not unlike the struggle now in progress*—and in those earlier times, Mosaic law was victorious. Unbridled sexuality lay at the heart of ancient pagan religion."[59] To Dresner, Jewish history is one long battle against sexual deviance. "The early biblical narratives can be read as a continuous attack on the widespread sexual deviance that challenged and often seduced the Israelites, whose fallings away Scripture scrupulously records."[60] What crime was so great that it provoked God to destroy mankind, except for Noah's family, with a flood? "According to the most ancient understanding of the biblical story found in rabbinic sources, it was the violation of the natural order of sexual life."[61] "God," Dresner says, "is long-suffering of all manner of crime, save sexual immorality."[62]

Dresner is confronted with a serious dilemma, one which he cannot resolve because he lacks the theological sophistication. The Torah condemns sexual immorality. But American Jews, represented by Woody Allen, fervently support sexual deviance under the name of sexual liberation, a term the Jew Wilhelm Reich invented. Dresner tries to pin the blame on descendents of Shabbetai Zevi, like Isaac Bashevis Singer. Dresner notes Singer's early "fascination with Sabbatianism."[63] "I read whatever I could," Singer writes, "about the era of Sabbatai Zevi, in whose footsteps Jacob Frank had followed.

. . . In these works I found everything I had been pondering, hysteria, sex, fanaticism, superstition."[64]

Not only have America's Jews become corrupted by Sabbatianism, the Sabbatian infection has become the majority position among America's Jews: the lifestyle of Jews has trumped the Jewish style of life based on the Torah.

> To cloak perversion with piety has a frightening ring, conjuring up memories of the Asherah in the temple and the antics of Jacob Frank, precisely because it blurs the distinctions between the Jewish style of life and the lifestyle of Jews, between what Judaism prescribes and what some Jews regrettably choose to do. It tends to validate the position that whatever Jews say or do can be identified as Judaism. It cripples the ability of Judaism to address the doings and sayings of Jews. How can a religion that is based four-square on marriage and the home countenance the revival of the sexual lifestyle of ancient (and modern) idolatry.[65]

It can't, but Dresner can't explain why. Dresner is more upset about Singer's popularity than about Woody Allen's. "Are Singer's writings 'true'"? he wonders.[66] "The corruption, the adultery, the demonic, the philandering, the decay, the perversion that pervade Singer's picture of Polish Jewry—is it all true? And if it is not 'true,' then why has someone not said so?"[67] The silence of American Jews indicates ambivalence, "their secret desire to repudiate the moral direction of three thousand years of Jewish history in favor of the worship of sensuality and fear of the demonic, . . . finding meaning in their animal nature instead of in the power of man to transcend himself."[68] American Jews have embraced Singer's writings, "because they express what Jews secretly desire."[69] And what is that? Sexual liberation in Jewish garb, *i.e.*, Sabbatianism, which is "the one movement in Jewish history that not only broke the moral yoke of Sinai but provided a theological justification for it: 'in the transgression of the mitzvah.'"[70] Singer's public declaration of Sabbatian sympathies coupled with his popularity indicates the curtain may be going up "on a new and frightening drama in Jewish life."[71] Jewish silence on Singer "may be a sign of a sickness so severe we do not perceive its symptoms."[72] Dresner, as well as his mentor Abraham Heschel and other Yiddish writers familiar with pre-World War II Poland, consider Singers' writings one long calumny of eastern European Jews. But if that is the case, why are American Jews so interested in promoting the calumny? Because if eastern European Jewry is what Singer says, then American Jews "need feel no guilt; they can go about their way, not much different from other Americans, philandering, corrupting, and making of their faith a sham in the comforting belief that it was, after all, always like that. That's what the Jews of Eastern Europe were—philanderers, adulterers and corrupters: why should American Jews be better?"[73]

Dresner's conclusion is inescapable. If Woody Allen speaks for most American Jews, then American Jews are are no longer followers of Moses but rather followers of Shabbetai Zevi. American cultural life in the last half of the 20th century was dominated by Jewish rebellion against the Torah and adoption of the practices of Shabbetai Zevi. The overwhelming majority of American Jews, as shown by surveys Dresner cites, have defined themselves as sexual revolutionaries; because of the disproportionate role Jews play in publishing and the media, they have, in effect, established Sabbatian sexual degeneracy as the American cultural norm. According to Dresner, Judaism is about nothing "if not the centrality of virtue."[74] "How," he wonders, "can a Jew maintain any other position?"[75] He replies with understatement, "Nevertheless, some do."[76] Judaism, says Dresner, "stands as inexorably against the new paganism as it did against the old. And so should the Jew,"[77] but as the American Jew reached cultural prominence, he was also converted to Sabbatianism, "an alternate faith." So "Jewish rebellion has broken out on several levels," one being "the prominent role of Jews as advocates to sexual experimentation."[78]

Dresner again adverts to "significant elements of America's cultural elite" that "by its example, desensitizes this nation morally."[79] He thus adverts to the problem this group has created for America while their Jewishness has prohibited others from addressing the problem. He deals with the issue indirectly. "How could so many American Jewish leaders," he wonders, "have been taken in by Allen?"[80] Dresner has the cart before the horse because those Jewish leaders have used Allen to redefine America and the American Jew in their image. They have used Allen to define the Jew as a sexually deviant cultural bolshevist. So anyone who objects to sexual deviance or Hollywood's promotion of it is defined as an anti-Semite. The equation is simple. Since Hollywood is run by Jews, being anti-Hollywood means being anti-Semitic. Dresner cites Richard Goldstein, writing in the *Liberal Voice*. According to Goldstein, "the Republican attack on Hollywood and the 'media elite,'" is a code for anti-Semitism, because "these are words that since the '50s connote Jewishness to people. The Republicans can't attack Jews directly, so they use codes. The notion of Woody as a kind of Jewish icon lends itself to the ideas of Jews subverting the Christian family, an idea which is very old and very dark."[81]

Dresner is again brought up short when he confronts his own ethnic group's legacy. Unable to define Jews theologically as rejectors of Christ and, therefore, revolutionaries, Dresner portrays American Jews as the people of the Old Testament. But he is brought up short because the overwhelming majority of American Jews do not accept the Torah on sexuality and have chosen instead Woody Allen or Wilhelm Reich or Alex Portnoy as their messiah. If the Jews accepted the Torah, there would have been no culture wars in the 1960s. The devastating effect of the culture wars on America and

American Jews forces Rabbi Dresner to spin one unconvincing explanation after another despite the undeniable fact that Jews played a major role in that cultural subversion of sexual morals. Since Woody Allen is a cultural icon for most Jews, most Jews have defined themselves as sexual degenerates. Dresner quotes a columnist in the *Village Voice*:

> There are two kinds of people in the world: those who think Woody Allen is the genius spokesman of our collective angst and those how think he's a filthy Jewish liberal . . . elitist Communist madman. Another name for those two groups are Democrats and Republicans.[82]

Dresner is appalled at this sort of thinking, but can't explain why Jews would want to define themselves as sexual revolutionaries and deviants primarily because he has been blinded by his own reading of the Torah and can't see that Jews are in rebellion against the Torah precisely because it is the word of God. American Jews declared war on the Logos around the time that Woody Allen won the Academy Award for *Annie Hall*.

THE JEWISH TAKEOVER OF AMERICAN DISCOURSE OCTOBER 1976

In October 1976, Leo Pfeffer arrived in Philadelphia to give a talk entitled "Issues that Divide: the Triumph of Secular Humanism." In that talk, Pfeffer declared victory in the culture wars and announced the Jews had defeated the Catholics in their 40 years war over American culture. The terms of the Carthaginian peace imposed on the defeated American Catholics included abortion, pornography, the loss of Catholic academe, the redefinition of deviance, and the transformation of discourse. In a formal sense, *i.e.*, in reference to literary criticism, that meant war on Logos. It also meant the end of the New Criticism as everyman's democratic version of *Sola Scriptura* and its replacement with Talmudic exegesis. Catholics who began their literary careers learning the Protestant rule that every man had the right to interpret his own text, now had to be re-trained in rules of discourse according to which the Rabbi was always right.

Around the time Woody Allen was being celebrated as the great American genius, Jacques Derrida and Stanley Fish changed the rules of discourse in American academic circles. Literary criticism was no longer Protestant; it was Talmudic. Those who signed up for literature classes to learn how to read a poem, now learned that there was, as Fish put it, "no text." No text meant any constitutional principle could be subverted by Talmudic reasoning by rabbis like Leo Pfeffer; and that any human right, such as the right to life, could be subverted similarly. No text meant there was no such thing as nature, as the campaign to legitimatize homosexuality showed. It also meant there was no substance or being, as Derrida's attack on "onto-theology" showed. There

was a deeper grammar to this discussion, which eventuated in the campus political correctness speech codes of the 1990s. The heart of that code wasn't racial; it wasn't feminist; it wasn't homosexual; it was Jewish and expressing Jewish culture at its worst. Political correctness was the final expression of the Talmudic redefinition of American discourse which had begun in the '70s under the direction of Jewish critical theorists like Fish and Derrida.

In 1992, Fish authored an essay, "There's no such Thing as Free Speech and It's a Good Thing Too," in a book called *Debating PC*. Criticizing Benno Schmidt's view that speech should be tolerated because "freedom must be the paramount obligation of an academic community," Fish says Schmidt has "no sense of the lacerating harms that speech of certain kinds can inflict."[83] Fish therefore favored campus regulations banning "hate speech." "Speech," he says, "is never and could not be an independent value, but it is always asserted against a background of some assumed conception of the good to which it must yield in the event of conflict."[84]

The catch in this argument revolved around the conception of the good at its heart. The traditional view claimed speech was subordinated to the moral law, the good in question. The Whig Enlightenment claimed, in the case of speech, that the moral law was subject to individual freedom. This rallying cry allowed Jewish revolutionaries to take over the university. Once in power, they changed the rules. The "Good" at Duke University, where Fish taught at the time he was being proclaimed as an Apostle of Political Correctness in organs like *Newsweek*, got redefined as the will of those in power. In the absence of a "text" such as Nature, Being, Logos, the Constitution, etc., there could be no good but the will of the powerful fortified by appetite.

Two years earlier, in an article in *Newsweek* on Political Correctness entitled "Thought Police on Campus," Fish praised pluralism in a way that had already become dated, when he claimed that "Disagreement can be fun."[85] By the 1990s there was no disagreement and little fun in class. Reader Response Criticism was Talmudic. There was "no text." There was no Torah; there was only Talmud, *i.e.*, opinions of literary critics who were the secular equivalent of the rabbi, always right, even when other rabbis contradicted him. Reader Response Criticism, as espoused by Fish, claimed the reader did not discover meaning, he created it out of materials assembled from a text that had no real existence until he appropriated it. This idea appealed to legions of poorly educated English majors plodding through graduate schools in the mid-'70s. The fledgling critic, overburdened by texts his defective education left him unprepared to understand, leapt to avoid the labor of scholarly pursuit and rejoiced to learn scholarship was nothing but unfettered appetite applied to difficult texts. "The text means what I say it means," the dull-witted grad student chanted. "I am the hegemon of meaning," he crowed, because, Fish told him, the critic is not "the humble servant of texts." The euphoria wore off when the young literary critic discovered, like the denizens of Orwell's

Animal Farm, that some literary critical pigs were more equal than others. *Animal Farm* was especially relevant because the same sort of transformation was taking place in literary criticism that had taken place in revolutionary France, Russia, and Germany. The passions were aroused as the instrument of revolution against the moral order, but once the revolution destroyed the old regime, there was no moral order to protect the revolutionaries from the will of their new masters.

Reader Response Criticism led to politicly correct speech codes, but the grad students of the '70s still haven't figured out why or how. Stanley Fish engaged in bait and switch. Once the maleducated, baby-boomer grad students accepted the hegemony of the reader over texts in Fish's campaign to bring down the *ancien regime*, they were informed the reader was not quite as sovereign as he had told them. Indeed, robbed of the text as the source of meaning, the "readers" had no power. The determiner of meaning was not the "reader" after all, but the "interpretive community." "Fish," wrote R. V. Young, "follows here the paradigm of Jean Jacques Rousseau: an initial assertion of virtually limitless freedom (reader-response criticism) turns into total constraint, with the individual reader or interpreter figured as a blind prisoner of the collective mind."[86] Once "liberated" from coming to grips with a text, the critic had no source for his interpretations. He was dependent on the "interpretive community," the lit crit equivalent of the communist party.

Where did the interpretive community get its meanings? Fish could not answer that question, just as he could not explain how this community could change its mind. All that remained was desire, the bait that started this revolution. But the desires of the weak, disconnected from morals and a constitutive text, inevitably succumbed to the desires of the powerful. There was something "democratic" in the traditional American sense of the word, about the study of literature when the New Criticism gave everyone a chance to come up with a winning interpretation. That possibility disappeared with the disappearance of the text. When the deconstructor deconstructs all meanings and all texts, all that is left is the hegemony of his desires over everyone else's. Since there can be no appeal to an objective text with objective meaning, *e.g*, the Bible or the Constitution, the deconstructor has absolute hegemony over those who lack his power. That was the motivation behind the replacement of Shakespeare with Queer Theory and Deconstruction. Those who abolished the text were like those who abolish morals in the name of "liberation." Their ultimate goal, no matter how inchoately understood, was *libido dominandi*. The average grad student, like the average TV watcher, went along with the revolution because he saw in it the validation of his own desires. He failed to see the simultaneous eclipse of his moral freedom. That realization usually came too late, if at all. Since the abolition of text was a fundamentally totalitarian project, it should come as no surprise that former Nazis like Paul de Man were attracted to it.

Sexual morality had to be deconstructed in the name of political power. It must have no "meaning" because if there were no meaning, no one could object when the powerful inflicted their desires on the weak. Aldous Huxley explicated the meaning of "meaninglessness" long ago in *Ends and Means*. "The philosopher," Huxley wrote,

> who finds no meaning in the world is not concerned exclusively with a problem in pure metaphysics. He is also concerned to prove that there is no valid reason why he personally should not do as he wants to do, or why his friends should not seize political power and govern in the way that they find most advantageous to themselves. The voluntary, as opposed to the intellectual, reasons for holding the doctrines of materialism, for example, may be predominantly erotic, as they were in the case of Lamettrie (see his lyrical account of the pleasures of the bed in *La Volupte* and at the end of *L'Homme Machine*), or predominantly political as they were in the case of Karl Marx.[87]

Beginning with Saul Bellow's *Mr. Sammler's Planet* in 1968, followed by *Portnoy's Complaint* one year later, then by the movies of Woody Allen, Jewish themes and ideas became mainstream American culture. Around the time that movie-goers were lining up to see *Annie Hall*, Jewish literary critics like Stanley Fish and Jacques Derrida were changing the rules of discourse. Interpretations Professor Fish said were the privilege of "interpretive communities," meaning English departments at prestigious institutions like Johns Hopkins University, where he happened to teach. Before long any institution became *ipso facto* prestigious by the fact that it had hired Stanley Fish to teach there. First Duke and then the University of Illinois at Chicago became prestigious. At the time Jacques Derrida at Yale was saying that the interpretation of texts was so difficult, that no one could do it. Readings were no longer possible; all that was possible were "misreadings."

Neither of these talmudic forms of literary criticism were compatible with American democratic ideals. According to Fish, the Torah, *i.e*, the poem or "text" as a secular surrogate for the Bible, had been swallowed by the Talmud of arcane literary theory, for which he was the chief rabbi. Anyone who disagreed was expelled from the synagogue. Jews of an earlier era were free to come up with outrageously irreverent and literarily blasphemous assertions like the claim that Huckleberry Finn and Jim were homosexuals, as Leslie Fiedler did in "Come back to the raft ag'in, Huck Honey," but the days when anyone was free to make any interpretation as long as it was based on evidence from the text were numbered. Professors who thought they had "academic freedom" were the first to learn about the new rules of discourse, but soon the lessons were taught outside of academe too. Major league pitcher John Rocker may have been earning lots of money, but it could not buy him the freedom to speak his mind.

Anyone who says something in public must take account of the rules of discourse or run the risk of punishment. By the end of the 20th century, cultural commentary was dangerous because the monuments to Jewish culture had become ubiquitous but off limits to the *goyim*. It is difficult if not impossible to comment on mainstream culture without touching some Jewish monument, yet the number of permissible interpretations was narrowing dramatically. Mass culture abounds in Jewish artifacts, but unauthorized discourse about them is prohibited.

Derrida's Deconstruction was Talmudic too. Deconstruction was an attack on Logos—synonymous with Christ—by people, in R. V. Young's phrase, "at war with the word." Derrida's Deconstruction was an attack on "real presence." What followed the revolt against Logos was a convoluted explanation of discourse that bore an uncanny resemblance to the Jewish world once the Temple was destroyed and "everything became discourse," *i.e.*, Talmudic disputation without contact with Logos:

> The surrogate does not substitute itself for anything which has somehow preexisted it. From then on it was probably necessary to begin to think that there was no center, that the center could not be thought of in the form of a being-present, that the center had no natural locus, that it was not a fixed locus, but a function, a sort of non-locus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play. This moment was that in which language invaded the universal problematic; that in which, in the absence of center or origin, everything became discourse—provided we can agree on this word—that is to say, when everything became a system where the central signified, the original or transcendental signified, is never absolutely present outside a system of differences. The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and the interplay of the signification ad infinitum.[88]

Derrida's passage is an allegory, describing the destruction of the Temple, after which the Jewish people had no priesthood, no sacrifice, no Temple, no real presence, no Shekinah. After Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai got smuggled out of the temple and founded the rabbinic school at Javne, Judaism became a Talmudic debating society, in which "The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and interplay of signification ad infinitum."

As Young puts it, "Rather than a frontal assault on metaphysics, Derrida proposes subversion from within."[89] Jacques Derrida and Stanley Fish were, like Trotsky, Jewish revolutionaries. The literary critical revolution of the '70s was the mopping up operation which followed the cultural revolution of the '60s, when academe was taken over by a new group of people. Reader Response Criticism corresponded in time to the Jewish takeover of American culture. The speech codes imposed on college campuses in the 1990s which

came to be known as political correctness, were the practical consequences drawn from the Jewish takeover of discourse in America during the 1970s.

TALMUDIC LITERARY CRITICISM AND ROE V. WADE

Anyone who thinks literary criticism is at best arcane and inconsequential and at worst grist for the mills of columnists looking for the worst excesses of political correctness should read R. V. Young's *At War With the Word* carefully. This is not just a book about wretched excess in academe, although it is certanly that; the book is also about the need to maintain respect toward seminal and foundational texts because where there is no text, all politics is interpretation and all interpretation is ultimately determined by politics.

If anyone doubted literary criticism was a life and death issue, *Roe v. Wade* laid that idea to rest in 1973. In *Roe* the Supreme Court granted the average citizen hegemony over being, by arrogating to itself complete hegemony over the Constitution, the text that created the Court. Desire and the will to power took precedence over the text that was supposed to rein in that power. When Attorney General Edwin Meese told the American Bar Association in 1985 that the Reagan Administration was going to appoint judges who would interpret the Constitution in light of the "original intention" of its framers, he was given an impromptu lesson in the new hermeneutics. Justice William Brennan rebuked Meese for "facile historicism."[90] The battle raged for over a year, causing columnist Joseph Sobran to opine "Liberal scholars want to apply to the Constitution a method of understanding they would flunk any undergraduate for applying to Chaucer or Milton."[91] What Sobran hadn't noticed is that the teachers he had as an undergraduate literature major were superseded by a generation which felt that the highest expression of intellectual acumen was imposing one's will on a text. "The interpretive approaches deprecated by Sobran," Young writes, "are now quite often winning moves in the race for tenure, promotion and professional standing."[92]

Reader Response Criticism arrived in the immediate aftermath of *Roe v. Wade*. The Court's exaltation of the will of the mother at the expense of the child ratified the Court's exaltation of its own ego at the expense of the Constitution, a text that now meant what they said it meant, like Humpty-Dumpty, irrespective of its words. The Supreme Court's *Roe* decision ratified a culture that had become in Young's words "intellectually and morally decadent in its highest and lowest reaches."[93]

JIMMY CARTER LOSES THE JEWISH VOTE 1977

During the '70s, America's Jews became more attached to the cause of Soviet Jewry and less enamored of a foreign policy in which détente succeeded containment. In 1974, Richard Perle, a young assistant to Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson, orchestrated passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment,

tying-most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union's willingness to let Jews emigrate. Senator Jackson's office was an early neoconservative beachhead, and Perle would later influence the Reagan administration as an assistant Secretary of Defense. In Washington, Perle became known as "the Prince of Darkness," because of his network of contacts and "his Machiavellian political tactics."[94] Perle supported deploying Pershing missiles in Europe and the missile system derogatorily referred to as Star Wars. Friedman claims Perle's "ideas and the fierce energy he exerted in advancing them, made him perhaps the central figure," in the Reagan administration, "save Reagan himself."[95]

In May 1975 U.S. ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan vetoed a United Nations resolution condemning Israel and equating Zionism with racism. In a speech written by Norman Podhoretz, Moynihan said "The United States rises to declare before the General Assembly of the UN and before the world, that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act"—words that stood him in good stead with New York's Jews when he ran for the Senate as a Democrat.[96]

The Jews, however, were increasingly unhappy with the foreign policy proposed by the Democrats. In May 1977, President Jimmy Carter spoke at Notre Dame, insisting the nation must overcome its "inordinate fear of communism."[97] The message did not resonate with the Jews trying to promote Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. Disillusionment with the Democrats and Carter increased when Moynihan's successor at the UN, Andrew Young, resigned because of unauthorized meetings with the PLO.

By the late '70s, the Jews had begun a significant migration out of the Democratic party. The harbingers of that change had begun in the early '70s. In February 1972, *Commentary* did a political cost-benefit analysis of liberalism entitled, "Is it Good for the Jews?" In the same year, *Commentary*'s editor Norman Podhoretz and *National Review's* editor William F. Buckley began an ecumenical dialogue, at the end of which either Podhoretz converted to conservatism or Buckley became a tool of the Neoconservatives, a convergence no matter how you looked at it. In May 1972, Robert Bartley ran a piece entitled "Irving Kristol and Friends" which gave exposure to the Jewish-inspired ideology later known as "neoconservatism." After Bartley, notoriously supine when it came to Jewish interests, became editor of the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial page, Kristol became a frequent contributor. Soon William Baroody, Sr., head of the American Enterprise Institute, asked Kristol to join as a fellow. Other conservative think tanks, most notably the Heritage Foundation, followed suit and a parade of neoconservative scholars and propagandists, including Milton Friedman, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak, and Ben Wattenberg marched off to Washington.

One of the people joining the parade to Washington was Midge Decter. When Ed Feulner invited her to join the Heritage Foundation, she wondered if she were being sought after to fulfill a quota as an "affirmative action baby":

> Was I perhaps there as a Jew? I very much doubted it. It must have been that I had been invited as a representative of that weird new ex-liberal breed from New York City who had somehow popped up to lend their words and publications to the conservative movement. In other words, the neocons. Indeed, when I asked Ed Feulner the question a couple of years later he said that he had "wanted to make a statement," a statement about the conservative community being, as the politicos say, a big tent.[98]

Decter concluded she had been invited to join Heritage because of "our far superior knowledge of the country's true enemies."[99] Our? Was Decter referring to Jews or neoconservatives? Eventually, the distinction would have no meaning, as David Brooks pointed out in the *Wall Street Journal* ("neo means new and con means Jew"). When the neocons arrived in Washington, those they disliked became "the country's true enemies."[100]

In the '80s, the neocons consolidated control of the conservative movement by placing their agents at the head of foundations which, in true communist fashion, funded front groups to colonize traditionalist groups and promote the neocon agenda. In 1976 Richard Nixon's former Secretary of the Treasury, William E. Simon, became head of the John M. Olin Foundation. In 1978, Simon joined Irving Kristol to create the Institute for Educational Affairs "to penetrate college campuses with conservative ideas."[101] Simon was instrumental in funding conservative newspapers on college campuses, including the *Dartmouth Review*, which produced alumni like Dinesh D'Souza and John Podhoretz, who became second generation neocon polemicists.

MIA FARROW MEETS WOODY ALLEN 1980

Perhaps no one symbolized Catholic ethnics getting screwed by the Jews better than Mia Farrow. Farrow was a Hollywood princess by birthright, set adrift from her Catholic moorings by the Jewish transformation of culture. After the break-up of her marriage to Frank Sinatra in the '60s, she sought solace from the Maharishi in India, where she met the Beatles, Donovan, and at least one Beach Boy. Her path to spiritual enlightenment ended abruptly when the Maharishi tried to rape her in his meditation cave. What she derived from the experience was a vague sense that "Divine Being is the very substance of the universe, but that everything we experience with our senses is merely illusion."[102] As a result she began to "redefine my relationship with Christianity, Catholicism and Being."[103] Taking Thomas Jefferson as her guide, Farrow "began to discriminate between the core of [Christ's] teachings and the dogma that has been attached to it."[104] Weakened by her ignorance of the Catholic faith that was the core of her identity, Farrow was a moral

accident waiting to happen. The accident began to unfold in August of 1980 when Farrow ran into the man whose "actual name was Allan Konigsberg,"[105] namely, Woody Allen.

Their romance might have been titled "Abie's Irish Rose as Directed by the Marquis de Sade." Allen behaved like a jerk from the moment they met. Allen exploded in rage because Farrow did not remember where William F. Buckley lived. Their relationship was a study in ethnic contrasts. Farrow loved children; she adopted 14. Allen hated children, except as sex objects. Farrow loved Christmas. Woody "disliked Christmas;"[106] he disrupted the family Christmas meal by running a juicer at deafening decibel levels to drown out conversation. When Farrow mentioned how beautiful the Christmas carols were at a concert, Allen responded, "Pardon me while I puke."[107] Farrow thought "Mother Teresa . . . was the embodiment of everything" she "had tried to teach" her children "about true success and what one person with conviction and courage can accomplish."[108] Allen was a devotee of Sigmund Freud. As the Allen character says in *Annie Hall*, "I've been in analysis for 15 years. I'm giving it one more year. Then I'm going to Lourdes." Three years after *Annie Hall*, Lourdes came to Woody Allen instead in the person of Mia Farrow.

Mulling the role psychoanalysis played in Allen's life, Farrow concluded

> it had helped to isolate him from people and from the systems we live by, and placed him at the center of a different reality—one that exists only after he has bounced his views off his therapist. Woody lived and made his decisions while suspended in a zone constructed and controlled almost entirely by himself—a world that he used his therapists to validate. He did not acknowledge other beings except as features in his own landscape, valued according to their contribution to his own existence. He was therefore unable to empathize and felt no moral responsibility to anyone or anything.[109]

While waiting for Woody to finish a therapy session in January 1992, Farrow received a call from him that took her to the mantel in his apartment where he had placed pornographic photographs of Soon-Yi, Farrow's adopted daughter. Confronted by Farrow, Allen admitted an affair with Soon-Yi. The conversation vacillated over the range of emotions from Allen saying he was in love with Soon-Yi and wanted to marry her, to admissions of guilt, to claiming it was no big deal. "I think it was good for Soon-Yi," Allen said. "It gave her confidence."[110] Allen claimed, "I told Soon-Yi she shouldn't expect anything. I encouraged her to go ahead and sleep with other guys."[111] When Farrow confronted him by telling him "You're not supposed to fuck the kids," Allen's defenses collapsed and he admitted "I know I did a bad thing."[112]

Farrow would accuse Allen of molesting a younger adopted child of theirs but the case never went to trial, which Farrow attributes not to lack of evidence

but to Allen's political clout in New York City. Her big question is "Why did I stay with Woody Allen when so much was wrong?"[113] The answer is ethnic. Farrow was weakened in her Catholic identity by the cultural revolution, the golden age of Jewish comedy, whereas Allen, the king of Jewish comedy, was strengthened in his. A dumb shiksa was no match for a beaky, brainy Jew holding all the cultural cards. And just what was that identity which got strengthened? A large part of it was Sigmund Freud ratifying appetite. Woody had learned from his analyst to say yes to himself every time his id said I want. The most famous line to emerge from the Farrow/Allen brawl popped up in the *Time* magazine (the same magazine which had certified him as an American genius six years before) interview. When asked if he considered his relationship with Soon-Yi a healthy, equal one, Allen answered, "Who knows?. . . . The heart wants what it wants."[114]

So what lay at the heart of Woody's heart other than a mouth crying perpetually "I want"? After pondering the issue for a while, Farrow concluded

> deep inside Woody there was an unfathomable and uncontrollable need to destroy everything good and positive in his life, and so he tried to destroy our family. For him to have sex with one of my children, a child he had known as my daughter since she was eight years old, was not enough: he had to make me see, graphically, what he was doing. What rage did he feel against me, against women, against mothers, against sisters, against daughters, against an entire family? The pictures were a grenade he threw into our home, and no one was unharmed.[115]

If she had stuck with the sexual morality which the Catholic Church taught her as a child, Farrow would not have been harmed by Allen's sexual aggression. If she had read *Portnoy's Complaint*, Farrow would have known that Roth considered shtupping *shiksas* as an act of Jewish piety. What she couldn't have known is that shtupping children was also okay if "the heart wants what it wants."

CLAIRE BLOOM AND THE OTHER FUNNY JEW, PHILIP ROTH

The shikses weren't the only women to come away enraged and hurt by their contact with funny Jews. One year before Mia Farrow wrote her memoir about living with Woody Allen, Claire Bloom wrote her memoir of life with the other funny Jew, Philip Roth. Would it have been consoling for Mia Farrow to learn that Funny Jew Philip Roth treated his Jewish wife as badly as he had treated the *shiksa* he had married three decades earlier? Like Mia Farrow, Claire Bloom ignored those who warned her about becoming involved with this funny Jew. In Rome in the late '70s, Bloom met with Gore Vidal, who

warned her "Do not involve yourself with Portnoy."[116] Bloom later conceded that

> Gore turned out to be utterly correct in his advice. Philip's novels provided all one needed to know about his relationships with women, most of which had been just short of catastrophic.[117]

Bloom's book demonstrated the accuracy of Roth's claim he was not Portnoy. Roth, it turns out, was much more loathsome than Portnoy. Bloom's book was a devastating blow to Roth's claim his fiction wasn't autobiographical. Roth and Portnoy had much in common, most notably ethnic hatred of the *goyim*. Claire Bloom cites a note he wrote to her daughter Anna when Roth bought her a bed:

> Here is the money for the whole bed. But if I ever hear that a *goy* is sleeping on the other half, I swear to you that I'll jump out of the window. And then you'll live with that for the rest of your life and you'll see how much you'll enjoy the bed. You'll hate the bed, you'll be sorry you ever saw the bed, you'll wish the bed had never been made: This is my warning to you. If you have any feeling for me at all, KEEP ALL *GOYIM* OUT OF THE BED![118]

Shortly thereafter, Roth told Bloom her daughter was not allowed to live in his house. So much for hatred of the *goyim* as the basis for ethnic solidarity. The end of their marriage coincided with the writing of Roth's *Operation Shylock*:

> He talked about it incessantly, reading passages to me that were dazzlingly incisive and entertaining. I was sure he would once again confound his critics with his superimposition of one identity upon another upon another, while delighting his admirers, who, under the spell of his masterful game, understood and appreciated this multicolored weaver of fantasy and fact. The sections recounting his Halcion-induced breakdown. . . and a scene devising a meeting between a "real" Philip Roth and a "fake" Philip Roth, were some of the best things he had ever achieved.[119]

Eventually the real Philip Roth met the fake Philip Roth and discovered that they were one and the same non-existent person. Deep down Roth turned out to be a shallow person. Bloom's memoir was the conclusive evidence. When John Updike wrote a mildly critical review of *Operation Shylock* in the *New Yorker*, Roth went to pieces and had to be carted off to a mental hospital, where he was given liberal doses of Prozac and lithium to "help control his rage,"[120] as Bloom puts it. But rage at what? At being celebrated far beyond what his achievements merited in the golden age of Jewish humor and cultural subversion? Ultimately, Bloom was unable to fathom either Roth's rage or his hatred—in particular, his hatred for her. Visiting Roth in the hospital, Bloom sat through a long silence as Roth sat on the edge of his hospital bed and glared at her "with absolute hatred."[121] In visiting with Roth's psychiatrist afterward,

Bloom began to cry, asking "Dr. Bloch what caused Philip to hate me."[121] Bloch could give no answer. Nor could Bloom for why Roth showed "no interest in the woman he's lived with for almost 18 years" other than that "this is the life he wants. . . the life of a bitter, lonely, aging ascetic with no human ties."[123] The heart wants what it wants, I guess. Shortly after visiting Roth in the hospital, Bloom received divorce papers from Roth's lawyer, accusing her "of 'the cruel and inhuman treatment' of my husband Philip Roth."[124] It was an exact parallel to the custody papers which Mia Farrow received at around the same time from the other funny Jew, Woody Allen.

Claire Bloom should have read Roth's next book *Sabbath's Theater* before she wrote her memoir because it answers her question. Mickey Sabbath, the eponymous protagonist, is Portnoy 30 years later when funniness has evaporated leaving only the residue of cultural aggression behind. Sabbath is a puppeteer with arthritis, out of work and on hard times. In his "salad days," Sabbath ran the Indecent Theater of Manhattan, "where the atmosphere was insinuatingly anti-moral, vaguely menacing, and, at the same time, rascally fun."[125] He is a puppeteer because a puppeteer is "a lover and master of guile, artifice, and the unreal."[126] Sabbath is a "terrorist," and "a saboteur for subversion," having "the talent of a lunatic—or a simulated lunatic—to overawe and horrify ordinary people."[127] Sabbath's main talent, however, is his ability to corrupt the morals of anyone he comes in contact with, particularly dumb *shikses*. His art is most apparent in the tapes of his telephone sex with an undergrad broadcast over the university's counseling hotline as an example of his predatory sexism. "There was in these tapes," Roth writes,

> a kind of art in the way that he was able to unshackle his girls from their habit of innocence. There was a kind of art in his providing an illicit adventure not with a boy of their own age but with someone three times their age—the very repugnance that his aging body inspired in them had to make their adventure with him feel a little like a crime and thereby give free play to their budding perversity and to the confused exhilaration that comes with flirting with disgrace. . . . Once he passed into his fifties, the art in these tapes—the insidious art of giving license to what was already there—was the only art he had left.[128]

Sabbath uses this "art" to corrupt Drenka Balich, a big-breasted Croatian *shiksa*, who is both goddess and fetish in his diminishing sex life. Sabbath instructs Drenka in sexual degradation, for which she is eternally grateful—or eternally not grateful—because Drenka dies of cancer at the beginning of the novel. Roth elaborates the fantasy of the dirty old man beyond any possible suspension of disbelief, saying Sabbath was "the most patient of instructors."[129] He "had assisted her in becoming estranged from her orderly life and in discovering the indecency to supplement the deficiencies of her regular diet."[130] Sabbath "had sanctioned for her the force that wants more and more—a force

to whose urging she was never wholly averse even before Sabbath had come along."[130] As a result, men saw "inside this woman was someone who thought like a man."[131] No wonder feminists hated Roth. Roth was almost enough to make a decent person sympathize with feminism.

Drenka should be grateful because Sabbath saved her life from "the routines of marriage that previously had almost killed" her.[133] Sabbath introduced Drenka to indecency, and for this she was supposed to be eternally grateful. "You were my teacher," Drenka writes in her diary. "My American boyfriend. You taught me everything. The songs. Shit from Shinola. To be free to fuck. To have a good time with my body. To not hate having such big tits. You did that."[134] This is the deepest expression of Roth's fantasy life, and by extension the fantasy life of the messianic funny Jew. The *goyim* are supposed to thank the mock messiah for corrupting them. Roth will hate the *goyim*, and the *goyim* will be grateful. The fact that Roth was praised by the culture he hated and hoped to destroy shows that his fantasy was not far removed from reality.

Drenka's policeman son has a different reaction when he reads Drenka's diary about Sabbath urinating on his mother. "You depraved my mother!"[135] he said, showing even the dumbest *goy* can figure some things out. He then takes Sabbath into custody for urinating on his mother's grave. The prospect of a trial looms (or perhaps the son will just march Sabbath off into the woods and put a bullet in his head), but a trial would necessitate reading the diary in court, exposing his mother's depravity, something that would delight Sabbath. So Sabbath is set free, feeling immortal because of what he has gotten away with—"He could not fucking die. How could he leave? How could he go?"—but, more importantly, because of his hate.[136] Sabbath can't leave; nor can he take his leave by suicide (even though he spends much of the novel entertaining this temptation) because "Everything he hated was here."[137] Sabbath is a creature whose hate increases as his ability to gratify his appetites decreases.

After Drenka's death Sabbath is left alone with his appetites, which he can fulfill with only increasing difficulty, and his hate, particularly his racial hatred, of which he is most proud. "I'm proud to say," Sabbath notes, "I still have all my marbles as far as racial hatred is concerned. Despite all my many troubles, I continue to know what matters in life: profound hatred."[138] Sabbath particularly hates the Japanese—"I'd say hating the Japanese plays a leading role in every aspect of my life"[139]—but Japanese is just another word for *goyim*. Japs, to Sabbath, are a particularly virulent strain of *goyim*.

As characters in the novel, the Japanese are virtually non-existent. *Goyim* in *Sabbath's Theater* is, as a result, another word for Catholic, particularly Catholic *shikses*, portrayed as grateful recipients of the sexual degradation they receive at the hands of Mickey Sabbath. Drenka is a Catholic Croatian. The cleaning woman in his friend's apartment is a Hispanic Catholic who performs fellatio on him while kneeling, which reminds him Catholics pray on their

knees: "On her knees, crossing herself, praying—all an act to prove what?"[140] Sabbath wonders. Sexual perversion and *goyische* religion merge to indicate the perverse nature of Catholicism. Watching the Hispanic cleaning lady "dovening," was a spectacle "bringing out the Jew in him: a Catholic down on the floor. Always did."[141] It would be "interesting," Sabbath speculates, "if she prayed and blew him both at once. Happens a lot in Latin countries," at least in Philip Roth's imagination.[142]

The incident from *Sabbath's Theater* substantiates with stunning clarity the premise posited in *Portnoy's Complaint* that sexual liberation is Jewish aggression against the *goyim*. According to this Jewish fantasy, the *goyim* collaborate willingly in their sexual degradation; they are grateful for the opportunity to gratify Roth's racial hatred. When Sabbath is charged with an obscene performance outside Columbia University, he is arrested by a Jewish cop, but tried by a Catholic prosecutor, whom he refers to as "St. John's," a reference to St. John's Catholic University. When Sabbath is acquitted,

> St. John's passes by us and says, so nobody but us can hear, "and which of you gets to screw with the girl?" I said to him, "You mean, which of us Jews? We all do. We all get to screw the girl. Even my old zaydeh gets to screw her. My rabbi gets to screw her. Everybody gets to screw her except you, St. John's. You get to go home and screw your wife. That's what you're sentenced to—screwing for life Mary Elizabeth, who worships her older sister, the nun."[143]

The attack on "St. John's" radiates ethnic hatred. Mickey Sabbath hates Catholics and, as an expression of that hatred, he tries to separate them from their sexual morals. But behind the hatred looms envy, envy at anyone who is not ruled by his own sexual desires. Mickey Sabbath is Portnoy 30 years later. In other words, Philip Roth. Sabbath is Portnoy, but Portnoy isn't funny anymore. The humor is gone; all that's left is sexual aggression and hatred.

Portnoy sees himself as a latter-day Abraham Lincoln, "the Great Emancipator,"[144] until he is brought up short by moral reality. The Great Emancipator Portnoy "wind[s] up trying to free from bondage nothing more than my own prick."[145] Portnoy, recognizing his sexual bondage, wishes vainly to be "a man once again—in control of my will, conscious of my intentions, doing as I wished, not as I must."[146] Portnoy has moments of doubt; all Sabbath has is hate. *Sabbath's Theater* is to *Portnoy's Complaint* what *Scary Movie 3* is to *Airplane*. Sabbath ranting about racial hatred corresponds with the Mother Teresa skit in *Scary Movie 3* and with its gags about Negro funerals. At some point, all of the funny Jews stop being funny, and all that is left is naked cultural aggression, naked hatred of the stupid *goyim* who pay to get ridiculed by funny Jews.

James Bloom sees hate as the "trademark"[147] of the funny Jew. Beneath singer/songwriter Randy Newman's "eclectic levity," Bloom discerns "an

ability to hate that even all the drugs he took couldn't quell."[148] Hate is a trademark of the funny Jew, not because hate is funny, but because he is a Jew. Hate is a Jewish virtue.

That assertion is made not in *Mein Kampf* but in the philo-Semitic neoconservative journal *First Things*. In "The Virtue of Hate," Rabbi Meir Y. Soloveichik talks about how he rebelled against the idea that hatred was a Jewish virtue but gradually came to see the truth of the assertion. "Hate," Rabbi Soloveichik says, "can be virtuous when one is dealing with the frightfully wicked."[149]

Even granting the rabbi his premise for the sake of argument, we are left wondering how is this principle applied in the world of human passion? Is there a hate switch that can be turned on and off? Is there a hate beam radiating from the human soul like a laser to focus on a target without the danger of collateral damage? The rabbi's assertion doesn't answer Claire Bloom's question either. Why does Philip Roth hate his Jewish wife? Can the rabbi give us an answer to that question? Can he give us a calculus of hate which will enable us to know when it is appropriate to hate and when it is not? Or who it is appropriate to hate and who it is not? Is it legitimate to hate terrorists? The answer to that question is an unequivocal "Yes." What about suspected terrorists? What about Palestinians? What about Palestinian children playing in the immediate vicinity of suspected terrorists? Is it legitimate to hate the *goyim*? Is it legitimate to hate the *shiksa* you happen to be shtupping at the moment? Can the Rabbi who thinks that hate is a Jewish virtue explain to Philip Roth how he can keep the hate in his heart compartmentalized so that it doesn't slop over into hating his Jewish wife?

Rabbi Soloveichik, to his credit, tries to answer some of these questions. He tries with all the might of his legalistic talmudic heart to come up with a *vade mecum* on how to hate properly. "An Israeli mother," the rabbi says, "is right to raise her child to hate Saddam Hussein, but she would fail as a parent if she taught him to despise every Arab. We who hate must be wary lest we, like Goldstein, become like those we are taught to despise."[150] Soloveichik is referring to Baruch Goldstein, a Jew who "murdered 20 innocent Muslims engaged in prayer in Hebron."[151] Harvey Cox argued it was no coincidence Goldstein murdered the Muslims on Purim, and Soloveichik admits "there is something to Cox's remarks. The danger inherent in hatred is that it must be very limited, directed only at the most evil and unrepentant."[152]

But does that mean the Palestinians? Or Philip Roth's wife? Who decides? Is there some Jewish pope who can infallibly adjudicate the matter? Or is each Jew free to decide whom he can hate? It's okay for Sabbath to hate the Japs, but is it okay for Roth to hate his Jewish wife? If hatred is a Jewish virtue, then Roth must be a Jewish saint, an authority to be emulated. "When hate is appropriate," the rabbi says, "then it is not only virtuous, but essential for Jewish well-being."[153] The result of the omission of that slight detail is the

ongoing bloodbath in the West Bank, where hate leads to indiscriminate revenge, which leads to more hate. With Jewish wisdom like this, it's easy to prefer the foolishness of the gospels.

Rabbi Soloveichik is right in seeing hate as a Jewish virtue. He is also right in claiming that "a theological chasm remains between the Jewish and Christian viewpoints on the matter" because "Christianity's founder acknowledged his break with Jewish tradition on this matter from the very outset: You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'"[154] The rabbi is right about Christianity but wrong about the religion of the Jews, something he acknowledges inadvertently when he notes "Moses commanded us 'not to hate our brother in our hearts.'"[155] According to Soloveichik, "a man's immoral actions can serve to sever the bonds of brotherhood between himself and humanity. Regarding *a rasha*, a Hebrew term for the hopelessly wicked, the Talmud clearly states: *mitzvah lisnoso*—one is obligated to hate him."[156]

Another explanation of the discrepancy between the Talmud and Moses is possible: namely, that the Talmud is the antithesis of the teaching of Moses. The rabbi's statement that hatred is a Jewish virtue is true, but the statement is so fatuous and repugnant that only someone blinded by generations of hatred and ethnocentric prejudice could make it. Jews, as anyone who has looked at the portal of a medieval cathedral can see, are blind.

To call the rabbi fatuous, however, is not to dispute his main contention. Hatred is a Jewish virtue. The people who call themselves Jews are not interested in following Moses; they are not even Jews. They are, as St. John said, "liars." They are, again citing St. John, "the synagogue of Satan." Hate is a Jewish virtue, not because Moses taught it, but because the people who call themselves Jews are nothing more than anti-Christians who are ultimately in rebellion against the law of Moses. "The very question of how to approach our enemies," the rabbi says, "depends on whether one believes that Jesus was merely a misguided mortal, or the Son of God."[157] Precisely. Given the logic of rejection and reversal that is the essence of Talmudic Judaism, hate must be the highest Jewish virtue because love is the highest Christian virtue. In choosing to reject Christ, those who call themselves Jews reject love and Moses and everything Moses stood for.

The people who call themselves Jews remain true to the their iconographic reputation as blind by insisting on the very thing that goes against their own best interests. "Hate," the rabbi says, "allows us to keep our guard up, to protect us."[158] Soloveichik cites the "many hundreds of Jewish victims of suicide bombings" as indicating "the importance and the necessity of Jewish hate has once again been demonstrated."[159] Someone less blinded by "the virtue of hate" might have a different view of cause and effect.

"For Jews," the rabbi concludes, "God gave humanity the means for its own redemption."[160] The history of the Jews since Christ is littered with messiahs who tried to put that idea into action, all bringing catastrophe onto the heads of

the Jewish people. The difference between Alex Portnoy and Mickey Sabbath is simple but telling. Portnoy knows he is a failed messiah, and can laugh about it and make us laugh about it too. At the end of *Portnoy's Complaint*, Portnoy sees himself as the messiah manqué: "I was supposed to save her life," he says of The Monkey, "and didn't."[161] The same is true of his other *shiksa*, The Pumpkin, "Someone who knew who she was. Psychologically so intense as not to be in need of salvation or redemption by me! Not in need of conversion to my glorious faith."[162] Portnoy regrets seducing and abandoning The Pumpkin:

> Christ, yes, this was one of the great *shikses*. I might have learned something spending the rest of my life with such a person. Yes, I might—if I could learn something! If I could be somehow sprung from this obsession with fellatio and fornication, from romance and fantasy, and revenge—from the settling of scores! the pursuit of dreams! from this hopeless, senseless loyalty to the long ago. . . . My wholesome, big-bottomed, lipstickless, barefooted *shikse*, where are you now Kay-Kay? . . . The very best of the Middle West, so why did I let her go? Why did I ever let her go![163]

Roth's character "let her go" because his behavior was ruled by his disordered desires and not practical reason, another name for morality. Portnoy plays down his guilt by associating his transgression of the moral law with tearing "the tag from my mattress that says, 'Do Not Remove Under Penalty of Law'—what would they give me for that, the chair?"[164] Yes, after Jewish humor reshaped America, they would give Portnoy a chair at Harvard for his mastery in moral subversion. From that chair, he could, as Philip Roth has, pontificate *ex cathedra* on "the ridiculous disproportion of the guilt!"[165]

James Bloom remains clueless throughout his book on Jewish humor, even proposing the funny Jew as one more messiah manqué at the book's conclusion, just as Albert Goldman did when Portnoy appeared 30 years earlier. History repeated itself, first as tragedy and then as farce. First Karl Marx as the Jewish messiah, then Groucho Marx as the messianic Funny Jew. "Jewish jokes," Bloom says, quoting Theodor Reik, "will spur 'the abolishment of religion.'"[166] In addition, they foster, as they fall from the mouth of the Funny Jew Messiah, "'emotional brotherhood' enfolding and giving pleasure to ever-widening 'circles of American Gentiles.' This extension of Jewishness beyond boundaries of 'blood' and faith constitutes a new quasi-tribal identity. . . . Where the funny Jews' new tribalism departs from its predecessors is in repudiating blood and even faith as the basis for membership."[167]

The messianic chosen people had mutated once again. Tired of waiting for a messiah who never came the Jewish people became their own messiah in the middle of the 19th century. Thereafter, it continued to mutate from the latest messianic successor of the vanguard of the proletariat, from the sexually liberated, from the neocon bobos, into the audience at the local comedy club.

As proof of the efficacy of this new religion, Bloom cites the testimony of someone known as "O'Hehir," presumably Irish by the sound of his name and formerly Catholic, by the sound of his ideas. "O'Hehir" claims that Woody Allen movies are "the central factor shaping who I have become."[168] As if that weren't depressing enough, Bloom feels that the funny Jew, in this case Woody Allen, has now created a "'cult' based on a 'communal mystique.'"[169]

Chapter Twenty

The Neoconservative Era

One former liberal who claimed, to use Irving Kristol's term, that he had been "mugged by reality" was Ronald Reagan, the former governor of California who lost the Republican presidential nomination to Gerald Ford in 1976. Friedman calls Reagan "a genuine neocon,"[1] because like Podhoretz *et al* he became disillusioned when Democrats abandoned the anti-Communist crusade. "I didn't leave the Democratic Party," Reagan said. "The Democratic Party left me."[2] Faced with another four years of Jimmy ("inordinate fear of communism") Carter, the neoconservative Jews jumped off the Democratic ship they had sailed on since the New Deal and went to work for Ronald Reagan. Reagan's victory resembled the triumph of the Communists over the Whites during the Russian civil war. Once the Communists had won, the Jews flooded into the capital to staff the new regime.

The Reagan administration became the Jewish Camelot. *Commentary* was required reading in the White House, and a horde of neocons marched to Washington or marched from Washington's think tanks into the White House. They included Paul Wolfowitz, who worked for George Schulz at the State Department; Kenneth Adelman, who served as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; William Kristol, who worked under neocon agent William Bennett at Education; Norman Podhoretz's son-in-law Elliott Abrams, who became assistant secretary of defense; and Richard Pipes, who left Harvard to become the architect for the final battle of the Cold War. About the only neocon not in Washington was Norman Podhoretz, who failed to get confirmed as head of the United States Information Agency. So many Jewish neocons received appointments that the ambivalent *New Republic* "complained 'Trotsky's orphans' were taking over the government."[3]

Authoring "Dictatorships and Double Standards" in the November 1979 *Commentary* earned Jeanne Kirkpatrick, a Democrat, a job as UN ambassador. She provided "the neocon rationale for silence. . . at the behavior of those right-wing regimes that reaganistas backed in Central America." Kirkpatrick

also repaid her benefactors by supporting Israel so assiduously that she was known as "the ambassador from *Commentary*."[4]

Elliott Abrams was the architect of Reagan's anti-Communist crusade in Central America. After working as national chair of Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Abrams joined the staff of Henry Jackson, after Richard Perle "told him of the senator's efforts on behalf of Israel and of his strong pro-defense and anti-Soviet posture."[5] In 1977 he joined Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's staff. Through Moynihan he made contact with the New York neocons and married Midge Decter's daughter Rachel. Abrams wrote the memo that led to the mining of three Nicaraguan harbors. He became so embroiled in the Iran-Contra Affair that he pled guilty to two counts of withholding information from Congress. Abrams was pardoned by George H.W. Bush on his last day in office; he later served as an official in the second Bush administration, helping orchestrate the invasion of Iraq.

BERNARD NATHANSON TESTIFIES FOR THE HUMAN LIFE BILL 1981

On June 18, 1981, six months after Ronald Reagan took office, Bernard Nathanson got off a short flight from New York to Washington and headed to hearings on the Human Life Bill chaired by Senator East of North Carolina. Nathanson now opposed abortion, and he intended to explain why. Nathanson's defection from proabortion ranks did not change the ethnic dimensions of the abortion struggle. His later conversion to Catholicism, in fact, confirmed the ethnic grammar of what had always been a Jewish/Catholic conflict. Between his conversion to the prolife cause and his conversion to Catholicism, Nathanson was to learn that a prolife Jew was an "invisible man."

In covering the hearings, *The New York Times* stuck to the ethnic playbook Nathanson and Lader had created. *Times* reporter Bernard Weinraub listed the academic credentials and achievements of Leon Rosenberg, a geneticist who testified for abortion on demand. Rosenberg "drew a prolonged round of applause" when he announced there was not "a single piece of scientific evidence" to determine "when life begins."[6] Dr. Irving Cushner, the Jewish gynecologist from the UCLA Medical Center, a major player in the California abortion scene, also testified for the pro-abortion side. Nathanson credits Cushner with "a peroration on abortion, love and interpersonal communication that would have done the Reverend Jim Jones credit."[7]

Nathanson testified for the prolife position along with Dr. John Willke, a Catholic physician from Cincinnati, but when the news reports appeared the following day, Nathanson's testimony wasn't even mentioned. "My name," Nathanson writes, "did not appear in the coverage. And again, my name did not appear in the *Washington Post* coverage of the hearings. . . . Why did the

New York Times fail to list me as a participant?"[8] Nathanson wondered if the omission was "possibly an oversight."[9] His non-existence was strange since he "was the author of a great many of these ['60s rallying cries] (in conjunction with Friedan and Lader) that we used."[10] His changed mind should have been newsworthy in itself, except he had converted to the wrong side, and his conversion contradicted the ethnic scenario the *Times* was at great pains to preserve.

Upon reflection, the reason his name was omitted is explainable. According to the ethnic playbook, only Catholics were prolife; people who were pro-abortion had no ethnic identity. Jews, according to that playbook, were always proabortion, even though that could never be mentioned publicly. Including Nathanson's name would have ruined the ethnic scenario the *Times* was trying to maintain, according to which Jews (although it would be anti-Semitic for prolifers to bring this up) were all proabortion, whereas the anti-abortion forces were always (or only) Catholic.

The New York Times also failed to mention the video of a fetus shown at the hearings. That omission and the UPI wire service's failure to mention either Dr. Hilgers or Dr. Nathanson was tantamount to "journalistic malpractice" according to Nathanson. "Was it," Nathanson wonders,

> that the testimony of Hilgers and Nathanson was not fit to print? or was it that a reporter listening to my statement and the answers to Senator Hatch's questions, listening to Hilgers and watching that bombshell of a tape on the television, might be unexpectedly swayed to write a fair, reasoned and informative piece for the public indicating that the 1969 passwords can no longer suffice for pro-abortion arguments in 1981?[11]

Nathanson concluded that the mega-press was biased. The Lichter Rothman survey showed it was disproportionately Jewish and overwhelmingly pro-abortion. Ninety percent of the journalists questioned by Lichter and Rothman were pro-abortion. In addition, Nathanson discovered

> One in four [members of the mega-press] is Jewish. In the general population 24 in every thousand persons are Jewish, but in the mega press 230 out of every thousand are Jewish, a representation far out of proportion to their numbers in the census. This is clearly the source of the fulsome accusation from identifiably anti-Semitic sources that the media is dominated by Jews.[12]

At this point, perhaps to save himself from the accusation that he was an anti-Semite, Nathanson adds that "Lichter and Rothman are both Jewish, and so am I."[13]

Two years after Nathanson testified before Congress, on June 28, 1983, the Human Life Bill was defeated in the United States Senate by a vote of 50-49. The Senate had voted down a statement affirming that "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution."[14] Nathanson became a celebrity among

prolife groups, but in the eyes of the mainstream "mega-press,"[15] he had become a non-person. His non-existence was attributable in part at least to the fact that he had converted to the wrong side in the culture wars, but it was also attributable to the fact that, as a prolife Jew, he had no place in the manichean ethnic framework in which the abortion issue had become couched.

SCHMITZ HEARINGS 1981

Six months after Bernard Nathanson testified before Congress, state Senator John Schmitz held hearings in Los Angeles on when human life began. His hearings paralleled those in Washington. Ronald Reagan, the governor of California who signed its permissive abortion bill into law, had a change of heart and had been elected as the first president sympathetic to prolife positions since *Roe v. Wade*. To repay the Catholic ethnics who abandoned the Democratic Party to vote for him, Reagan expressed willingness to sign a bill stating human life began at conception. Schmitz was formerly the congressman representing President Nixon's San Clemente district. Schmitz had alienated Nixon, saying he had no objection to Nixon going to China as long as he didn't come back. Schmitz had alienated Jewish women's groups during hearings on breast cancer, when they objected vociferously to informed consent on breast cancer because they thought it would lead to an informed consent abortion bill. But he was taken aback by their vehemence at the abortion hearings.

Outgunned by prolife testimony, the proabortion side used street theater to divert the press from the evidence life began at conception. Jewish feminist lawyer Gloria Allred claimed that if the Human Life Bill passed, women could be prosecuted for miscarriages. She ended her testimony by claiming women would be forced to wear "chastity belts."[16] She then took an instrument of sexual torture she had purchased at an S&M shop and threw it at the Catholic Schmitz "for his wife to wear."[17]

Allred's stunt diverted the press, which did not mention the evidence that showed the fetus was a human being deserving of protection. Nor did they cover the testimony of National Council of Jewish Women spokesman Toby Egeth, who claimed "any legislation in this area [*i.e.,* abortion] would pose a serious threat to our Constitutional right to practice our religion. . . we are opposed to accidental and indiscriminate reproduction in an already overpopulated and underfed world."[18] This statement prompted Catholic prolifers to wonder "Would the NCJW prefer an exception clause to a human life amendment which would prohibit all abortions except those done on Jewish mothers in order that the NCJW could continue to practice its religion of abortion?"[19]

Annoyed the press ignored the prolife testimony in favor of Allred's attempt to infuriate Schmitz by insulting his wife and their marital relationship,

Schmitz issued a press release saying "the front rows of the state auditorium were filled with a sea of hard, Jewish, and (arguably) female faces whose general countenance reassured those of us on the committee dais that had we somehow fallen from the stage we would have been devoured as so many carcasses thrown to the piranha."[20] Schmitz claimed the hearings had been subverted by "pre-organized infestations of imported lesbians and from anti-male and pro-abortion queer groups in San Francisco and other centers of decadence."[21] The press release praised hearings in other parts of the state, "held in Catholic, and therefore somewhat civilized territory."[22]

The Jews were infuriated, immediately accusing Schmitz of anti-Semitism. Julie Gertler, at the hearings as president of the National Council of Jewish Women, and presumably one of the hard, Jewish, and (arguably) female faces staring at Schmitz, "was highly offended" and her "husband was outraged" too.[23]

Schmitz's Attack of the Bulldykes press release was so frank it scared all but the hardiest prolifers. The right to life organizations folded first as the Jews orchestrated public opinion against Schmitz. Karen Bodziak, director of education for the Right to Life League of Southern California, referred to his comments as "off the wall."[24] The California Prolife Medical Association termed the language "rough" and "intemperate," but maintained it was "fair commentary" and accurate.[25] Apparently Gloria Allred in her spiky hairdo did look like a"slick butch lawyeress,"[26] the phrase Schmitz used to describe her.

One Jew came to Schmitz's defense. Dr. Kenneth Mitzner of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Jewish Life Issues Committee reported to Senator David Roberti, Chairman of the Rules Committee that "Senator Schmitz's ethnic characterization of the audience (at the LA hearing) was technically correct."[27] Catholic David Roberti, the president pro tem of the California senate who had appointed Schmitz chairman of the committee ignored Mitzner. "His comments," Roberti said of Schmitz, "are anti-Semitic and not appropriate for a senator or a chairman of a committee."[28] Roberti, a longtime abortion foe, said he planned to remove Schmitz from his posts. Schmitz claimed Roberti had caved in to pressure from pro-abortion groups and "a very heavy homosexual contingent in his district" in Hollywood and central Los Angeles.[29] "I would wear it as a badge of honor if I get stripped of my chairmanship for his issue," he said.[30] And Schmitz soon got his wish.

When Schmitz refused to apologize for calling Allred a "slick butch lawyeress," she filed a defamation suit. Schmitz paid $20,000 to settle; he also issued an apology. He was then stripped of his committee position. The facts remained eerily irrelevant. No one disputed the presence of Jewish and homosexual groups at the hearing or that they were working toward the same goal. No one disputed Jewish support for abortion. No one defended Gloria Allred's hairdo, nor did anyone define anti-Semitism, which had come to mean anything certain Jews found offensive.

In early January 1982 Los Angeles City Councilman Hal Bernson, a Jew and a promoter of abortion, orchestrated a resolution issued by the Republican party censuring Schmitz.

About the time that resolution passed, the Martin Container Corporation sent employees to repossess a 20-foot metal container from the posh Woodland Hills residence of Malvin Weissberg, who owned a pathology lab. When the workers unpacked the container, they found aborted late term fetuses. The plastic containers containing roughly 17,000 fetuses had come from Inglewood Hospital run by Dr. Morton Barke. Each container was labeled with the name of the doctor who had performed the abortion. A legal tug of war followed along predictably ethnic lines. Catholic lawmakers were outraged and wanted to arrange decent burial. The pathologist and the abortionists, who were Jewish, were defended by the press, who wanted to know how photos of the fetuses were obtained. At the behest of the Feminist Women's Health Center, Carol Sobel and Dorothy Lang of the ACLU filed for a restraining order to prevent release of the bodies.

In May 1982, Ronald Reagan wrote to Philip B. Dreisbach, Secretary of the California Pro-Life Medical Association and a pathologist who examined the bodies during a mass autopsy. "When all is said and done," Reagan wrote, "being confronted with the reality of abortion and its consequences removes all trace of doubt and hesitation."[31] Reagan said he hoped "evidence like that found in California will move those who have thus far preferred silence or inaction and encourage them to agree that something must be done. I have expressed my anticipation that Congress act expeditiously on this matter and approve a measure which will remove this evil and all its vestiges from our society."[32]

Six months after the discovery, the fetuses remained unburied, in cold storage at the LA county morgue, and the incident had been memorialized in a brochure entitled "The American Holocaust." The title was sure to antagonize pro-abortion forces by drawing attention to the irony that the Jews most likely to complain about Hitler's policies in Germany also were in the forefront of the abortion industry in California. A sidebar entitled "Who is Responsible for the American Holocaust in California?" listed names that were almost exclusively Jewish.[33]

THE REVISED OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY 1984

When the Oberammergau passion play, purged of offensive material after 20 years of negotiations, was performed in 1984, the Jews were angrier than ever. The *New York Times* ran a piece by James Rudin, "Oberammergau Play: Still Anti-Semitic." In the play, "the Jews," says Rudin, "emerge as a corrupt, brutal people, driven by harsh and cruel law—clearly the 'bad guys' of the play."[34] Jews must redouble their efforts. Now the real concessions could begin.

Rudin later claimed his column was "'the turning point, the wake-up call'"[35] for Oberammergau. "Then," Rudin says, "they felt the power of the Jews. It stunned them. It's one thing to publish in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, another in the *New York Times*."[36]

The Journal of Ecumenical Studies was edited by Leonard Swidler, a Catholic theological expert whom the Jews used to undermine Catholic teaching. One wonders how Swidler felt when Rudin referred to his journal with thinly veiled contempt. By 1984, however, Swidler could not have curried Rudin's favor without the protective cover of *Nostra Aetate*, a document that, Shapiro indicates, created confusion in Oberammergau "over how to deal with a situation in which the Vatican position appears to be at odds with the very words of the Gospel."[37] Shapiro writes "at rock bottom—though few would admit it—the tension between opponents and supporters of the play was about how the founding story of Christianity was to be told and how Scripture was to be interpreted."[38]

But it was more than that. It was an attack on the idea of the vow as something that would be "rewarded by divine intervention,"[39] as opposed to financial calculations based on expedience, the first law of Jewish modernity. The "villagers of Oberammergau. . . remained faithful to the tradition that a vow was taken by their ancestors in 1633. . . if their lives were spared they would perform a Passion Play in perpetuity."[40] If "the refusal to honor" a solemn vow was considered "an act of impiety," then the Jews would promote impiety, and the deracination that goes with it, by undermining the villagers' belief in the historical foundation of their vow.[41] Shapiro indicates "the identity of Oberammergau, its notion of its own past, present, and future, was closely tied to this powerful narrative. To question [the vow] was necessarily to call into doubt the exceptional nature of the village and its steadfast commitment to Passion playing."[42]

"The problem," he says, "is that the chronicle narrative—the story's only source—rests on very shaky foundations."[43] To the Jewish debunker of Christian piety, the unreliability of the play's antecedents is similar to the historical unreliability of the gospels. "The problem of the transmission of the vow story," Shapiro says, "bears an uncanny resemblance to the more controversial one raised by the Evangelists' retelling of Jesus' Passion: How accurate are versions of the past set down by writers several generations removed from the events that they describe?"[44]

The historical basis of the vow had to be destroyed because the vow validated a world the Jews find unacceptable. Shapiro cites "the Catholic Eugen Roth," who sees the vow as something that saved the villagers from modernity: "Recent years have brought such revolutionary changes to the whole globe that only a securely anchored vow, an unbroken tradition, can explain why Oberammergau remained true to itself in the midst of a

disintegrating world spiritually impoverished by technical achievements and the desire for sensational distraction."[45]

Shapiro cites another writer who

> uses the village as a stick to beat those who commit adultery or have stopped going to church: "In an age when many people break their vows of baptism, confirmation or marriage if they no longer feel like keeping them, it is refreshing to find a community which believes that the vow made by the ancestors is still solemnly binding on them." This may keep the pilgrims coming to see the play, but it is a myth of piety that has begun to suffocate many in Oberammergau, especially the young, when held to this impossibly high example.[46]

So we can conclude from this that Shapiro considers the Mosaic prohibition against adultery "an impossibly high example." This may explain his vehement attempts to debunk the villagers' vow. The attack on the vow is an attack on anyone who believes that a sphere of life can be reserved for something other than commercial purposes. As such, the attack on the vow becomes an attack on marriage. Those who resist the commercialization of sex are deluding themselves with "a myth of piety," which is ultimately "suffocating." The attack on the marriage vow as an "impossibly high example" becomes so vehement, one must assume that for once personal, as opposed to ethnic, motives are entering into the discussion.

But the attack on the vow is above all else an attack on the idea of a rooted culture. The Jews clearly saw "the fantasy of Oberammergau"[47] as an affront to what they see as universal progress, which is to say the universal commercialization of every aspect of human life. Shapiro's account makes clear that the fact that Oberammergau was perceived as "inaccessible, the people neither influencing, nor being influenced by the outer world" was intolerable.[48] The idea of a "'mountain-girt' village" that was "far removed from the world . . . defined by progress, secularization and social revolution"[49] was clearly repugnant to Shapiro and by extension to the Jewish organizations which waged cultural warfare on Oberammergau.

Shapiro then goes into his debunking mode. "This little valley in the Bavarian mountains" is not different "from the outside world;" nor is it "strangely untouched and uncorrupted."[50] Shapiro delightedly quotes the impressions of the first tourists to arrive as a prelude to debunking them because no place on earth can escape the forces of "progress, secularization and social revolution." When Winold Reiss writes Oberammergau is "one of the few spots in all the world where faith and idealism have successfully withstood materialism and commercial greed," Shapiro responds "nothing could have been further from the truth than the idea that these were rural peasants, cut off from intercourse with the outside world by a ring of mountains."[51] The contrary impression,

Shapiro says, is "a credit to the collective acting ability of the villagers . . . One wonders to what extent they even began to believe it themselves."[52]

To show it is "impossible to protect the villagers from uncontrollable forces from the outside world," Shapiro attacks "the much-heralded morality of the villagers"[53] by delving into the village's illegitimacy rate. "If local records of illegitimacy rates are any indication," Shapiro says, "reports of Oberammergau's extraordinary virtue are overrated."[54] Shapiro is not the first to spread rumors to undermine their passion play. The rumors go back to 1890 when Rev. E. Hermitage Day said "some of the more malicious rumors . . . were traced to disappointed Jewish financiers, who had hoped to secure a share of the profits by financing the play."[55]

Given the unrelenting Jewish attack on Oberammergau, what revisions would satisfy them? Otto Huber learned the answer when he flew to New York to meet with ADL executive director Abraham Foxman. Convinced the Bavarians had purged every remnant of anti-Semitism, Huber presented Foxman with a copy of the script and an invitation to see the play. Foxman's cold rejection took Huber aback. According to Foxman, "Everything was fine" until Huber said "his play was about love and understanding."[56] Foxman exploded. "I told him," Shapiro writes, quoting Foxman, "If you want to give me love and understanding, there are a lot of other Christian subjects. There's no absolute need to do it. Give me another play; if it's about a Crucifixion in which the Jews kill Christ, you can never clean it up enough. So don't expect an embrace."[57]

Huber was stunned. Foxman wanted Oberammergau to perform a passion play without the Crucifixion. Huber realized "the ADL wants to destroy our identity."[58] Huber then tried another approach, appealing to "Oberammergau's tradition."[59] This too got him nowhere. Foxman, recounting his version to Shapiro, told Huber "to hell with tradition if it fuels hatred and contempt that ultimately kills Jews."[60] According to Shapiro, the whole thing

> had boiled down to this: for Otto Huber, the play of Jesus' Passion really was about love and understanding. And he had somehow failed to make Abraham Foxman understand this. For Abraham Foxman, the truth was equally clear: history showed that Passion plays led people to hate and sometimes to kill Jews. He didn't need to read history books to know this either. I was informed that as a child during the war, Foxman had been torn from his family.[61]

The impression Shapiro gives (Foxman "didn't need history books to know this either") is that Foxman had been beaten up as a child by an enraged mob streaming out of the Passion Play in Oberammergau or somewhere else in Germany. The real story—the one that Huber should have learned before he had his meeting with Foxman—is significantly different than the one to which Shapiro alluded so cryptically. Foxman was born into a Polish Jewish

family in the late 1930s. When it became apparent that the Nazis were going to overrun Poland, Foxman's biological parents gave him to a Polish Catholic woman, who understood that Foxman was now her child and that she was to raise him as her own. In later life, Foxman adverted to Polish anti-Semitism, ignoring the fact that this Polish woman risked her own life, as well as the lives of her family and neighbors by raising Foxman. As some indication that she considered Foxman her own adopted child, Foxman's Polish mother had him baptized. If, as the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* indicates, "Baptism seals the Christian with the indelible spiritual mark (character) of his belonging to Christ," then Abraham Foxman is a Catholic, "because no sin can erase this mark, even if sin prevents Baptism from bearing the fruits of salvation" (Para. 1272). If Abe Foxman is a Catholic, if, in fact, Polish Catholics risked their lives to save his, why does he hate Catholics so much? We've heard of self-hating Jews. Is Foxman a self-hating Catholic?

After the war, when Foxman was six or seven, his biological parents returned and demanded their son back. The Polish woman who had risked her life to raise Foxman as her own child refused. More important for our purposes, Foxman refused to leave the Polish woman who had raised him, the woman who was the only mother he had ever known. Foxman's biological parents went to court and prevailed. In an exercise in Jewish debunking similar to the campaign he would orchestrate against Oberammergau and Gibson's Passion Play, Foxman was told that the woman he loved as his mother was not and never had been his mother. He was also told he was not and had never been a Catholic. So, from the perspective of Foxman as a child in a Polish custody battle, the Catholic story of "love and understanding" was what Professor Shapiro might call "a myth of piety."

The Foxman story has uncanny similarities with the childhood trauma of another Jewish debunker. Sigmund Freud's Czech nanny taught him Catholic prayers and devotions and may have secretly baptized him. The nanny was removed abruptly when she was accused of theft and fired (or fired for having an affair with a member of Freud's family). Holy Mother Church's vision of love and understanding was associated in both men's minds with a mother figure who suddenly disappeared; the Catholic mother promised love but could not deliver. The vision of love the Catholic mother instilled in their minds was overruled by a harsh Jewish reality. Foxman was torn from the only mother he had ever known. Was it because the Catholic mother allowed this trauma that she must be first demonized and then punished? If Foxman's Catholic mother could not be punished, then Holy Mother Church could be punished in her stead. The pain of separation from the mother was intense and impossible to remedy. Blood and the law triumphed over love. The only way Foxman could alleviate pain was to demonize the source of the pain, namely, his Polish mother and Holy Mother Church.

Foxman, like Freud, became a member of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Masonic lodge, from which he waged war on the Catholic Church. Oberammergau came to symbolize the "mountain-girt" exception to a Jewish world run on commercial principles. Since Holy Mother Church and what she stands for is too good to be true, since the "mountain-girt" village couldn't protect Foxman from his rapacious Jewish parents, Abe made a virtue of necessity: he identified with what he saw as the winning side, i.e., Jewish modernity and what it stands for: blood, the law, calculation, and hate.

In 1984 the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation received a significant infusion of cash when the Bradley family sold the firm that produced the Bradley fighting vehicle to the Rockwell Corporation. In 1985, William Simon hired Irving Kristol protégé Michael Joyce, who had succeeded Simon as head of the Olin Foundation, to head the Bradley Foundation, which had an endowment of $715 million. Joyce then used the money to fund the neocon takeover of the conservative movement. Beneficiaries included Allan Bloom, who produced *The Closing of the American Mind* with Bradley money, and William Bennett, another Kristol protégé, who was used as the neocon foil to defeat M. H. Bradford's bid to head the National Endowment for the Humanities under Ronald Reagan. Taking a cue from his mentor Irving Kristol, Joyce used the Bradley Foundation's resources to fund neocon front operations. *National Review* provided the blueprint. As Buckley had attacked the John Birch Society and Ayn Rand, the Bradley Foundation went after traditional conservativism, known by the neologism Paleoconservatism.

Friedman claims "The neocons also faced attacks from the reinvigorated Paleoconservatives."[62] The opposite was the case. The Neocons spent the early '90s on the attack, taking over one conservative institution after another. They also attacked Pat Buchanan. When Russell Kirk, a founding father of post-World War II conservatism, complained neocons often mistook Tel Aviv for the "capital of the United States," Midge Decter attacked him as an anti-Semite and worked to expel him from the movement. Kirk felt neoconservatism had more to do with Trotsky than Edmund Burke; he accused the neocons of attempting to hijack the movement.

While editing the *The Religion and Society Report* newsletter for the Paleoconservative Rockford Institute, Lutheran pastor (and soon Roman Catholic priest) Richard John Neuhaus hijacked a $250,000 Bradley Foundation grant earmarked for Rockford and used it to found the neocon organ *First Things*. According to Decter, Neuhaus then approached her to become a "fellow" at *First Things*, although "neither he nor I had any firm idea of what I would be doing as a 'fellow.'"[63] Neuhaus, however, knew what he had to do to gain neocon support. At a meeting with Rockford directors, Neuhaus told Tom Fleming, editor of Rockford's Paleocon journal *Chronicles*, "I'm going to cut you off at the knees."[64]

In December 2005, editor Dale Vree announced in the *New Oxford Review* that years before he had been approached by "a Jewish neocon with no interest in Christianity or Catholicism" who "was interested in getting us to promote Jewish neocon interests" in exchange for a significant amount of money "if we would support corporate capitalism and if we would support a militaristic U.S. foreign policy."[65] When Vree turned the Jewish neocon down, they funded *Catholicism in Crisis* and *First Things* instead. Bradley funded *Catholicism in Crisis* (later, at the Bradley Foundation's insistence, reduced to *Crisis*), a neocon journal for Catholics, founded by Michael Novak and Ralph McInerny, to counter the influence of the American bishops. When founded in 1982, the magazine's purpose was to oppose the bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear weapons. Thus "the neocons found a way to get Catholic and Christian magazines to front for their largely Jewish neocon interests."[66] By 2003, that meant ignoring the Catholic Just War Theory and supporting instead the neocon-inspired invasion of Iraq.

Because he identified the man who tried to subvert the *New Oxford Review* as a Jew, Vree was attacked as an anti-Semite. Vree rejected the charge as well as the charge that opposition to the war was tantamount to anti-Semitism, saying that by 2005 even the Jewish magazine *The Forward* said those who claimed that the invasion of Iraq was orchestrated by Jews working in Israel's interests "can no longer be shushed or dismissed as bigots."[67]

COMMUNISM FALLS 1989

Shortly after the Berlin Wall came down in November 1989, David Horowitz, a red-diaper baby and communist, converted to neoconservatism, claiming the wall's fall meant the era of "revolutionary modernity . . . has finally come to a close."[68]

The revolutionary era in American foreign policy, however, was just beginning. Jews like Horowitz would promote Trotsky's politics under the name neoconservatism. The Jewish converts to neoconservatism gave uncanny substantiation to the French proverb that the more things changed, the more they remained the same. After the fall of communism, Horowitz admitted Jews had a fatal attraction to communism and other Messianic politics, tracing it to the influence of the Lurianic Cabala. He praised the counterrevolutionary zeal of the Catholic peasants of the Vendee, but then, like the Jewish moth drawn back to the candle of Messianic politics, Horowitz became an advocate of campus speech codes, encouraging students to inform on "liberal" professors who criticized Israel. When former president Jimmy Carter published a book in 2006 associating Israel with apartheid, Horowitz called Carter a "Jew-hater." The neocons who bragged about America's victory over communism thus showed an uncanny propensity toward communist tactics when dealing with their enemies. Richard Pipes' son Daniel, who,

with Martin Kramer, ran the website Campus Watch, encouraged students to inform on their professors and "report comments or behavior that might be considered hostile to Israel."[69] The same neocons also pushed Congress to deny federal funding to professors they said displayed anti-Israel bias.

In this he was like David Frum and Richard Perle, who claimed in their book *The End of Evil* that it was every American's patriotic duty to become a government informer. The more neoconservatism spread the more it began to resemble the Cheka. "Sometimes," Frum and Perle inform us, "the motives of those who provide the information are not very pretty."[70] But so what if "maybe they want him out of the way so that they can woo his girlfriend. . . . information from nonsaints can be just as valuable."[71] These lines would take on new and sinister meaning in the wake of the torture scandals at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, but that was in the future.

RON RADOSH BECOMES A NEOCONSERVATIVE

After railing against American imperialism for his entire life, Ron Radosh finally became a spokesman for it at the very time when it became the most serious threat to peace in the world when he too converted to neoconservatism. In the aftermath of the attack on the World Trade Center, neoconservative revolutionary Jews like Assistant Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz seized the initiative and began orchestrating the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The uncanny similarities between the worldviews of Trotsky and Irving Kristol, godfather of the neoconservative movement, have been noticed by many, but not by Ronald Radosh, who became a proud representative of American imperialism and a recipient of State Department grants to lecture the Chinese Communists about how history has left them behind. "Sponsored by the office of public diplomacy in the State Department," Radosh writes, "I stood before Chinese university students and intellectuals as a proud representative of the United States."[72] Radosh tells us that he had "a keen appreciation of the irony involved,"[73] but it is obvious that the real irony has evaded him completely. The real irony resides in the title of the last chapter of his book, "Coming Home." Radosh intends it to indicate his return to America, but it could just as easily and ironically apply to Radosh as the quintessential revolutionary Jew. It was, in other words, easy for Radosh to come home to a revolutionary Jewish ideology like neoconservatism because that ideology had never gotten beyond Irving Kristol's reading of Trotsky. Neoconservatism, like the Popular Front in the '40s, folk music in the '50s, sex and dope in the '60s, and feminism in the '70s, had become the locus of revolutionary Jewish activity in the world at the beginning of the third millennium. Once the neocons hijacked America's foreign policy in the wake of 9/11 it was easy for the revolutionary Jew to come back to the home he had never left.

As Radosh moved from the Left into the neoconservative orbit, he endured the sneers of former comrades. "You really are a running dog of imperialism, aren't you?" Paul Buhle jeered at a historians' convention.[74] Buhle was right. Radosh followed neocon ideology as blindly as he had followed communist ideology. Radosh would later work for the USIA. He would become Olin Professor of history at Adelphi University, feeding at the trough of the Olin Foundation, a major funder of neocon subversion. Buhle, though, failed to see that Radosh the neoconservative remained a revolutionary Jew. Iraq has as much chance of becoming the next heaven on earth as any of the other meccas of failed Messianic politics.

PORN STARS AND JEWISH REVOLUTIONARIES

"I'm proud," Nina Hartley told the Jewish magazine *Schmate*, "of my heritage's intellectual history and its empathy with the persecuted. But I'm no Zionist. Politically, I'm left-wing. I want everyone to have a job, everyone to have food, clothing, shelter, medical care and education. Utopia might be communist but in the meantime we have to have socialism. I want everyone to have a piece."[75]

Once the majority of American Jews defined themselves as sexually deviant, pornography, along with homosexual rights, feminism, and New Age goddess worship, became a natural expression of their worldview. Because they controlled Hollywood, they could make their worldview normative for the culture. The traditional animus against majority culture combined with a decline in moral scruple led "the advocates of Woody Allen" to pornography as a form of cultural warfare. The most significant thinker in this regard was Wilhelm Reich, a Jew from Galicia who was a student of Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx who tried to marry those quintessentially revolutionary Jewish ideologies. Reich wrote the book on sexual revolution that many Jewish porn stars read. Like Nina Hartley, Richard Pacheco sees a connection between being Jewish and being a porn star. Reich is the crucial link.

"Five years before I got my first part in an adult film," Pacheco explained, "I went down to an audition for an X-rated film with my hair down to my ass, a copy of Wilhelm Reich's *Sexual Revolution* under my arm and yelling about work, love and sex, which were Reich's three principles. These things have got to be in balance or your life is going to be fucked."[76] Pacheco didn't get that job, but he didn't stop auditioning either. Nor did he stop using his Jewishness to rationalize pornographic acting. "Five years later," Pacheco says, "I auditioned for another X-rated film. That very day, I also interviewed at Hebrew Union Seminary to do rabbinical study. I made the choice that the kind of rabbi I would be, if I became one, was one that could have been performing in sex films as part of his experience."[77]

Rabbi Dresner would have felt it's a long way from the Torah to *Debbie Does Dishes*, in which Hartley plays "a sexually insatiable Jewish housewife who enjoys sex with anyone who rings the doorbell."[78] But not Rabbi Mark Blazer of Temple Beth Ami. In 2002 Blazer invited Hartley to speak at his synagogue "about how couples can spice up their marriages and feel more comfortable with their sexuality."[79] Hartley further articulated the connection between being Jewish and being a porn star in an interview with Jewish pornographer Sheldon Ranz in 1989 in *Shmate,* in which she explains she is "Jewish culturally but not religiously."[80] Jewish is thus defined negatively. Being Jewish means being anti-Christian. "I'm generally less subservient than a typical WASP female. And I've discovered certain gender interactions are different between Jewish and non-Jewish couples."[81] Hartley was born in 1956 and grew up in Berkeley, "heavily influenced by [secular] Jewish culture. It's an intellectual town. A lot of the people who set the political agenda are Jewish."[82] Hartley sees pornography as the fulfillment of "Jewish values" because those values reflect not the Torah but the mores of secular Jews in Berkeley in the '60s. That means "there are things that you learn and ways that you think that you don't understand are more Jewish than not until you go into mainstream America and realize that other people don't think this way."[83]

Jews are different from "mainstream America," which she defines as vaguely Christian. Although Christianity and Judaism both view the Torah and the moral code it expresses as canonical, Hartley defines the Jew as someone who opposes biblical morals. She justifies pornography by adverting to revolution. Unlike their communist parents, who saw the revolution as economic, the baby boomer Jewish revolutionaries saw the issues as sexual. They took Wilhelm Reich as their guide instead of Trotsky or Lenin. As Igor Shafarevich noted, socialism always had a sexual component. It always meant communality of wives as well as communality of property. But the idea of sexual liberation has been refined, and the Jewish porn stars were aware of the refinements. Hartley "descends ideologically from the Marxist Jewish philosopher Herbert Marcuse who prophesied that a socialist utopia would free individuals to achieve sexual satisfaction. Nina descends literally from a line of radical Jews. Her grandfather (a physics professor) and her father (a radio announcer) belonged to the Communist party."[84] One of Hartley's brothers is an Orthodox Jew displeased with her vocation as porn star. They don't speak to each other. Hartley portrays him as the black sheep of the family. Ranz echoes her animus: "I don't understand how a family where the parents have a communist background can raise a kid who grows up to be an Orthodox Jew. How did that happen?"[85] It is a classic instance of the transvaluation of values inherent in contemporary Jewish identity. Who gets to excommunicate whom?

The connection between Jews and pornography is like the connection between Jews and Bolshevism. Jews become involved in pornography for the

same reason they were involved in communism, *i.e.*, to save the world. When porn maven Luke Ford received a letter from a German Turkish girl who wanted to come to Hollywood to become a porn star, he shared it with his website readers, one of whom felt involving the girl in pornography would be an example of "*tikkun olam*" (healing the world). Whether the term is intended as ironic or not, it motivated Ford to look into the connection between Jews and pornography. It also led to criticism that Ford, who is Jewish, portrayed Jews "as dirty, parasitic merchants of smut, disease, and moral pollution—by emphasizing the high number of Jewish porn publishers throughout smut's history."[86]

Jews also used pornography for cultural warfare and moral subversion. The relationship between Jews and pornography is similar to the relationship between the Communist party and the proletariat described by Marx. Just as the Jews were the vanguard of revolutionary activity in Russia, so they were in the vanguard of sexual revolution in the United States. The concept of the chosen people transformed itself into the concept of the revolutionary vanguard as the Talmud dissolved the core of Jewish identity. Messianic politics replaced waiting for the Messiah. In *The Politics of Bad Faith*, David Horowitz described how a religious paradigm, the Exodus, became a political paradigm, in other words, how the eschaton got immanentized and transformed into a Messianic political movement.

Dresner sees the same thing. In becoming, in Dresner's words, "the chief advocates of modernity,"[87] Jews dedicated themselves to communism with messianic fervor:

> They became, for example, disciples of the new politics of communism. Some 30 percent of the early leaders of the revolution were estimated to have been Jewish. Emancipated from their ancient faith by the onslaught of modern thought, which the antiquated Judaism of the time was ill-prepared to refute, they transferred their yet unexpended messianic fervor into the new religion of Marx.[88]

When the attraction of communism waned they dedicated themselves as fervently to sexual liberation. It would be naive, or as Haberer says, "shortsighted,"[89] to claim Jews just happened to be revolutionaries just as Abe Foxman would claim Jews just happened to be in pornography. Jews were drawn to both precisely because of the hold Messianic politics acquired over them once they rejected Logos. Echoing what Dresner said, Irving Kristol expresses the Messianic, universalist vision of neoconservatism and pornography. Jewish revolutionaries, Kristol says,

> did not forsake their Jewish heritage to replace it with another form of cultural identity or ethnic belonging. What they sought can best be described as an abstract and futuristic idealism of assimilation qua emancipation in a denationalized and secularized democratic society,

> ideally of universal scope. Leaving the world of their childhood did not necessarily imply its total abandonment in one act of irreversible forgetfulness. For many this departure under the sacred halo of socialism was the next best solution to their own existential problems—a solution that was enormously attractive since it also held out the utopian promise of the "genuine emancipation" of all Jews in a socialist republic of universal brotherhood devoid of national, religious, and social discrimination or even distinctions.[90]

According to Kristol, secular humanism, or liberalism, is the continuation of revolutionary thought in America. When "emancipation unleashed within the Jewish community latent messianic passions that pointed to a new era of fraternal 'universalism' of belief for mankind,"[91] that trajectory would not stop when communism failed; underneath communism lay the Jewish penchant for revolution, which would find another vehicle when communism failed. Pornography and sexual liberation were a revolutionary vehicle for American Jews disillusioned with the illusions of their parents. Like secular humanism, pornography was perceived as "good for Jews," because it

> permits individual Jews a civic equality and equality of opportunity dreamed of by previous Jewish generations. It is natural, therefore for American Jews to be, not only accepting of secular-humanist doctrines, but enthusiastic exponents. That explains why American Jews are so vigilant about removing all the signs and symbols of traditional religions from "the public square," so insistent that religion be merely a "private affair," so determined that separation of church and state be interpreted to mean the separation of all institutions from any signs of a connection with traditional religions. The spread of secular humanism throughout American life has been "good for Jews," no question about it. So the more, the better.[92]

In her memoir, *An Old Wife's Tale*, Midge Decter noted the same phenomenon, but with a little more *Angst*. "It is no secret," she writes:

> that some significant part in the emptying of the public square had been played by Jewish liberals. It was understandable to me why this was so, because their long history had left many Jews with an atavistic fear of Christian authority—so the more public life could be kept strictly secular the safer they felt. But understand it or not, I believe that the religion-free public condition to which they have made such a vital contribution had left American society, and particularly American culture, vulnerable to pernicious influences.[93]

Influences like pornography? Nina Hartley's description of herself as "the blonde Jew" porn star from "a long line of radical Jews," who "wants everyone to have a piece—a piece of sex, a piece of the means of production, a piece of a warm communist community" and "a piece of the promised Messianic Age—

now" doesn't seem as far-fetched as on first reading.[94] The link between the Talmud and pornography, between Torah and its antithesis, for Jews of Nina Hartley's generation, was Bolshevism, with a big assist from Wilhelm Reich.

When British journalist William Cash wrote about Jewish control of Hollywood in the October 1994 *Spectator*, Hollywood and its academic support troops reacted with rage verging on hysteria. In the *Los Angeles Times*, Neal Gabler, author of *An Empire of their Own: How Jews Created Hollywood*, attacked Cash's article as "an anti-Semitic bleat from a reactionary crackpot" that could be dismissed "if it didn't have a respectable platform in the *Spectator* and didn't play to a pre-existing prejudice that Jews control the U.S. media."[95] Gabler attacked Cash for saying what Gabler had said in his own book! According to Cash,

> That every major studio head is Jewish today is no different from 60 years ago. "Of 85 names engaged in production, 53 are Jews," a 1936 survey noted. And the Jewish advantage holds in prestige as well as numbers. In a recent *Premiere* magazine "Special Power Issue"—ranking the 100 most powerful people in the "Industry"—the top 12 were Jewish. There were no black or British industry executives ranked. George Steiner once famously said that to be Jewish was to be a member of a club from which you could not resign.[96]

Jewish domination of Hollywood is not limited to numbers. The numbers only approximate the extent to which Jews determine the cultural matrix of the nation's films. Cash cites an instance of the "extreme measures" non-Jews must engage in to succeed in Hollywood:

> Bill Stadiem, a former Harvard educated Wall Street lawyer who is now a screenwriter in LA, told me that he recently came across an old WASP friend in an LA restaurant who had been president of the Porcellian at Harvard—the most exclusive undergraduate dining-club. His friend—a would-be producer—was dressed in a black nylon tracksuit and had gold chains on his wrist; dangling around his neck was a chunky Star of David. Stadiem asked: "Why the hell are you dressed like that?" The WASP replied: "I'm trying to look Jewish."[97]

One need only think back to Jay Gatsby's attempts to pass as a WASP in F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel, *The Great Gatsby*, to see how the cultural equation changed over the course of the 20th century. As media and entertainment came to dominate the political and cultural landscape, the Jew eventually succeeded the WASP as the country's culturally dominant ethnic group, the group which set the styles for the rest of the nation.

Again, the term Jew has to be defined. "Jews in Hollywood," according to one commentator, "like most Jews in the media, academia and pornography, tend to be radical and alienated Jews, rooted neither in Judaism nor in the majority Christian culture. They tend to be rootless and politically left of

center, seeking to create a rootless cosmopolitan society to reflect their own non-Judaic traditionless values."[98] They don't cease being Jews, however, nor do they cease to act like Jews, as Cash makes clear. Cash describes then 81-year-old Lew Wasserman as at the top of Hollywood's "feudal power structure."[99] When Steven Spielberg, David Geffen, and Jeffrey Katzenberg decided to form their own production studio, they gathered at Wassenberg's estate to gain his "rabbinical blessing," after which "they spoke in 'hushed, reverential tones about the industry potentate,' and how he "spun stories about the history of Hollywood and showed them artifacts."[100] Jews, according to Cash, govern the New Establishment like rootless revolutionaries. They apply traditional Jewish prejudice against majority culture with none of the restraint imposed by the Torah's moral norms. Thus, Hollywood promulgated moral subversion during the cultural revolution of the '60s. Anyone who objected was demonized as an anti-Semite.

"Few in Hollywood (can) recall such an anti-Semitic article in a mainstream publication," wrote Bernard Weinraub, the *New York Times*' Hollywood correspondent, addressing Cash's article.[101] Hollywood concurred, filling the letters columns of local papers with horrified reactions. One letter to the editor, whose list of prominent signatories included Kevin Costner, Sidney Poitier, and Tom Cruise, worried that a new Holocaust and Spanish Inquisition was imminent.

William Cash's and Joe Breen's candor about Hollywood shows the battle over the sexualization of American culture was a battle between America's Jews and Catholics. From 1934 to 1965, Hollywood's Jews were forced to repress their "permissive, value-free attitude" in the films they made. The golden age of Hollywood was not a collaborative effort; it was Catholics saving Jews from their worst instincts. The Catholics lost, with dire consequences for the nation. The Rabbi Dresner Jew declined and the Woody Allen Jew rose as an icon for the entire culture. The Catholics lost the culture wars because they internalized Woody Allen Jewish values on sexuality, just as they adopted WASP values on birth control.

DRESNER ON PORNOGRAPHY

Rabbi Dresner has a dilemma. Boston's Puritans were the first and foremost influence in America. They were Judaizers following an Old Testament Christianity, making America one of the most "Jewish" Christian nations. The Enlightenment, the intellectual matrix out of which the United States grew, abstracted Jewish morals from their religious context and made them the basis for a multi-ethnic "nation." America's Jewish roots go deep, but they also lead to Rabbi Dresner's dilemma. On the one hand, adherence to the Torah's teaching on the family can save America from moral decline. On the other, the moral decline that Dresner complains about is attributable to the cultural

influence of American Jews, something he adverts to repeatedly. "Jews," he says, "have played a less than admirable role in the sexual revolution."[102] "Many liberal rabbis," he continues, "are in the forefront of the proabortion movement. In fact, surveys indicate that Jewish women are among the most likely of all groups to support 'abortion on demand'."[103] Dresner cites "a recent Gallup poll and a suppressed B'nai B'rith survey," indicating American Jews are more likely to divorce and less likely to marry than the average American; "91 percent of Jewish women agree that every woman who wants an abortion should be able to have one"; "50 percent of Jewish women signaled a high degree of affinity for feminism compared to only 16 percent among non-Jewish women;" and, Jews favor homosexual rights more than the general population.[104] Yet, the Jewish religion says "homosexuality is a violation of the order of creation" and the family is "divinely ordained."[105] Dresner says Jews, if they want to participate in a family coalition, "need to put their own house in order" not only because they have abandoned traditional values, but because they "are more likely to live in urban areas in the forefront of social change."[106]

Part of Dresner's pathos stems from his anguish when viewing the moral decline of American Jews, which he sees as anti-Jewish, because Jews either stand for the moral law, as introduced by Moses into human history, or they stand for nothing. Jews like Woody Allen are especially painful for Dresner because they have become cultural icons by promoting sexual deviance and by hawking the symbols of traditional anti-Semitism. "For the Gentile," Dresner writes, "Allen's depiction of religious Jews as pious frauds, and worse, can only confirm ancient Christian canards of the Jew as hypocrite, devil, despoiler of morality, and corrupter of culture."[107] Why, an anguished Dresner wonders, should American Jews rush to accept Woody Allen's categorization of them as "despoilers of morality"? Dresner cannot answer that question. "Why Jews want to demean themselves is a question that Hollywood 'theologians' have yet to address."[108] But the fact remains: the Jews who dominate Hollywood and thus American culture, have defined themselves as, in Dresner's words, "despoilers of morality and corrupters of culture."

Dresner is concerned others have noticed the same thing. He cites a letter to the *California Lawyer* that claims "the progressive deterioration of morality can be directly attributable to the growing predominance of Jews in our national life."[109] Dresner is appalled, but he says the same thing. How can Rabbi Dresner claim Jews can reform family life and morals when he's saying Jews are responsible for the moral decline in the first place? All Rabbi Dresner can say without fear of contradiction is that anyone who takes the Torah as normative on sexual issues will be at odds with the overwhelming majority of American Jews.

RALPH REED STABS BUCHANAN IN THE BACK

In 1992 Pat Buchanan ran for president against incumbent George H. W. Bush and, like Eugene McCarthy 24 years earlier, succeeded in defeating the president in the New Hampshire Republican primary. The real shock, however, came when Buchanan revealed his platform. Buchanan, the former Cold Warrior and former advisor to President Richard Nixon, shocked everyone by opposing free trade and the deployment of American troops in Europe. Buchanan had reverted to ethnic type by espousing labor-based Catholic politics of the old Democratic Party and had become the conservative equivalent of a heretic. Since heretic was now a term of honor, he was called an anti-Semite instead by the Grand Inquisitor of the Conservative movement, Bill Buckley.

In the wake of the fall of communism, the conservative alliance had nothing to hold it together. Conservatism proceeded to fall apart into its ethnic components. Catholics, who awoke to the fact that their jobs had disappeared and to the fact that neoconservatives didn't really care about abortion, voted for Buchanan, whom the neoconservative Jews were portraying as a combination of Father Coughlin and Vlad the Impaler. The neocons, who had been silent on the issue of abortion, the prime political issue among conservative Catholics, finally broke their silence and said that, compared to Israel's survival, abortion was of little or no significance. The same was true, with some exceptions, of homosexuality, the other great "social issue" which motivated Catholics and Evangelicals. True to his role as conservative enforcer, Buckley attacked Buchanan as an anti-Semite in *National Review* on December 31, 1991, just as Buchanan's candidacy was picking up steam. The Republicans tried to mollify Buchanan, who gave his famous "culture wars" speech at their national convention in 1992, but the Jews in general used their influence in the media to deplore the speech, and Buchanan was not allowed to address the 1996 convention.

In the 1994 mid-term elections, the Republicans took control of both houses of Congress for the first time in two generations through the collaborative effort of Newt Gingrich and the Christian Coalition, the evangelical organization that succeded Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. Falwell founded the Moral Majority in 1979 with significant Jewish input. Although only one Jew, Howard Philips, founder of YAF, was in on the initial planning, Falwell peddled his project to prominent Jews despite their ancestral animus to vocal Christians. Falwell included five planks in support of the state of Israel in its platform. He met with Jewish agencies "to make the Jewish community aware that we are not an anti-Semitic group and that we probably are the strongest supporter of Israel in the country."[110] "God," he said, "has blessed America because America has blessed the Jew."[111]

Mainline Jewish organizations like the ADL remained skeptical, but neoconservative Jews like Irving Kristol and the AJC's Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum reacted warmly. In 1980 Israeli premier Menachem Begin shocked liberal Jews in America by giving Falwell one of Israel's highest honors, the Jabotinsky Award. Falwell reciprocated by defending Israel's preemptive strike on the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. The basis of this odd arrangement was Falwell's Dispensationalism, which saw the Jews as God's chosen people and the State of Israel as ordained by Scripture. Falwell's belief that the Jews were supposed to convert to Christianity during the last days was a detail passed over by the Jews in embarrassed silence in their quest for votes. That same theology led to what the Jews considered frequent gaffes, as when Falwell said the Antichrist was a Jew or when he said AIDS was God's punishment for homosexuality. Jews probably greeted the demise of the Moral Majority in 1989 with a sigh of relief.

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum claimed Falwell was awkward and inexperienced in dealing with Jews. The man who led the Christian Coalition was not. Unlike Falwell, who gave the impression that he would rather handle snakes than talk with Abe Foxman, Ralph Reed grew up in what he described as a "Jewish atmosphere."[112] To the uninitiated, Ralph Reed appeared to be the protégé of televangelist Pat Robertson. Their theologies were politically identical with Falwell's dispensationalism. In reality, Ralph Reed was the protégé of Jack Abramoff, a Washington lobbyist later jailed for influence peddling. Reed was to the Evangelicals what Buckley was to an earlier generation of Catholics. Abramoff, an orthodox Jew Friedman describes as a "conservative firebrand at Brandeis University,"[113] gave Reed his first job in Washington, hiring him as a political intern in 1981. He also invited Reed to live in his home, where he "attended services with him, and introduced Abramoff to his wife, who came from Georgia."[114] Abramoff found Reed "incredibly philo-Semitic."[115] Reed reciprocated by dealing harshly with anti-Semitism whenever it reared its head among College Republicans. In 1983, Reed succeeded Abramoff as executive director of the National College Republicans. Like Buckley before him, "Reed used his influence to prevent the more extreme elements within the conservative movement from taking over the GOP."[116] Like Buckley, Reed invariably consulted a Jewish calculus to determine which elements were "extreme."

When the ADL shot itself in the foot by attacking the Christian Right, Israel's most faithful allies in America, Ralph Reed played healer, addressing the ADL's national leadership in April 1995. Reed told the ADL "the Christian Coalition believes in a nation that is not officially Christian,"[117] so it was against school prayer—a statement which reportedly infuriated Pat Robertson. Reed told the same thing to AIPAC a month later, prompting Elliott Abrams to say Jews "need Ralph Reed."[118]

Reed showed neocons how much they needed him when he derailed Pat Buchanan's second presidential bid by throwing Christian Coalition support behind Senator Bob Dole in the 1996 South Carolina Republican primary. Buchanan's loss there took the steam out of his campaign. Deprived of one of his natural constituencies by Reed, he lacked the political clout to address the 1996 convention. Friedman credits Reed with "the modernization of Christian conservatism."[119] Given Slezkine's understanding of modernity, this means aligning Evangelical votes to Jewish interests, which is precisely how Friedman interprets Reed's role:

> Buchanan's George Wallace-like populism, his isolationism, and his attacks on neocons for their strong support of Israel outraged Jews (who saw behind the facade); his isolationism also turned off mainstream conservatives. Quietly, Reed threw the weight of the Christian Coalition behind moderate Senator Bob Dole in the crucial South Carolina primary. Buchanan's loss there dealt a fatal blow to his campaign, and Reed was widely credited with causing his defeat.[120]

When Ralph Reed left the Christian Coalition to become a lobbyist, he returned to his roots, linking up with Abramoff to play Indian tribes off against each other over gambling casinos, profiting handsomely as a double agent. In 2002, Reed, then a political consultant in Atlanta and chairman of the Georgia Republican Party, joined Rabbi Yehiel Eckstein to form "a sort of Christian AIPAC."[121] In May 2003, the ADL put an ad in the *New York Times*, in which Reed hailed the Jewish state's survival as "proof of God's sovereignty."[122]

To be fair to Bill Buckley, he once criticized the ADL for giving an award to *Playboy* publisher Hugh Hefner. Reed couldn't even muster token opposition to the ADL, prompting ADL director Foxman, whose organization had denounced Reed and his followers as hatemongers, to announce, "I am proud to have Ralph Reed as a friend and as an advocate on Israel."[123]

BISHOP HARRY FLYNN DENOUNCES FATHER PAUL MARX 1997

In 1997 Human Life International had scheduled its prolife conference in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Bishop Harry Flynn was invited to say the opening Mass. Instead Flynn denounced HLI president, Rev. Paul Marx, OSB, as an anti-Semite. In a statement issued by the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Flynn announced he was not going to celebrate the Mass because he was "particularly troubled by some statements made by HLI founder, Father Paul Marx and some HLI literature which is divisive and harmful especially to our Jewish brothers and sisters."[124] Flynn said attributing "blame for abortion . . . with one group of people ignores our shared responsibility as members

of a society which treats some lives as less valuable than others."[125] Instead of saying the Mass Flynn was going to hold a prayer service with two rabbis and a representative of the notoriously pro-abortion AJC. Flynn allowed Marx and HLI to celebrate Mass at the Cathedral, but he also allowed Fight the Right, a group of militant homosexuals identified in one news report as "teenagers," who were planning to stage a "kiss-in," to engage in obscene and blasphemous acts on church property.[126]

Flynn appealed to *Nostra Aetate* to justify his actions. He could not say Mass, as he had agreed to do, because

> my participation would set back the wonderful dialogue which has taken place among Christians and Jews in this Archdiocese. In the 1965 Vatican II document "Nostra Aetate," the Church states clearly that "spiritual bonds and historical links binding the Church and Judaism condemn (as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity) all forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination, which in any case the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn."[127]

Flynn's reasoning was as convoluted as his syntax. He never explained how identifying Jewish participation in and advocacy for abortion constituted anti-Semitism. In February 1995 Msgr. George Higgins of the United States Catholic Conference had attacked Marx for being "divisive" and for engaging in "a flirtation with anti-Semitism."[128] But this was the first time a bishop collaborated in the attack. "In 1987," Marx wrote in his autobiography, "HLI made a careful study of involvement in the world-wide abortion movement. The undisputed conclusion of this study was that a disproportionately large number of Jews who are disloyal to Jewish teachings have led and are leading the campaign for legalized abortion. We then consulted with Orthodox Jews who confirmed these findings."[129]

By focusing on public relations rather than Jewish involvement in the abortion industry, Marx responded ineptly. In his autobiography, Marx claimed "The Jewish people. . . have a great pro-life heritage."[130] Marx repeatedly claimed "Jews who are disloyal to Jewish teaching have led and are leading the campaign for legalized abortion."[131] But he never explained what he meant by "Jewish teaching." The Torah implicitly condemns abortion, but the Talmud permits what the Torah forbids, at least with regard to a child who has not yet left (or partially left) its mother's body. In later commentary on the Talmud, the concept of "pursuer" ("*rodef*") is used to nullify the Fifth Commandment's prohibition against murder. "'*Rodef*' lowers the loophole threshold of danger to the mother to the point of non-existence, making it no bar to abortion at all."[132]

Marx added "At no time have we ever condemned the Jewish people; our targets have been only Jewish abortionists, and not because they were Jewish. The Jewish people after all have a great pro-life heritage, and as Pius XI

observed, 'Spiritually we are all Semites.'"[133] The conservative Catholic press came to Marx's defense. Thomas A. Drolesky denounced Archbishop Flynn

> who sent a toady in April of 1997 to denounce the founder of Human Life International, the courageous Father Paul Marx, O.S.B., as a anti-Semite during a Mass at the Cathedral of Saint Paul. His Excellency lacked the courage to do so himself. Ah, but he has shown "compassion" for those wearing the "Rainbow Sash" at the Cathedral of Saint Paul. Monstrous liturgical abuses abound throughout the Archdiocese of Saint Paul and Minneapolis. Nothing is done to stop these abuses.[134]

Drolesky detailed Jewish involvement in abortion, claiming "people who identify themselves as 'Jews' have led and do lead the abortion movement, not only in the United States, but all over the world."[135] Drolesky claimed "The American pro-abortion movement has always been led by those who claim to be Jewish."[136]

In the late 1960s, pro-life activists observed the abortion "rights" movement was primarily motivated and led by people who called themselves Jews. About half of all abortionists and abortion clinic owners identified themselves as Jewish, which was far out of proportion with the Jewish population, less than five percent of the United States population. Many self-described "Jews" continue to lead the abortion movement and, most pitiable of all, "rabbis," properly cloaked in the correct trappings, proclaim abortion is not only a necessity, but a Good Thing for America.

* All four original organizers of the most influential group of abortion pushers in the United States, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), were of Jewish birth, including now prolife Dr. Bernard Nathanson.

* Dr. Christopher Tietze worked for the Population Institute and International Planned Parenthood Federation, and did more to promote the worldwide slaughter of innocent unborn children than any other person.

* Dr. Alan Guttmacher was president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America for more than a decade, founded Planned Parenthood Physicians, and did more than any other doctor to promote abortion in this country. He also advocated mandatory abortion and sterilization for certain groups in the United States.

* Dr. Etienne-Emile Baulieu, inventor of the RU-486 abortion pill, was born in 1926 to a physician named Leon Blum. He changed his name in 1942.

* Stanford professor Paul Ehrlich is the "father" of the overpopulation myth. His work, *The Population Bomb*, was the spark that ignited the anti-natalist movement.

* California and New York state legislators led the drive for legalized abortion in the United States. Legislators who constantly emphasized their Jewishness led the pro-abortion movement in both states; those leaders included state senators Anthony Beilenson in California and Albert Blumenthal in New York.

* Pro-abortion "Jews" dominate such anti-life groups as the American Civil Liberties Union and People for the American Way.

* Of the 41 Jewish-born members of the U.S. Senate over the last 20 years, 32 (or 80 percent) have been stridently pro-abortion.

* Numerous liberal Jewish groups openly support and advocate abortion, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the National Council of Jewish Women, Hadassah Women, the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, B'nai B'rith Women, Naíamat USA, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhood, the New Jewish Agenda, North American Temple Youth, the United Synagogues of America, and the Womenís League for Conservative Judaism. Many of these groups were founded for the express purpose of pushing abortion.

* Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem were both born Jewish. So was France's health minister Simone Weil, who established abortion on demand in that country despite surviving Auschwitz. At a Paris news conference, she said "We are out to destroy the family. The best way to do that is to begin by attacking its weakest member, the unborn child."

* The officially suppressed Lichter-Rothman studies revealed the following fascinating information about the "movers and shakers" of the media (both researchers, by the way, are Jewish): Leaders of the motion picture industry: 95 percent pro-abortion, 62 percent Jewish: Leaders of the television industry: 97 percent pro-abortion, 59 percent Jewish: Leaders of the news media industry: 90 percent pro-abortion, 23 percent Jewish.

* Jewish groups are in the forefront as desperate pro-abortion groups spend tens of millions of dollars in a nationwide advertising campaign to keep abortion legal. For example, the American Jewish Congress ran a ridiculous $30,000 full-page ad in the February 28, 1989 *New York Times* entitled "Abortion and the Sacredness of Life." This statement, renamed

> "An open letter to those who would ban abortion," and run in the March 13-19 issue of *Roll Call*, includes the amazing lead-in question, "Did you know that abortion can be a religious requirement? Not just permitted, but required?"[137]

"The press," Drolesky continued, "gives pro-abortion 'Jews' great play, and excuses them from actions that it would vigorously condemn pro-lifers for. Imagine what the press would do to a pro-life activist who attacked and seriously injured a Jewish abortionist with a baseball bat! Yet, when Jewish abortionist Barnett Slepian beat a pro-life activist in the head with a baseball bat and seriously injured him, the press and abortophiles whined that pro-lifers were anti-Semitic for picketing his home!"[138]

> At no time do "Jewish" abortophiles become more indignant than when pro-lifers explain and publicize the many parallels between the original Nazi Holocaust and the one occurring in the United States right now. . . . Masturbation guru Sol Gordon has angrily denounced the Old/New Holocaust analogy in even more direct terms; "In our view, individuals who exhibit the least human dignity are those who compare the Holocaust, the mass murder of 6 million Jews, to abortion. There exists no comparison more immoral or depraved. It is both illogical and outrageous to suggest that the calculated murder of millions of children and adults can be equated with an individual woman's decision to terminate her pregnancy."[139]

Drolesky got much of his material from Marx's *Confessions of a Pro-Life Missionary*. In the damage control following Flynn's announcement, Marx did not appeal to the facts. Instead, he and his PR advisors Rev. Richard Welch, C.Ss.P., and Ann De Long, produced Jewish character witnesses. Rabbi Yehuda Levin, who had collaborated with Marx, appeared next to Father Marx at a press conference. Levin denounced Steven Derfler, local head of the AJC, as "unrighteous"[140] for falsely attacking Marx. Derfler's attack, though, was instructive because for once the Jews defined what they meant when they used the term "anti-Semitism." Derfler claimed Marx was an anti-Semite because he compared abortion to the Holocaust and because of "his linking of some Jews specifically to abortion."[141]

The list of Jews who worked with Marx against abortion was almost as long as the list of Jews who accused him of anti-Semitism. Judith Reisman and Rabbi Daniel Lapin testified on Marx's behalf. Bernard Nathanson, who had become a regular speaker at HLI conferences, came to Marx's defense. When asked about the accusations, Nathanson replied it was "correct"[142] to say Jews dominated the abortion industry. "For some reason Jewish doctors seem to be attracted to abortion work."[143]

Nathanson's comments came at the tail end of a campaign orchestrated by President Clinton's Attorney General Janet Reno to portray prolifers as

terrorists. In 1998 the ADL joined the campaign, claiming there has been "a long-running association between anti-abortion extremists and anti-Semitism."[144] Foxman complained HLI was "inordinately preoccupied with Jews."[145] The ADL cited the murder of Jewish abortionist Dr. Barnett Slepian as an example of this conspiracy. "We are deeply concerned about the strain of anti-Semitism running through some extreme factions of the movement," ADL National Director Abe Foxman said.[146] "They make insidious claims that Jewish doctors control the practice and industry of abortion, often comparing them to Nazi war criminals."[147] Foxman also pointed out "hideous and offensive"[148] comparisons anti-abortion groups regularly make to the Holocaust. "Whatever one's position on this heartrending issue, analogizing abortion to the Nazi government's campaign to murder every Jew in the world diminishes the truth of the Holocaust and implies that ordinary women engaging in a lawful act are Nazis," said Foxman.[149] The Feminist Daily News Wire noted "Four of the five abortion providers shot by a sniper in the Upstate New York/Canadian region since 1994 were Jewish. The ADL believes that this is not a coincidence."[150] According to that news wire, "the ADL strongly believes that Jewish doctors who perform abortions are purposefully singled out by anti-abortion extremists who believe Jews are controlling the abortion industry."[151] A vain attempt to link Marx with the Nazi eugenic movement followed. Fr. Marx got it coming and going. He was accused of being a Nazi because the Nazis claimed abortionists were Jewish; he was also accused of being an anti-Semite by associating the Holocaust with abortion.

Neither Foxman nor the news wire pointed out that the ethnic demographics of the abortion industry meant that anyone who set out to shoot an abortionist was likely to shoot a Jew. Mentioning this would have lent credence to the "insidious claims" that Jews dominated the abortion industry. The Jewish promotion of abortion was at once more vicious and less explicable than the WASP promotion of birth control that preceded it. The WASP motivation was essentially ulterior. They wanted to stop the demographic surge that threatened to turn America into a Catholic country. They were tired of supporting Negroes on welfare. Jewish promotion of abortion was inexplicable on these terms. The Jews were the ascendant ethnic group in the late '60s and early '70s. Their commitment to abortion was religious, inexplicable on anything other than theological terms, something apparent in their attack on Father Marx.

To defame Marx as an anti-Semite, the feminists invoked the "blood libel."[152] According to Planned Parenthood's Karen Branan and Frederick Clarkson, HLI "resurrect[ed] that most vicious piece of historical anti-Semitism: child-killing Jews."[153] In "The Roots of Racism and the Fear of Sex in the Pro-life Movement," Poppy Dixon claimed

> During the middle ages it was common for Christians to accuse Jews of "ritual murder." Jews celebrated Passover during which they would put the blood of a slaughtered lamb on their doorpost commemorating their escape from Egypt. The Christian notion, deliberately perverted, was that Jews were required to use the blood of Christian children to attain propitiation. Entire villages of Jews were tortured, mutilated and burned when a Christian child turned up dead or missing. And though popes, and magistrates, pleaded with local populations, and often hid Jews, the killings continued.[154]

According to Dixon:

> The medical procedure of abortion has been woven into the accusation of blood libel, giving new life to this medieval lie. Pro-life advocates view abortion as women killing, or murdering, children. And it's not just women that murder children, but Jews and Asians as well.[155]

Dixon held Fr. Marx accountable for the resurrection of the blood libel because of "his anti-Semitic comments"[156] about Austrian Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky. To wit: "Until recently, the real political power in Austria was in the hands of a fanatically pro-abortion Prime Minister, Bruno Kreisky, an atheist of Jewish descent. . . . Although they are supremely sensitive about their own Holocaust, Austria's Jews gave me and my colleagues no help in stopping this new holocaust; on the contrary, they spoke eloquently for killing preborn babies."[157] How did Marx's denunciation of Bruno Kreisky resurrect the blood libel? The blood libel would not have entered the discussion if the Jews hadn't brought it up.

In his autobiography, *Faithful for Life*, Marx recounts meeting "a Jewish aerospace engineer,"[158] Dr. Kenneth Mitzner, who in 1970 "founded the League Against Neo-Hitlerism to fight abortion. He also founded and led other pro-life groups."[159] After the Supreme Court's decision in 1973, Mitzner wrote it was "tragic but demonstrably true that most of the leaders of the pro-abortion movement are of Jewish extraction."[160] In a letter to Marx in July 1987, Mitzner declared:

> Jews must decide whether we condemn Hitler and his followers because mass murder is intrinsically evil or whether our quarrel is just with the choice of us as victims. If our concern is only with the killing of Jews, we have no claim on the sympathies of the rest of humanity. Some Jews ask the world to weep with us for the Jewish victims of Nazism, at the same time they promote the murder of innocent babies by abortion. Such Jews are the most contemptible of hypocrites.[161]

Shortly after *Roe v. Wade*, Mitzner wrote about Ritual Child Murder and Jewish involvement in Abortion in *Triumph*, comparing the Jewish representative responsible for California's abortion law with the priests of Moloch: "We

see the frenzied face of the Molochite priest," Mitzner wrote, "eyes glowing in the firelight. Despite the beard, there is no mistaking the face. It is the face of Anthony Beilenson."[162] In Mitzner's eyes, Beilenson resembled the "Molochites" and "Hellenizers" of the Old Testament, but soon he indicts the whole tradition of revolutionary Jews, which began with the priests of Moloch

> who hung the bodies of the infant victims around their murdered mothers' necks and who were finally driven out by the Maccabees; the "black magic" Cabbalists of the Middle Ages, who frequently ate the flesh of their infant sacrifices and who did a brisk business in poisons and abortifacients; the Sabbatian sects of the 17th and 18th centuries, who sometimes covered up their own crimes by falsely accusing Orthodox Jews of ritual child murder; the Trotskyites, who won the first victory for abortion on demand in Soviet Russia in 1920; the Weimar intellectuals of the 1920s and early '30s, who taught the German people that killing "by abortion and euthanasia" was a legitimate solution to social problems, then fled Germany when Hitler defined the Jews as a social problem; and those in our country sometimes referred to as Elitists—all these and others are manifestations of the same pathological force in history. Since about the 1840s, the organizing principle has become a secular fanaticism rather than a pseudo religion, and thus direct alliance with like-hearted gentiles has become possible.[163]

Mitzner feels the accusation that some Jews engaged in ritual child murder are founded in fact:

> From 1144 to 1945, almost all persecutions of the Jews were based fully or in large part on the accusation of ritual child murder. Obviously, as a charge against the Jewish people as a whole or against the mainstream of Judaism, this accusation was one of the great lies of history. Equally obviously, it frequently was based on the actual activities of some of the groups I have cited.[164]

Mitzner gives a short history of the revolutionary Jew and an explanation of how the ritual murder exposed by St. John Capistrano is linked to abortion as Jewish revolutionary activity. The lessons are counter-intuitive. On the one hand, identifying the protestors at his hearings as Jews brought the wrath of the establishment upon John Schmitz's head. On the other, it showed the Jews' sensitivity about their involvement in abortion. If Catholics and prolifers had concentrated on the facts and remained united despite the attack, the outcome might have been different.

The damaging part of the attack on Father Marx was not the testimony of the Jews, which was irrelevant and certainly predictable. The damage came from Bishop Flynn's betrayal of a fellow priest. Solidarity based on truth would have ensured a different outcome. Bringing the ethnic aspect of the abortion fight into the open would have prevented the shadow boxing that

has become such a waste of time. As Bernard Nathanson said, had the ethnic card been played truthfully and consistently "permissive abortion might have been perceived as somehow anti-American."[165] If the Catholics spent less time talking about "life" in secular terms and more time portraying abortion as "the spawn of a cadre of wild-eyed Jewish radicals in New York City,"[166] more children would be alive today.

ANTI-SEMITISM IS ABSENT FROM THE PASSION PLAY BUT THE JEWS ARE NOT SATISFIED 2000

Ultimately it didn't matter whether the Passion Play was purged of anti-Semitism. What Otto Huber learned in the expensive school of experience is that the "ADL wants to destroy our identity."[167] Dialogue, it turned out, was the best method the Jews had discovered to date to destroy rooted, ethnic Catholic identity. But that may be changing now because Shapiro tells us that "For all the ecumenical attention to a shared spiritual heritage, the play forces Jews and Christians to face the painful fact that they read differently, and that a single version of the founding story of Christianity cannot be shared."[168]

The Catholic scholars and their Jewish masters used dialogue as a pretext for destroying Catholic identity. "For many of those involved in ecumenical dialogue, Vatican II was only a start," Shapiro says.[169] "Now they are interested in seeing fresh reform."[170] But dialogue had one salutary effect. There is no split between the peasants and the Vatican II hierarchy anymore. Both groups are now singing off the same page about the Passion Play's alleged anti-Semitism. Shapiro cites one Catholic scholar who examined the script for the 2000 performance and "emphatically declared that 'there is no longer any anti-Semitism in the play.' . . . The dangerous and all-inclusive reproach that the evil Jews had crucified Jesus is simply gone."[171]

The Jews still found "even this greatly modified version of the Daisenberger text" offensive, but "in defense of the villagers," Shapiro concedes, "the play, as written finally conforms to the doctrinal positions advocated 35 years ago by Vatican II."[172] Now that the play has been purged of anti-Semitism to the Church's satisfaction, Catholics and Jews are faced with the irreducible anti-Judaism of the gospels. "Matters now have been scraped down to barebone, to irreconcilable difference. You can hear the testiness in the voices of those who have worked so hard for the past three decades to change the play," Shapiro says.[173] He cites one Jewish source who claims "We are dealing with a genre and with a New Testament textual resource that simply has structural anti-Jewish dimensions."[174] The "priests will try to kill Jesus. The merchants will be venial [sic]. The people will be fickle and blind. That is what the New Testament gives the authors to work with."[175]

So the Jews succeeded: "after 35 years, the Oberammergau play has finally caught up with the theological position first espoused by the Catholic Church

in 1965."[176] If you expect Jewish rejoicing, you will be disappointed. Shapiro writes that the alignment of village and Vatican II which the Jews sought so ardently "offered small comfort: while the village has reluctantly modified the ways in which it implicated the Jews in Jesus' death in the past few decades, the Vatican has not. Anyone who reads the Oberammergau script for the year 2000 will understand just how culpable the Church still finds the Jews and how persistent the notion that Christianity has superseded Judaism remains. In some respects, the Oberammergau play has moved ahead of the Church."[177] Shapiro finds "much irony" in this.[178] Vatican II provided the "impetus for this historical revisionism" which eviscerated the play, but it also created the alignment between the hierarchy and the peasants that destroyed Jewish "leverage."[179] Once the Vatican stopped taking people like Leonard Swidler seriously,

> Appealing to the findings of leading scholars—even Catholic ones—made little difference, since the insights of those scholars were increasingly at odds with the Vatican's official position on the role of Jews in the Passion story. *And without that kind of leverage* there was little chance of exacting any further concession on the part of the village. . . . Because Oberammergau's answer to the question, "Who killed Jesus?" was now the same one offered by the Church, Jewish organizations could no longer demand that the Church pressure Oberammergau to change its play.[180]

The Jews needed a new strategy. Discussion of doctrine had become useless so the Jews concentrated on "art." Instead of playing the hierarchy against the peasants, the Jews supported passion play director Christian Stuckl and the "reformers" who control how the play is produced and who gets what roles. The same Jews who used to insist on historical accuracy now promoted artistic freedom. Shapiro adverts to the new strategy: "The irony is that this ongoing struggle over doctrine is taking place even as the once unquestioned faith of many of the Passion players of Oberammergau—especially the young—is weakening."[181]

The Jewish strategy of "leveraging" one group of Catholics against the other hasn't changed, but the groups getting "leveraged" have. Instead of playing the hierarchy off against the villagers, the Jews are playing the "reformers" against the "conservatives." Shapiro sets the theological stage by telling readers "Christian Stueckl looks like a fallen angel."[182] Shapiro intends this as a compliment. Stueckl, says Shapiro, "comes from an old Oberammergau family. One of his ancestors is listed among those struck down by the plague in 1634."[183] He is, therefore, ideally suited for subverting the play. Stueckl had put on Shakespeare, giving it a spin Shapiro found congenial. Romeo and Juliet, for example, symbolized "the struggle between the reformers and conservatives in Oberammergau."[184] Shapiro finds it "fitting that Stueckl turned to Shakespeare's plays to satirize his village and their theatrical

tastes"[185] because "theater was one of the most powerful ways of challenging conventional values."[186] This is not how Cardinal Wetter, the archbishop of Munich viewed theater. After receiving the script for the 2000 production, Wetter suggested the point of the Passion Play was not merely acting but imitating Christ, "To which Stueckl replied: "I am a director of theater in Munich and Brussels. What I do is theater."[187]

What innovations does Shapiro find "dangerous and exciting?"[188] In his play about the plague, *Die Pestnot anno 1633*, traditionally performed the year before the Passion Play, playwright Leo Weismantel indicates sexual promiscuity may have had a role in bringing the plague to Oberammergau. Shapiro, from New York City and sensitive about AIDS, finds "unacceptable and offensive"[189] the suggestion of a link between sexual transgression and disease, so he cites with approval Stueckl's excision of the offending scene, eliminating "even the hint that plague had anything to do with sexual transgression."[190] So Jews approve of censorship, after all. Just as they support historical accuracy when that supports their agenda. Shapiro criticized the villagers when they added "unhistorical" elements to the Passion Play, but praised Stueckl for adding a fictional scene to *Die Pestnot anno 1633*, in which "four or five desperate young people gather around a large crucifix on stage and hurl it to the ground, saying that they have lost their faith in a God who could allow such suffering."[191]

The praise for Oberammergau's "fallen angel" is unrelenting:

> Stucckl had taken what the villagers held near and dear—a play that mythologized the origins of their Passion playing—and turned it into a drama that was also about the loss of faith that many young people in Oberammergau now (as perhaps in 1634 as well) were struggling with. Once again, he had shown how willing he was to use drama to expose what Oberammergau preferred to hide.[192]

Or perhaps Stueckl was willing to use drama to promote the Jews's desired erosion of the faith that underlies the Passion Play. Stueckl played the role previously reserved for "Catholic scholars" like Leonard Swidler, in that "he had shown the villagers that their myths were not immutable."[193] Stueckl even educated his benighted grandfather, who told him: "We now realize that time doesn't stop."[194]

At a loss how to praise Stueckl further, Shapiro confers on him the highest honor in the lexicon of Jewish cultural subversion. Stueckl is "a reckless destroyer of tradition;"[195] in this he differs from the Jews, who are not reckless. The parish priest saw through what was happening and was "furious," but Shapiro dismisses this, saying he "lost credibility with some of the younger people when he tried to stifle discussion."[196] Stueckl, though, is a wise pedagogue. When he "couldn't quite get the young disciples to understand their relationship to the High Priest, he asked them to think of Caiaphas

as the Pope."[197] Shapiro concedes "once upon a time this would have been sacrilege,"[198] but not anymore.

Stueckl's behavior shows how vulnerable traditional rooted ethnic cultures are to subversion, especially when money is involved. Shapiro said repeatedly that if the people of Oberammergau had put on their play for free, the Jews would have had no "leverage" to force them to change it. Financial leverage was the only weapon the Jews had left. The Jews used it on people with theatrical ambitions, like Stueckl and set designer Stefan Hageneier, by promoting their careers. Once recognized by the outside world, their enhanced prestige in the village allowed them control of the Passion Play production, which they exercised with one eye on their careers. Money and professionalism subverted the passion play as effectively as they subverted sports in the United States. Since village life revolved around the play, those who controlled the play controlled village life. Village dentist Rudolf Zwink, identified by Shapiro as leader of the "conservative" faction, concedes the struggle for control of the play is over. The "reformers" have won; they have the entire production, including determining who gets what roles, firmly under their control. Rooted culture is defenseless without the faith that animates it. Once money replaced faith as the motive in putting on the play, the slide into Jewish cultural bondage was inevitable.

With collaborators like Stueckl in control of the Oberammergau passion play, the Jewish organizations withdrew the threat of boycott. Rabbi Rudin, Shapiro says,

> had come to trust Huber and Stueckl and understood that to blind-side them at this point would be counterproductive. The likelihood was that he would share this information with the reformers, hoping that in their desire to offer *a historically accurate play*, some or all of these suggestions might subsequently be incorporated. Although they did not know it yet for sure, there would be no Jewish-led boycott in 2000.[199]

"Instances like this," Shapiro continues, "offer the most compelling argument I know against banning or boycotting Passion plays. All censorship does is hide the problem. Theater remains one of the most powerful ways of changing the way people think, and not just audiences, but actors too."[200] Banning the passion play would prevent other people from seeing it, but by controlling it from the inside, the Jews get to turn the once pious Bavarian villagers into rootless cosmopolitans and, therefore, emissaries of *their* gospel and not the gospel of Christ.

The Jews will probably pursue both strategies simultaneously in a variation on the good cop-bad cop routine. Rabbi Klenicki still accused the villagers of anti-Semitism, something Shapiro describes as reflecting frustration or "perhaps . . . the strategic maneuver of an experienced negotiator."[201] As Shapiro

puts it, "In either case, they had the desired effect of extracting additional concessions."[203]

The Bavarians continued to cave. In response to Klenicki, Otto Huber made last minute changes to the 2000 performance:

> the Sanhedrin would no longer condemn Jesus to death; a speech would be added in which Gamaliel accuses Caiaphas of having failed to invite all the members of the Sanhedrin; all remaining references to the Pharisees would be deleted; and Jesus would offer a blessing in Hebrew at the Last Supper.[203]

The villagers also eliminated every reference to Jesus as the Christ, or Messiah, because the Jews found this offensive. But nothing the Bavarians did placated the Jews. The Jews were already looking beyond the 2000 performance, hoping for "continued 'collaboration and still more progress.'"[204] The ADL "was already looking toward the 2010 production. Leon Klenicki would continue to call for more changes and would criticize Oberammergau when asked about the play. But as long as Oberammergau continued on the road to reform, the ADL would continue to work for changes quietly."[205] The ADL continued to subvert the play from within with the collaboration of Huber and Stueckl.

Also missing from the 2000 play was "its most disturbing line," the verse in Matthew in which Jews, according to Shapiro, "accept responsibility for killing Christ" by crying out "His blood be on us and on our children."[206] Even Shapiro begins to wonder why the Jews are so obsessed with this verse. Shapiro attempts to explain his own obsession. Shapiro, like many other Jews, was convinced by reading "Goldhagen's controversial thesis in *Hitler's Willing Executioners*"[207] that Germans were by nature homicidal anti-Semites suffering from their own "blood curse." Shapiro is not blind to the ironies:

> without saying it in so many words, I believed in collective German guilt, a guilt that fell not only on those who had lived through the war, but also upon their children and their children's children. The irony is that this reflexive notion of collective guilt was precisely what I found most objectionable in the Passion play. . . was not lost on me. One of the things I hoped to learn in Oberammergau was when, if ever, it would be time to bury this notion of collective guilt.[208]

The collectively guilty flee, it seems, where none pursueth. The Jews can't escape collective guilt for the death of Christ, not even when Christians absolve them. Shapiro's narrative about the attack on Oberammergau is one long proof that the repressed always returns. The Jews defeated the supine, money-grubbing Bavarian peasants in cultural battle, but it didn't matter. Matthew 27:25's omission from the play doesn't matter either. The power of God's word undoes any attempt to subvert it.

So when Shapiro hears the villagers shout "*Kreuzige ihn!*," he is overpowered by the Logos that informs the drama. The word of God, he discovers, is "contagious: at several points I had to fight the impulse to join in."[209] The Jews, despite their power and experience, failed to subvert the message of the play. "I had badly wanted the text to be better than this,"[210] Shapiro writes. "The blood curse was gone, and no death decree was issued by the Sanhedrin. Yet these omissions hardly mattered."[211] The script was still "a runaway train: all the brakes all the safeguards, all the changes made to prevent anti-Judaism from taking over, had barely slowed it down."[212] The reason is simple. The gospels are not anti-Semitic but they are anti-Jewish. There is no getting around this. Even Shapiro sees this: "It was as if the play somehow leaked this kind of thing and there was no way to seal it properly."[213]

In spite of all their worldly power, the Jews cannot suppress the truth. They murdered the Messiah who was "the way, the truth and the life," but he confounded their intention by rising from the dead. Trying to contain the truth to suppress it is like trying to seal Christ's tomb to prevent his resurrection. "There was," Shapiro reminds us despite himself, "no way to seal it properly." Even "the scaled-down version" of the Oberammergau Passion Play magnified the very thing the Jews hoped to subvert because "the anti-Jewish structure of the gospel story on which it was based was too powerful for even the best intentioned revisers to neutralize."[214]

Nostra Aetate said "neither all Jews indiscriminately at that time nor Jews today, can be charged with the crimes committed during his passion." Logically, that means that some Jews at the time of Christ were responsible for his death. Which is precisely what *Nostra Aetate* says: "the Jewish authorities *and those who followed their lead* pressed for the death of Christ." As John puts it, "the Jews were out to kill him." Does this mean the Beloved Disciple and the Blessed Mother were out to kill Christ? They were Jews, weren't they? Does this mean the Beloved Disciple and the Blessed Mother cried out "Crucify him"? No, it means that by the end of the gospel the word "Jew" is redefined as a rejecter of Christ, a definition that holds true to this day. There is no occult "blood curse" in Matt. 27: 25. What the Jews expressed when they cried, "His blood be on us and our children" was rejection of Christ, which has persisted among the "Jews" to this day. That rejection was so vehement and visceral that the Jews who voiced it demanded Christ's death as its ultimate expression.

Rudin emphasizes Matt. 27:25. "That curse appears only in Matthew,"[215] he writes, playing it down. But, he then expands it into "the religious taproot for the horrific charge, that because the Jews killed Jesus, they merited eternal divine punishment for their 'crime.'"[216] Just what does Rabbi Rudin intend by putting the word "crime" in quotation marks? That Christ's death wasn't a crime? That it can't be laid at the feet of the "Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead" who "pressed for the death of Christ"? If so, Rabbi Rudin clearly doesn't accept *Nostra Aetate*. However, Rudin also refers to "the

positive teachings of the Second Vatican Council in 1965,"[217] indicating he accepts it. Are people responsible for the death of an innocent man guilty of a crime? If so, why is the word in quotes? If not, why do the Jews make such a big deal about Hitler and the holocaust?

By belaboring Matt. 27:25, Rudin gives the impression that an editor's blue pencil can solve the problem of the Passion Play. Mel Gibson's movie *The Passion of the Christ* was a filmed version of the Passion Play. Rudin wants to believe the real problem with Gibson's movie is the same problem that Rudin and Foxman fixed in Oberammergau. Rudin refers to Oberammergau as "the 'grandparent' of Passion Plays."[218] Matthew 27:25 was "Once an integral part of the world-famous Oberammergau Passion Play in Germany," but as a result of a 40 year campaign of cultural warfare by the ADL and the AJC, "all references to Matthew 27:25 were removed from the 2000 production and will not appear in future performances."[219]

Suddenly, the fury of the Jews over Mel Gibson's movie is understandable. They had spent 40 years wearing down the Bavarians with connivance and threats, and then Mel Gibson brought out a Passion Play on their own Hollywood turf that out-Oberammergaus Oberammergau. "It is ironic," Rudin says, grinding his teeth with understatement, "that Oberammergau, the 'grandparent' of passion plays, no longer contains the incendiary verse from Matthew, but it does appear in Gibson's version."[220] Did he mean to say "infuriating" instead of "ironic"? No sooner do the Jews get one end of the board nailed down when the other end springs up and cracks them in the head. Doubly infuriating, a Catholic beat the Jews at their own game by successfully directing, producing, and releasing a big budget film that grossed over $100 million at the box office in the first weekend after its release.

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 AND AFGHANISTAN

On September 11, 2001, followers of Osama bin Laden, an asset U.S. intelligence created to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan, flew commercial airliners into the twin World Trade Center Towers and the Pentagon. The neocons took credit for the fall of communism, which they called World War III. Emboldened, they used 9/11 to embark on what Norman Podhoretz called World War IV, the conquest of the Middle East. The success of social engineering in Germany and Japan proved America could use the same techniques in the Middle East, claimed David Frum and Richard Perle in *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror*. They used the plight of Islamic "women who seek emancipation from their oppression"[221] to justify aggression in the interests of Israel. "If apartheid in South Africa was our business," Frum and Perle reasoned, "it is hard to see why Saudi oppression of women is not our business."[222]

The Neoconservatives had demanded the ouster of Saddam Hussein for almost a decade before the airliners crashed into the World Trade Center. Leading the charge was Irving Kristol's son William, who started in Washington working for his father's appointee, William Bennett, and was now editor of the neocon flagship, *The Weekly Standard*. As Vice President Dan Quayle's chief of staff, Kristol orchestrated Quayle's Murphy Brown speech, which assailed TV networks for promoting illegitimacy. At Harvard, Bill Kristol became a Straussian under the influence of Professor Harvey Mansfield and learned the basics of WASP internationalism at the feet of Samuel Huntington. Bill eagerly used the mantle of victorious Cold Warrior as justification for more war. "Now that the other Cold War is over," he opined, "the real Cold War has begun."[223]

In 1993, Bill Kristol founded the Project for the Republican Future, "appointing himself," Friedman notes without irony, "guardian of the GOP."[224] In 1996, he and political scientist Robert Kagan published "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy" in *Foreign Affairs*, arguing for an aggressive but benevolent foreign policy for the world's only remaining superpower. Also in 1996, fellow Jewish neocons Richard Perle, David Wurmser, and Douglas Feith wrote their "Clean Break" report for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, recommending he "focus on removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq—an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right."[225] They also called for Israel to take steps to reorder the entire Middle East, which the United States would do as Israel's proxy.

Kristol brought out a special issue of the *Weekly Standard* in December 1997, informing the Clinton administration that "Saddam Must Go." In 1998, Kristol started the Project for a New American Century, a think tank to make the neocon agenda a reality once Republicans were at the levers of power after the 2000 elections; he also signed two open letters (along with Elliot Abrams, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, Bernard Lewis, Donald Rumsfeld, Perle, and Paul Wolfowitz) urging Clinton to remove Saddam Hussein.

Bill Kristol was part of an aggressively Jewish younger generation of neoconservatives raised to think of themselves not as outsiders but as destined to haunt the halls of power in Washington and to rule the world. David Brooks' bestseller *Bobos in Paradise* claimed Americans had become "bohemian bourgeois."[226] When a woman confronted him at a booksigning, claiming he really meant America had become Jewish, Brooks was dumbfounded because the woman was Jewish and what she said may have sounded anti-Semitic but was true. The Jews had taken over the culture not by imposing religious practices they themselves found foreign but by creating the persona of the true American. During the '50s, the real American was part of David Riesman's "lonely crowd," because Jews were on the fringe of dying WASP culture. By the first decade of the 21st century, the true American was a chest-thumping chauvinist because Jews had taken over the foreign policy establishment to

promote Jewish and Israeli ends. The neoconservatives never lost touch with their revolutionary roots, perhaps because they were so immediate. "I feel no passionate attachment to Judaism, or to Zionism, or even to the Jewish people," Bill Kristol admitted; "the only magazine that entered our house was *The New Masses*."[227]

Instead of renouncing the revolutionary heritage of their fathers, the neoconservatives redefined it. What the Comintern failed to achieve in the name of the working class, the *Weekly Standard* brought about in the name of the Jewish bohemian bourgeoisie. As before, the Jews remained in the vanguard.

It was a difficult balancing act. As soon as Jews were identified as behind any movement, the movement was condemned to die. As the neocon agenda became more identifiably Jewish, it lost supporters. Daniel Patrick Moynihan was one of the first defectors. Moynihan opposed the first Gulf War, and before his death in 2003 was showing signs of returning to his ethnic roots by expressing regret that he hadn't done more to oppose abortion. Defections from the WASP ruling class increased too as it became apparent the Jews were endangering America's national security by embroiling the country in unwinnable wars in the Middle East.

All that was in the future during the mid-'90s, when the drumbeat for America's entry into World War IV began. In 1997, Paul Wolfowitz, a Straussian from the University of Chicago, called for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in the *Weekly Standard*. Wolfowitz, whose parents had moved from Warsaw to New York, became Undersecretary of Defense during the second Bush administration; he used that position to lobby for war against Iraq. Four days after the attack on the World Trade Center, Wolfowitz met with President Bush and urged him to attack Iraq before invading Afghanistan, even though there was no evidence Saddam was involved in 9/11, and there was evidence that Osama bin Laden was hiding in Afghanistan. President Bush rejected Wolfowitz's advice, but he put the invasion of Iraq in motion, asking his military advisers to develop plans.

ISRAELI MILITARY FORCES TAKE OVER PALESTINIAN TV STATIONS 2002

At 4:30 PM on March 30, 2002, Israeli military forces took over Palestinian TV stations when they occupied Ramallah in the West Bank, immediately shutting them down. The Israeli forces then broadcast pornography over the Al-Watan TV's transmitter. Eventually, according to *The Advertiser*, an Australian newspaper, the Israelis broadcast pornography over two additional Palestinian stations, the Ammwaj and Al-Sharaq channels. A Palestinian mother of three complained about "the deliberate psychological damage caused by these broadcasts."[228] The only uncaptured Palestinian station ran a message

on its screen: "Anything currently shown on Al-Watan and other local TV channels has nothing to do with Palestinian programs but is being broadcast by the Israeli occupation forces. We urge parents to take precautions."[229]

The Palestinians were outraged and bewildered. "Why in the world," one correspondent to omanforum.com wondered, "should one do such a thing?"[230] According to the dominant culture's explanation, pornography means freedom. Were Israeli troops broadcasting pornography over captured Palestinian TV stations to spread freedom among the Palestinian people? This incident cannot be explained according to the principles of contemporary American culture. So, let's go back to the ancients.

Samson and Delilah is a good place to start. Israel was invincible militarily then too, so the Philistines decided to get the Israelite leader by other than military means. They seduced him sexually. Once Samson succumbed to Delilah's wiles, he lost his power, and Israel lost its leader. He was no longer on the field of battle, but rather, to use Milton's phrase, "eyeless in Gaza, grinding at the mill with slaves."[231]

The story of the Palestinian TV stations has a curiously Biblical ring. The Israelis turned the tables. They knew a blind opponent is no opponent. They knew, as did the ancient Greeks, that lust makes a man blind. St. Thomas Aquinas said lust "darkens the mind." Suddenly, Israel's use of pornography against the Palestinians isn't so obscure. Pornography is a weapon "Jews with an atavistic fear of Christian authority"[232] have used to weaken the dominant culture and, thereby, assure that the Jews, always a minority, are unmolested by their "Christian" neighbors. They are well-versed in the military use of pornography.

The corrosive effects of Wilhelm Reich's philosophy of control through sexual demoralization are still with us, promoted by Jews as a form of political control to weaken the power of the non-Jewish majority. The Israelis broadcast pornography over Palestinian TV stations, says one report, "to keep Palestinian youths away from joining the resistance against Israeli occupation and apartheid."[233] According to a Palestinian intelligence officer, the CIA discussed the issue with the Israelis repeatedly, but "the idea first came from the Israeli side who suggested that only these things could take Palestinian youths away from their hostile fixation on Israel."[234]

Luke Ford makes a similar point. "Why does porn attract so many non-Jewish Jews?"[235] Because "even when Jews live in a society that welcomes them instead of harassing them, many Jews hate the majority culture."[236] Pornography weakens the majority culture by moral subversion. Jews often lead in the application of new technology. That meant using high resolution photography, the VCR, and the Internet to deliver pornography, just as it meant dynamite, forgery, and smuggling to bring down the Czar in Russia. English professor Jay Gertzman, whose father and uncle were arrested on obscenity charges in Philadelphia in the '50s, writes about the influence of

Jews in the sex book trade in *Bookleggers and Smuthounds: The Trade In Erotica 1920-1940*: "While few Jews are radical, many radicals (and pornographers) are Jews. Writes non-Jew Ernest van den Haag in *The Jewish Mystique*, 'Out of one hundred Jews, five may be radicals, but out of ten radicals, five are likely to be Jewish.'"[237]

Like Dresner, Luke Ford feels

> Virtually all movements to change the world come from the Jews—Christianity, secular humanism, Marxism, Socialism and communism, feminism, and the labor movement. That's part of the reason that Jews are hated. The world doesn't want to be changed. Rooted in nothing, radical Jews frequently seek to make others equally rootless by tearing down their religious, national, communal and traditional allegiances. Such Jews carry on the traditional Jewish hatred of false gods but without offering anything to replace the scorned allegiances. . . . Rather, the most important result of the domination of non-Jewish Jews in these fields is their war on traditional values. Porn is just one expression of this rebellion against standards, against the disciplined life of obedience to Torah that marks a Jew living Judaism.[238]

Pornography became a Jewish weapon based on Jewish fantasies of defilement. Even when Catholics are involved, it usually is on Jewish terms. According to one industry insider, "the leading male performers through the 1980s came from secular Jewish upbringings and the females from Roman Catholic day schools."[239] The standard porn scenario became a Polish Jewish fantasy, the horny Jew schtupping the Catholic *shiksa*. Nina Hartley, the Jewish porn star agrees. "I have not yet met a Jewish guy who wasn't a horny rabbit,"[240] she says explaining Jewish male involvement in pornography in her 1989 interview in *Schmate*. "Plus, they get to have sex with all these beautiful blonde women. . . Where else are you going to get a succession of *shiksa*s to bed you down?"[241]

Hartley leaves out the cultural dimension. Pornography defiles Christian women, which, as Eldridge Cleaver pointed out, is a way of defiling Christianity and what it stands for.

When Luke Ford asked Al Goldstein, the publisher of *Screw*, why so many Jews were involved in pornography, Goldstein got to the theological heart of the matter. "The only reason that Jews are in pornography," Goldstein responded, "is that we think that Christ sucks. Catholicism sucks. We don't believe in authoritarianism."[242]

Goldstein's response is worth pondering. Being Jewish is Goldstein's rationalization for his unsavory business. Goldstein can hide behind centuries-old Jewish antipathy to Christianity as his justification. Jews are so habituated to defining themselves as the antithesis of things Christian that they define themselves in opposition to things Judaism and Christianity hold in common, namely, the moral law and sexual prohibitions.

The conversation got progressively more theological, at least in the Goldstein mode. When Ford asked, "Do you believe in God?" Goldstein answered, "I believe in me. I'm God. Fuck God. God is your need to believe in some super being. I am the super being. I am your God, admit it. We're random. We're the flea on the ass of the dog."[243]

Luke: "What does being Jewish mean to you?"

Al: "It doesn't mean shit. It means that I'm called a kike. Rose is more of a Jew than I am. She speaks Hebrew."[244]

Goldstein is referring to his companion, who, unlike Goldstein, was raised a religious Jew. Ford turns to Rose and asks her the same question: "What does being Jewish mean to you?"

Rose: "I feel like I am part of a worldwide spiritual community."

Al: "Jews and blacks are together. Us kikes and coons . . . Like a chocolate mouse [sic]."

Luke: "What attracts you to Al?"[245]

Rose does not want to answer.

Al: "It's my big Jewish dick. My circumcision."[246]

Pornography is the latest revolutionary hope for non-neoconservative Jews who have invested their hope in the American empire. A large chunk of recent history has been shaped, in Rabbi Dresner's words, by "mesmerized Jews" who made modernity their project with a vengeance:

> Caged within ghetto bars for centuries, the Jews emerged into the freedom of Western society, where they drank in its culture, tasted its pleasure and enjoyed its power. They demanded citizenship and were so eager to be accepted by the majority that they often offered themselves, sacrificed their history, faith and way of life, their "identity," in order that the stigma of their difference might be obliterated. [247]

In fashioning modern society, where idols of politics, culture, and impulse are worshipped, Jews have played a major role in part because in the world's largest Jewish community of Eastern Europe, the Middle Ages did not gradually give way to the influences of Enlightenment science and reason. For most of East European Jewry, the Middle Ages extended into the 19th century and beyond. Many grandparents of today's American Jews emerged overnight, it seemed, from benighted, poverty-stricken villages, little touched by the secular culture, into the bright lights of modernity with its abundance of new knowledge and undreamt-of opportunity. Jews, mesmerized by what they saw and read and heard, were among the chief advocates of modernity.[248]

Stephen Steinlight, in a study on immigration for the AJC, indicates Jewish political power, following hard on the heels of disastrous Jewish demographics, is on the wane. Perhaps this explains the desperation of Goldhagen's attack on Pius XII, or the neocon desperation in attacking Iraq or the outpouring of Jewish sympathy for pornography on the Internet.

BUSH PRESSURES SHARON 2002

Even as late as 2002, Bush wasn't fully on board with neocon plans to wage World War IV. Thinking America could diffuse Muslim animus, Bush chose the dangerous course that rendered his father a one-term president. He pressured Ariel Sharon to halt Israel's expansion in the occupied territories. Bush "had enormous potential leverage at his disposal,"[249] but he didn't reckon with the Israel Lobby, which had grown stronger since it thwarted his father's reelection. Sharon pulled out all stops, accusing Bush of trying "to appease the Arabs at our expense," warning Israel "will not be Czechoslovakia."[250] Bush was reportedly furious at Sharon likening him to Neville Chamberlain, but he was no match for the Israel Lobby. On April 4, 2002, George Bush ordered Sharon to "halt the incursions and begin withdrawal."[251] Two days later, he reiterated, adding he meant "withdrawal without delay."[252]

The Israel Lobby attacked the weakest link, Secretary of State Colin Powell, sent by the president to bring the Israelis to Bush's approach. Robert Kagan and William Kristol attacked Powell in the *Weekly Standard* as having "virtually obliterated the distinction between terrorists and those who fight terrorists."[253] Faced with an Israeli lobby-orchestrated revolt in Congress and among his Dispensationalist evangelical supporters, Bush backed down. On April 11, Ari Fleischer, Bush's Jewish press secretary, claimed Bush felt Sharon was "a man of peace."[254] Bush reiterated that claim when Secretary of State Powell returned from his failed mission. Bush also claimed Sharon had agreed to a full and immediate withdrawal, but this was not true.

As if to show who really ran America's foreign policy, the House of Representatives appropriated $200 million so Israel could better "fight terrorism." The WASP establishment was appalled. In October 2004, Brent Scowcroft, one of its last vocal representatives, claimed Sharon had Bush "wrapped around his little finger."[255] The academic arm of the WASP establishment was equally gloomy in assessing Bush's craven capitulation to the Israelis and their neoconservative front men in America, claiming in a controversial report

> Sharon and the [Israel] Lobby took on the President of the United States and triumphed. Hemi Shalev, a journalist for the Israel newspaper *Ma'ariv*, reported that Sharon's aides "could not hide their satisfaction in view of Powell's failure. Sharon saw the white in President Bush's eyes, they bragged, and the President blinked first." But it was the pro-Israel forces in the United States, not Sharon or Israel, that played the key role in defeating Bush. In caving in to Ariel Sharon and the Israel Lobby, Bush "revers[ed] the stated policy of every President since Lyndon Johnson by "endors[ing] unilateral Israeli annexations of the Occupied Territories."[256]

AMERICA INVADES IRAQ 2003

In March 2003 the Israel Lobby pushed America into war with Iraq. Colin Powell, the last representative of WASP restraint in the Bush Administration, was humiliated when neocons sent him to testify before the UN with documents he knew were dubious at best and outright fabrications at worst. According to Robert Woodward of the *Washington Post*, Powell "was appalled at what he considered overreaching and hyperbole. Libby was drawing on the worst conclusions from fragments and silky threads."[257]

Powell went along, conceding by his actions that the Lobby had become all-powerful. Having faced Bush down over the settlements in occupied territory, the Likudniks in Israel and the United States put on a media campaign that all but ordered Bush to do their bidding and invade Iraq. In September 2002, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres announced, "the campaign against Saddam Hussein is a must."[258] Shortly after, the *Wall Street Journal* ran a piece entitled "The Case for Toppling Saddam," in which Benjamin Netanyahu declared, "Today nothing less than dismantling this regime will do."[259] Netanyahu added "I believe I speak for the overwhelming majority of Israelis in supporting a pre-emptive strike against Saddam's regime."[260] Authors Walt and Mearsheimer claim "it would be wrong to blame the war in Iraq on 'Jewish influence,'" but they concede the supporters of the war were overwhelmingly Jewish: "Within the United States, the main driving force behind the Iraq war was a small band of neoconservatives, many with close ties to Israel's Likud Party," and they then quote the Jewish press to the same effect:

> According to the *Forward*, "As President Bush attempted to sell the . . . war in Iraq, America's most important Jewish organizations rallied as one to his defense. In statement after statement [Jewish] community leaders stressed the need to rid the world of Saddam and his weapons of mass destruction." It added that "concern for Israel's safety rightfully factored into the deliberations of the main Jewish groups."[261]

The media drumbeat continued throughout fall 2002 and into early 2003, culminating in an attack on "Unpatriotic Conservatives" by David Frum in the March 19, 2003 *National Review*. A key component of the publicity campaign leading to the war was manipulation of intelligence information by the Office of Special Plans, run by Abram Shulsky, Wolfowitz's protégé, who created false intelligence with assistance from pro-Israel think tanks. Retired Air Force Colonel Karen Kwiatkowski has written about high ranking Israeli military men, bustling past their security escorts, making a beeline for Shulsky's Pentagon office.

These salvoes began an unrelenting public relations campaign to win support for invading Iraq. Manipulation of intelligence to make Saddam look like an imminent threat was the key to this campaign. Walt and Mearsheimer cite Barry Jacobs of the AJC, who acknowledges

> the belief that Israel and the neoconservatives conspired to get the United States into a war in Iraq was "pervasive" in the US intelligence community. Yet few would say so publicly, and most that did. . . were condemned for raising the issue. Michael Kinsley put the point well in late 2002, when he wrote that "the lack of public discussion about the role of Israel. . . is the proverbial elephant in the room: Everybody sees it, no one mentions it." The reason for his reluctance, he observed, was fear of being labeled an anti-Semite. Even so, there is little doubt that Israel and the Lobby were key factors in shaping the decision for war. Without the Lobby's efforts, the United States would have been far less likely to have gone to war in March 2003.[262]

The American invasion of Iraq in March 2003 initially appeared successful because of staged media events that included an American tank—off camera, of course—pulling down a statue of Saddam Hussein to the cheers of a few Iraqi spectators. The scene was deliberately reminiscent of the statues of Lenin that came down in the aftermath of the fall of communism. The premature victory celebrations culminated when Bush landed a fighter jet on an aircraft carrier, whose conning tower was adorned with the banner "Mission Accomplished."

When an enraged mob strung up the corpses of mutilated Americans in Falluja in the spring of 2004, it was clear the mission was far from accomplished. President Bush barely had time to get out of his flight suit before the neocons sensed something had gone wrong. In late spring, 2003, neocons Frum and Perle published *An End to Evil* "as a means of trying to summon Americans back to the mood of determination and resolution of 9/11."[263] They could "feel the will to win ebbing in Washington."[264] They added that their foes had "been proven wrong when they predicted the US would sink into a forlorn quagmire in Iraq,"[265] but they were trying to convince themselves. Even the uniformly upbeat Murray Friedman ended his book on neoconservative Jewish intellectuals by conceding "The invasion of Iraq may well be the disaster that critics of the war have charged."[266] The mission bogged down in a quagmire that made Vietnam seem like a picnic by comparison. But anyone who held the neoconservatives responsible for the debacle was denounced as an anti-Semite.

WALT AND MEARSHEIMER 2006

That is precisely what happened when a report by Professors John J. Mearsheimer of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago and Stephen M. Walt of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard began circulating on the internet. In the initial euphoria after the fall of communism, neoconservatives had numerous allies among the WASP foreign policy establishment. Francis Fukuyama gushed that the

neocons had brought about the "end of history." Once the Iraq war began to sour, Fukuyama, spokesman for the severely diminished WASP elite, had second thoughts. They distanced themselves from the debacle in Iraq. The Walt/Mearsheimer study was commissioned by the *Atlantic Monthly*, which got cold feet and refused to publish it. Instead it appeared in the *London Review of Books*. Walt and Mearsheimer predicted what would happen once their article was published:

> anyone who says that there is an Israel Lobby runs the risk of being charged with anti-Semitism, even though the Israeli media themselves refer to America's "Jewish Lobby." In effect, the Lobby boasts of its own power and then attacks anyone who calls attention to it. This tactic is very effective because anti-Semitism is loathsome and no responsible person wants to be accused of it.[267]

The lobby that did not exist then proceeded to attack professors Walt and Mearsheimer. It exerted influence to get articles attacking Walt and Mearsheimer in virtually every major outlet of the mainstream print media, just as Abe Foxman predicted it would. "There is no Israel 'Lobby'" screamed the *New York Daily News*, one of its main organs. That was the *Daily News's* title to a David Gergen piece that orginally appeared in *U.S. News and World Report*, published by Mort Zuckerman, another member of the press section of the Israeli Lobby. Gergen's rebuttal was typical, even if more groveling than most. Gergen claimed their charges were "wildly at variance with what I have personally witnessed in the Oval Office over the years."[268] In one of the most disingenuous line in a disingenuous article, Gergen wrote:

> Over the course of four tours in the White House, I never once saw a decision in the oval office to tilt US foreign policy in favor of Israel at the expense of America's interest. Other than Richard Nixon—who occasionally had terrible things to say about Jews, despite the number on his team—I can't remember any president even talking about an Israeli lobby. Perhaps I have forgotten.[269]

Perhaps the lobby that does not exist told Gergen to forget what he knew.

"Yes, It's Anti-Semitic,"[270] screamed Eliot Cohen in the *Washington Post*, fulfilling the authors' prediction. Like many independent-minded pundits who barked when the lobby that does not exist yanked their chains, Cohen smeared Walt and Mearsheimer by linking them to White Supremacist David Duke. But, as Walt and Mearsheimer noted, when it comes to the Israel Lobby, the ordinary rules of journalism did not apply.

The remnant of the deeply chagrined WASP establishment now views its erstwhile Jewish allies as the domestic version of Osama bin Laden. Neoconservatism, like the Civil Rights movement of the '60s and the Whig/Masonic subversion of France in the 18th century, was a black operation

which got out of control. What would John J. McCloy and the originators of anti-Catholic psy ops under the aegis of ADA liberalism say to spiritual descendants like Francis Fukuyama and Brent Scowcroft? That the Jesuits who wrote for *La Civiltà Cattolica* in the 1890s were right? That any nation that rebelled against God's order would end up being ruled by Jews?

Probably not.

Epilogue

The Conversion of the Revolutionary Jew

On June 15, 2006, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States passed a resolution condemning the Gospels as "anti-Jewish" documents. Since the conclusion the Episcopalians drew was that the Scriptures should be censored, especially their liturgical use, by removing anything a Jew might find offensive, many Episcopalians concluded that this was the final apostasy in a long slide which began at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 when that church approved the use of contraceptives. Whether it is or it isn't is beyond our purview here. No matter what conclusions the Episcopalians draw, the statement that the Gospels are anti-Jewish is, beyond a shadow of doubt, true. The real question is why it took the Episcopalians four hundred years to wake up to this fact or why they didn't draw what seems to be the more logical conclusion, namely, that if Episcopalians want to be faithful to the example of Jesus Christ, they must be anti-Jewish as well.

The Episcopalians did not say that the Scriptures were anti-Semitic. If they had said that, the statement would have been false. Anti-Semitism is a relatively recent word. It was popularized in 1870 by a German named Wilhelm Marr. It refers to race, and claims that Jews are hateful because of certain ineradicable biological characteristics. That idea led to Hitler, but the defeat of Hitler led to a re-definition of the word. Anti-Semitism now has an entirely different meaning. An anti-Semite used to be someone who didn't like Jews. Now it is usually someone whom Jews don't like. No Christian can in good conscience be an anti-Semite, but every Christian, insofar as he is a Christian, must be anti-Jewish. In contemporary parlance the two terms are practically synonymous but their meanings are very different, and the distinction is deliberately obscured for political purposes.

On October 16, 2004 President Bush signed into law the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act, which establishes a special department within the U.S. State Department to monitor global anti-Semitism, reporting annually to Congress. As one of the major steps in the implementation of that law, Secretary of State Condaleeza Rice swore in Gregg Rickman as head of the

State Department's office of global anti-Semitism on May 22, 2006. Rickman had ties with both Jewish organizations and Congress. He was staff director for former Sen. Peter Fitzgerald (R-Ill.), and chairman of the Republican Jewish Coalition. But his main qualification was the role he played in conjunction with Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) in shaking down $2 billion from the Swiss banks during the late '90s. "Gregg Rickman, working with Sen. D'Amato, is almost single-handedly the one who uncovered the corruption and the immorality of the Swiss banks," according to William Daroff, vice president for public policy of the United Jewish Communities, the umbrella body of North American Jewish Federations, and director of its Washington office. Journalist Ron Kampeas added "That kind of doggedness will serve him well in his new capacity, according to representatives of groups that liaise between Washington and small, vulnerable Jewish communities overseas."[1]

Mr. Rickman will not have to define anti-Semitism. His state department office has already in effect done that for him. In its "Report on Global Anti-Semitism," the U.S. State Department does not define the term but proceeds to list a dazzling array of beliefs or actions that count as anti-Semitic. In many cases the belief referred to is merely one that certain Jewish organizations don't like.[2]

In spite of 40 years of Jewish exaggeration and *chutzpah*, certain facts remain. The Church is not and cannot possibly be anti-Semitic, because the term refers primarily to race and racial hatred. The Church cannot promote racial hatred of any group, certainly not of the Jews because its founder was a member of that racial group. However, the Gospel of St. John makes clear that there is a deep and abiding Christian opposition to the Jews who rejected Christ. This "*Judenfeindlichkeit*," if we use Brumlik's word, is part of the essence of Catholicism. The Church opposes "Jews" because they have defined themselves as rejecters of Christ. The Church is anti-Jewish, but unlike the Jews, who, according to Rabbi Soloveichik in *First Things*,[3] can believe that hatred is a virtue, Christians are told to love their enemies. The "Jews," by which St. John means the Jews who rejected Christ, became by that fact Christians' enemies, but all Jews had been transformed by the coming of Christ. They had to accept him as the Messiah or reject him. Those Jews who accepted Christ as the Messiah became known as Christians. Those Jews who rejected him became known as "Jews."

In fall 2003, Mahathir Mohammed, prime minister of Malaysia, announced, "The Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them."[4] Mahathir was immediately denounced as an anti-Semite and accused of "an absolute invitation for more hate crimes and terrorism against Jews,"[5] although he said no such thing and many Jews agreed with him. Henry Makow felt Mahathir's speech "opposed terrorism."[6] Another Jew, Elias Davidsson, a native of Jerusalem, feels Jews do rule the world by proxy. He explains:

> As a Jew myself (but opposed to Zionism) I need no encouragement from Malaysian PM Mahathir Mohammed to observe what should be obvious to the blatant eye: Namely that Jews effectively rule US foreign policy and thus determine to a great extent the conduct of most countries. . . . So it is with the proposition that Jews control the world. Surely they do not control every single action; surely it does not mean that every Jew participates in the "control." But for all practical purposes the proposition holds.[7]

What distinguishes a Jew like Davidsson from a Jew like, say, Stanley Fish, is not ethnicity, nor even politics, but their divergent forms of literary criticism. Davidsson believes in the objectivity of statements. He holds the Malaysian Prime Minister to what he actually said and so finds nothing anti-Semitic in it. "Mahathir," Davidsson says,

> has neither asked to discriminate against Jews, let alone to kill Jews. It is shameful to equate him to the Hitlerites. He urges Muslims to fight Jews by adopting modern methods, technology and educate themselves, in other words to surpass Jews in excellence. What's wrong with that? By this he is doing service to the Muslims (over 1 billion people) and to humanity. Jews must know their place and content themselves with influence derived from their small number. Jews must learn some humility. . . .[8]

The "Jews", if by that term we mean the cabal that rules as the Sanhedrin, the Kahal, the politburo, the ADL, or other major Jewish organizations, has centuries of experience dealing with Jews like Makow and Davidsson. The *modus operandi* of Jewish leaders working over Jews who disagree with them goes back to the time of Christ, when, according to the Gospel of St. John, the parents of the man born blind refused to speak "out of fear of the Jews, who had already agreed to expel from the synagogue anyone who should acknowledge Jesus as the Christ." Any Jew who chooses Logos (in any form) over Talmud will feel the ire of organized Jewry. Spinoza[9] felt it in Amsterdam in the 17th century; in our day Norman Finkelstein has felt it. Since it sounds preposterous to call Jews who disagree with other Jews anti-Semites, the modern Kahal has created a new term. They are called "self-hating Jews" as they are expelled from the modern synagogue of acceptable speech.

The Kahal was the autonomous legal system which the Jews established in Poland to take care of their own legal affairs. The spirit which informed that legal body was the Talmud. According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the Talmud is "the supreme authority in religion. . . for the majority of [Jews]."[10] The Catholic Church has never disputed the centrality of the Talmud to Jewish life. However, the Church has always seen the Talmud as a "systematic deformation of the Bible" in which "The pride of race with the idea of universal domination is therein exalted to the height of folly. . . the Ten Commandments

are not of obligation in their regard. . . . With regard to the Goyim (non-Jews) everything is allowed: robbery, fraud, perjury, murder. . . ."[11] Whenever its contents were made known, Christians have condemned the Talmud as incompatible with any rational social order. Jewish converts to Catholicism from the time of Nicholas Donin onward have condemned the Talmud as well. Numerous popes have condemned the Talmud because it was a direct assault on both the divinity of Christ and the moral law as handed down by Moses. According to the ex-Rabbi Drach, "the Talmud expressly forbids a Jew to save a non-Jew from death or to restore to him his lost possessions, etc, or to take pity on him."[12]

The Talmud was created to keep Jews in bondage to Jewish leaders by prohibiting all contact with Logos, whether that is understood as the Person of Christ or the Truth or reasoning based on true principles and logic. Taught to deceive by the Talmud, Jews end up deceiving themselves and playing into the hands of the leaders who manipulate them for their own ends.

The Talmud has also led to revolution. You also don't have to be religious to be talmudic. Karl Marx was an atheist, but according to Bernard Lazare, he was also "a clear and lucid Talmudist," and, therefore, "full of that old Hebrew materialism which ever dreams of a paradise on earth and always rejects the far-distant and problematical hope of a garden of Eden after death."[13] Marx, despite his early writings, was the quintessential Talmudist and the quintessential Jewish revolutionary, and as such he proposed one of the most influential false messiahs in Jewish history: world communism. Baruch Levy, one of Marx's correspondents, proposed another equally potent false messiah, namely, the Jewish Race. According to Levy,

> "the Jewish people taken collectively shall be its own Messias. . . . In this new organization of humanity , the sons of Israel now scattered over the whole surface of the globe. . . shall everywhere become the ruling element without opposition. . . .The governments of the nations forming the Universal or World-Republic shall all thus pass, without any effort, into Jewish hands thanks to the victory of the proletariat. . . . Thus shall the promise of the Talmud be fulfilled, that, when the Messianic epoch shall have arrived, the Jews will control the wealth of all the nations of the earth."[14]

So, there was some basis for what Mahathir said, as well as ample evidence—the creation of the state of Israel, for instance—that world Jewry had advanced towards a position of inordinate power in the world since Levy wrote to Karl Marx. The Jews could not shake themselves loose from the notion they were God's chosen people, not even after they stopped believing in God. By rejecting Christ, they condemned themselves to worship one false messiah after another—most recently communism and Zionism. In *La Question du Messie*, the Lemann brothers, both of whom converted from Judaism to

Catholicism and became priests, compared present day Jews to the Israelites at the foot of Mount Sinai: "having grown weary of waiting for the return of Moses . . . they feasted and danced around the golden calf."[15] Rejecting the supernatural messiah who died on the cross, the Jews condemned themselves to repeat the cycle of enthusiasm leading to disillusionment throughout their history. Their illusions found fulfillment in and lent themselves to the creation of the Jewish state. On January 6, 1948, the chief rabbi of Palestine announced "Eventually it [Israel] will lead to the inauguration of the true union of the nations, through which will be fulfilled the eternal message to mankind of our immortal prophets."[16] In Jewish messianism, fantasies of racial superiority alternate with contradictory fantasies of universal brotherhood. "The great ideal of Judaism," *The Jewish World* announced in February 1883, "is that . . . the whole world shall be imbued with Jewish teaching and that in a Universal Brotherhood of Nations—a greater Judaism in fact—all the separate races and religions shall disappear."[17]

The Jews were condemned to seek heaven on earth through false messiahs from the moment they chose Barabbas over Christ. When the Jews refused to be "heralds of a supernatural kingdom"[18] they condemned themselves to the endless task of imposing a vision of a naturalistic heaven on earth, "and they have put all their intense energy and tenacity into the struggle for the organization of the future Messianic Age."[19] Whenever a nation turns from the Supernatural Messiah, as during the French and Russian revolutions, that nation "will be pulled into the direction of subjection to the Natural Messias"[20] and, in effect, ruled by Jews.

Does that mean that every Jew is a bad person? No, it does not. Jewish leadership controls the "Synagogue of Satan," which in turn controls the ethnic group into which Jews are born. No one has control over the circumstances of his birth. That is why anti-Semitism, if by that term we mean hatred of the Jews because of immutable and ineradicable racial characteristics, is wrong. Over the course of their lives, Jews come to understand that theirs is an ethnic group unlike any other. In spite of the propaganda of racial superiority which the Talmud seeks to inculcate in them, many Jews come to understand that a peculiarly malignant spirit has taken up its home at the heart of their ethnos. Once they become aware of the magnitude of that evil, Jews are faced with a choice. Depending on the disposition of the heart, which only God can judge, they either dedicate themselves to that evil or they reject it—completely as in the case of St. Paul, Nicholas Donin, Joseph Pfefferkorn and other Jews too numerous to mention—or inchoately, as in the case of the Jews of conscience who refuse to go along with something which they know is morally wrong, be that abortion or the eviction of Palestinians from their ancestral lands.

The purpose of the Talmud is to prevent defections from the "Synagogue of Satan." Behavior based on the Talmud leads to resentment on the part of non-Jews. Jewish leaders promote that behavior knowing it will cause

reactions because "Pogroms in which the rank and file of the Jewish nation suffer serve the useful purpose of keeping them in absolute dependence on their leaders."[21] The Trotskys promote the revolution and the Bronsteins suffer. Jewish leaders promote pogroms, such as the Gomeler Pogrom of 1905 or when Mossad agents deliberately killed Iraqi Jews[22] to spread panic, because pogroms promote fear, which is how the Kahal keeps ordinary Jews in line.

Alice Ollstein, a Jewish high school student from Santa Monica, CA, noticed this at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee Conference in Washington, DC, in 2006. She went as an enthusiastic Zionist but returned "feeling manipulated, disturbed and disgusted with a great deal of what I witnessed there."[23] She witnessed non-stop fear mongering. The "first thing" she noticed was "the carefully manufactured atmosphere of fear and urgency." The hall where the plenary sessions were held

> was always filled with dramatic classical music, red lighting and gigantic signs reading "Now Is The Time." That, combined with the montages of terrorism footage projected onto six giant screens, whipped the audience into a "Save Israel" fervor that most found inspiring. . . the audience seemed eager to agree to anything that would protect Israel—even war. . . . Each speaker played upon the audience's deepest fears.[24]

Neoconservatives in charge of the fear-mongering, in particular, John Podhoretz, son of Norman and a columnist for *The New York Post*, "got to have the first word and the last word on almost every question."[25] Ollstein found the comparisons AIPAC drew between Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hitler particularly manipulative:

> To the tune of more dramatic classical music, the six enormous screens flashed back and forth between Hitler giving anti-Jew speeches and Ahmadinejad giving anti-Israel speeches. The famous post-Holocaust mantra "Never Again" popped up several times. Everything was geared toward persuading the audience that another Holocaust is evident. . . unless we get them first.[26]

Alice Ollstein resented "being forced to think" the Prime Minister of Iran was "pure evil through clever sound bites and colorful images." She felt manipulated by what Professors Walt and Mearsheimer have characterized as the main agent of the Israel Lobby in America. She is not the only Jew who feels this way. Zionism now finds itself in a state of wretched excess that signals a reaction is about to set in. Jewish disillusionment with the god that failed known as communism came to be known as neoconservatism. The Jewish reaction to Zionism can be seen in the proliferation of "proud, self-hating Jews."

In response to a Danish magazine's anti-Muslim cartoons in March 2006, a group of Israelis organized an anti-Semitic cartoon contest. Gilad Atzmon, who described the contest on his web site, finds it natural: "a few

Jews who happen to be ethically motivated and talented enough to express themselves would raise their voices"[27] to protest a black operation designed to get European countries so annoyed at the Muslim reaction to the cartoons that they would support a nuclear attack on Iran's nuclear facilities. Atzmon claims "the morally deteriorated conduct of the Jewish state and its supportive Jewish lobbies around the world" has engendered "a celebration of what I tend to define as 'proud Jewish self-hatred.'"[28]

Atzmon is only half joking. The heart of this parody is the slowly spreading disillusionment with Zionism among Israelis. As Israel rules the world through proxies like AIPAC, the Jews they claim to speak for are undergoing deep disillusionment. Atzmon, an Israeli musician and former Israeli soldier, who has nominated himself as spokesman for the proud, self-hating Jew, believes "it is the proud SHJs that will bring Israeli Zionism and even global Zionism down."[29] Born an Israeli, Atzmon had been subjected to Zionist propaganda for his entire life. One day he didn't believe it anymore:

> The very program that worked so well and still works at large in the instance of my former fellow countrymen failed in my case. Not only had I stopped loving myself, I somehow failed to hate the Goyim. This is when I realized for the first time that actually there was no anti-Semitism around. Somehow, when I stopped loving myself, I also started to suspect the entire official Jewish historical narrative, both the Zionist one as well as the biblical one. How to say it, it didn't take long before I started to question the official Zionist Holocaust tale."[30]

Belief in Zionism, like belief in communism, was an all or nothing proposition. Once the first doubt took root, the entire edifice was doomed to collapse. The first thing Atzmon doubted was the dogma "Jew-hating is an irrational act of madness or some backward Christian tendency."[31] Unlike Ruth Wisse, who articulated a dogma of contemporary Judaism: "anti-Semitism is not directed against the behavior of Jews but against the existence of Jews,"[32] Atzmon entertained "the possibility that anti-Jewish feelings may come as a response or even retaliation to Jewish acts":

> The more I learned about the subject, the more I realized that anti-Jewish feelings are often intentionally generated and orchestrated by Jews themselves. This was when I became conscious that self-loving Jews love to be hated, and more than that, they need it. Indeed, Zionism is maintained by anti-Semitism. Without anti-Semitism there is no need for a Jewish State and without the Holocaust there wouldn't even be a Jewish State.[33]

Jewish organizations like AIPAC and the ADL, he says, "are all remarkably good in generating hatred against Jews,"[34] which generates fear that keeps the average Jew in bondage. During his soliloquy, Atzmon concludes that as a

proud, self-hating Jew he hates neither Jews nor Judaism, which he defines in ethnic terms. His quarrel is with what he calls "Jewishness," because

> Jewishness is what is left for the Jews once religious context is stripped away. Jewishness is what many Jews interpret as their identity. It is a wide set of characteristics that many self-identifying Jews recognize as a form of unique belonging. Jewishness is a broad concept that serves as the distinguishing quality that many Jews identify with. In fact, it is the Jewishness that stands at the core of the Jewish racial orientation. Jewishness is the supremacist tendency that draws its force from a materialist secularized misinterpretation of the Judaic code. It is Jewishness rather than Judaism that fuels Zionism with murderous zeal. It is Jewishness that stands in the core of Jewish nationalism. It is Jewishness which bonded the Bundists and their followers amongst the various Jews sans frontiers, it is Jewishness that unites the settlers in the West Bank. Jewishness is exactly what the self-loving Jews love in themselves.[35]

What Atzmon calls Jewishness is what Nicholas Donin and Joseph Pfefferkorn and the Fathers Lemann called the Talmud, *i.e.,* the racist, messianic ideology that drives Jewish revolutionary activity. As we have seen, many Jews have awakened to realize some dark evil force has colonized their ethnic group for centuries. That evil is the Talmud, the constitution for the synagogue of Satan, the cabal that has ruled Jews through fear for 2000 years. Atzmon isn't alone in feeling disillusionment. Yuri Slezkine says "The Zionist revolution is over":

> The original ethos of youthful athleticism, belligerence and single-mindedness is carried on by a tired elite of old generals. Half a century after its founding, Israel bears a distant family resemblance to the Soviet Union half a century after the October Revolution. The last representatives of the first Sabra generation are still in power, but their days are numbered.[36]

The rhetoric of racial superiority is hopelessly outdated, even when surrounded by the window-dressing of holocaust victimhood. Holocaust culture postponed the final reckoning, but by the beginning of the 21st century "The rhetoric of ethnic homogeneity and ethnic deportations, tabooed elsewhere in the west, is a routine element of Israeli political life."[37] The realization arrives half-way through Steven Spielberg's film *Munich,* when the Jewish toy maker turned bomb maker tells Avner Kauffman, "Jews don't do wrong because our enemies do wrong . . . We're supposed to be righteous."

It is unclear whether the proud, self-hating Jew can leverage disillusionment with Zionism to escape the dialectic of Jewish history with its cycle of enthusiasm followed by disillusionment followed by new enthusiasm. That would require understanding what Atzmon calls "Jewishness." Jewishness is

not another version of ethnicity like Irishness or Polishness. It is an ideology, the Talmudic deformation of Logos that has helped to cause so much suffering for the past 2000 years.

The Catholic Church has always condemned anti-Semitism because hatred of the Jewish race is wrong in and of itself. Beyond that, anti-Semitism is an inappropriate response to what Atzmon calls "Jewishness." Anti-Semitism is a competing form of "Jewishness." Anti-Semitism cannot deal with "Jewishness," because a Jew is not someone who can be defined as having Abraham's DNA in his cells. Most Jews aren't even Semites. The Jew insofar as he appropriates "Jewishness" is primarily a theological construct. He is a rejecter of Christ. The Talmud, as we have said, was created to keep the Jewish people in bondage to a leadership that has existed under various manifestations throughout history—the Sanhedrin, the Kahal, the Politburo, the ADL and AIPAC. Each has proposed a false messiah as the antidote and alternative to the true Messiah, and each has led to violent reaction or equally violent disappointment. Sixty years ago, the Communist empire spread across the earth, and yet the Jews who had supported Stalin faithfully experienced widespread disillusionment with communism. The same thing is happening now to Zionism, at the very moment when the Israel Lobby has reached the pinnacle of worldly power.

If this is the case, what are the options at the present time? In one of his more cryptic moments, Atzmon claims that "Salvation is the Masada of the Proud, Self-Hating Jew." Atzmon is referring to the mass suicide which followed the 70 AD insurrection against Rome which eventuated in the destruction of the Temple. The 21st century version of Masada would be much more dramatic because today's despairing Zionists have nuclear weapons, which lends new urgency to dissuading the Jews from taking the whole world with them when they go through one of their inevitable periods of disillusionment.

The other option is conversion, the option which has always been there since the beginning. This means conversion to Logos in all of its forms, from philosophical realism and the tenets of onto-theology to acceptance of Jesus Christ as the one and only Messiah. It also means an equally firm rejection of all forms of Talmudic deception, including sexual liberation, racism, Messianic politics, and deconstruction.

The Catholic Church has urged conversion of the Jews throughout its history, but it now seems incapable of assisting in that conversion because it has been lamed by an interpretation of *Nostra Aetate* that contradicts the Gospels. One ritual of post-*Nostra Aetate* ecumenism entails having a church dignitary stand up at an ecumenical gathering—after the Jews have denounced the Church as the font of anti-Semitism and the cause of Hitler's genocide—to announce that the Jews do not need Christ as their savior. In May 2001, at a meeting of the international Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee, Walter Cardinal Kasper, the Vatican official in charge of relations with the Jews,

tried to quell Jewish discomfort over the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's *Dominus Iesus* by claiming "God's grace, which is the grace of Jesus Christ according to our faith, is available to all. Therefore the Church believes that Judaism, i.e., the faithful response of the Jewish people to God's irrevocable covenant is salvific *for them*, because God is faithful to his promises."[38]

In placating the Jews, Kasper contradicted the Gospels and 2000 years of Church teaching; he also contradicted *Dominus Iesus*, which claimed:

> There is only one salvific economy of the one and triune God realized in the mystery of the incarnation, death and resurrection of the Son of God, actualized with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit and extended in its salvific value to all humanity and to the entire universe. "No one, therefore, can enter into communion with God except through Christ by the working of the Holy Spirit."[39]

Kasper also contradicted Pope John Paul II's 1990 encyclical *Redemptoris Missio*, which claimed:

> Christ is the one Savior of all, the only one able to reveal God and lead to God. In reply to the Jewish religious authorities who question the apostles about healing the lame man, Peter says: "By the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, by him this man is standing before you well. . . And there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved.". . . salvation can only come from Jesus Christ.[40]

Trying to extricate himself from the theological briar patch into which he had just thrown himself, Kasper claimed in a speech at Boston College that Jews could be saved if they "follow their own conscience and believe in God's promises as they understand them in their religious tradition, since, then they are in line with God's plan, which *for us* comes to historical completion in Jesus Christ."[41]

In saying "for us," Kasper implied there were two ways of salvation, a contradiction of the Gospels and *Dominus Iesus,* which holds that all those saved, including non-Christians, are saved through Christ and the Church. Kasper, however, was not alone. In August 2002, the U.S. Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, along with the US National Council of Synagogues, issued "Reflections on Covenant and Mission," which claimed: "A deepening Catholic appreciation of the eternal covenant between God and the Jewish people, together with a recognition of a divinely given mission to the Jews to witness to God's faithful love, leads to the conclusion that campaigns that target Jews for conversion to Christianity are no longer theologically acceptable in the Catholic Church."[42]

Once the heretical nature of these statements became apparent, Cardinal Keeler tried to control the damage, saying that "Reflections on Covenant and

Mission" did not constitute a formal position of the U.S. bishops, but rather "the state of thought among participants in the dialogue between Catholics and Jews."[43] The paper was never promulgated as an official document of the bishops' conference.

But its existence indicates *Nostra Aetate* had caused a deep crisis in the Church. To participate in ecumenical dialogue with Jews, Catholic "experts" had to make heretical statements. They had to deny fundamental tenets of Catholic theology. The Church suddenly could not articulate a coherent position because denial of the Gospel had become the *conditio sine qua non* of dialogue with the Jews.

This problem went all the way to the top. Viewing Pope John Paul II's relations with the Jews, an ultramontane American Catholic commentator concluded "Even Pope John Paul II . . . could occasionally create the impression that the Church was perhaps now prepared to cut a few corners in the interests of better relations"[44] with the Jews. In the "Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Judaism," delivered to a Jewish group in Mainz, Germany, in 1980, "John Paul II," says the same commentator, "actually made the remark that the old covenant with the Jews had in fact 'never been revoked by God.'"[45]

The statement was theologically defensible because God never revoked the covenants with Noah or Abraham, but it suggested the "new and everlasting covenant" Christ established did not apply to the Jews.

Pope John Paul II's gestures were even worse. His prayer at the Wailing Wall was theatrical but ambiguous. Jews pray there for restoration of the Temple. No pope would ever contemplate doing such a wicked thing, but Jewish artists memorialized his gesture and the ambiguity it embodied to justify their call for a ban on "proselytism." No wonder Roy Schoeman is confused. Schoeman is a Jewish convert to Catholicism who speculates about the end times. Schoeman, in his book, apparently looks forward to restoration of the Temple without understanding that it would be tantamount to the abomination of desolation of which Revelation speaks.[46]

The idea of the Jews converting at the pinnacle of their worldly power is implausible except from a theological perspective, but since the Jew is an essentially theological construct, that is precisely how we should view the issue. The synagogue of Satan is the antithesis of the Church. So, if Christians, following St. Paul, can say, "when I am weak, then I am strong," (2 Corinthians 12:10) the synagogue of Satan would have to say the opposite, namely, "when I am strong, then I am weak." That corresponds uncannily to the phenomenon of the "proud, self-hating Jew" we have been discussing.

The final collapse of Jewish resistance to Logos will take place when they have reached the pinnacle of worldly power. At no time in the past 2000 years have Jews had more power than now. The Jews possess Jerusalem and, according to reports, plan to rebuild the temple, lending credence to the belief the stage is set for that last great battle over who will rule the Jewish soul.

Fr. Augustin Lemann, a Jewish convert, feels the conversion of the Jewish people is certain, based on the testimony of many Church Fathers. "There is a well-known tradition cherished by the faithful," says St. Augustine, "that in the last days before the Judgment, the great and admirable Prophet Elias is to explain the law to the Jews and to lead them to the acceptance of the True Messias Our Christ."[47] "These carnal Israelites," he says, "who today refuse to believe in Jesus Christ, will one day believe in Him . . . Osee foretells their conversion in the following terms: 'The children of Israel shall sit many days without king and without prince and without sacrifice, and without altar and without ephod and without theraphim."[48] "Who is there," Denis Fahey interjects, "who does not see in this a portrait of the present state of the Jewish people."[49]

Augustine is not alone in his belief that, near the culmination of human history, the Jews will convert. St. Thomas Aquinas says, "as by the fall of the Jews, the Gentiles who had been enemies were reconciled, so after the conversion of the Jews near the end of the world, there will be a general resurrection by which men will rise from the dead to immortal life."[50] According to Father Lemann,

> The prophet Elias then shall return upon the earth to bring back the Jews to the Savior. Our Lord Himself has clearly affirmed it (Matt: XVII, II). . . . The fathers are the patriarchs and all the pious ancestors of the Jewish people, the sons represent the degenerate race of the time of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the succeeding centuries. It is however only some time before the second coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ, before the dreadful day of the Divine Judgment dawns that our Savior will send the prophet Elias to the Jews to convert them and to save them from chastisement.[51]

St. Paul claims this conversion will take place at the end of time, until then the Jews will "fill up their sins always: for the wrath of God is come upon them to the end."[52] St. Jerome also believes the Jews will convert at the end of the world when they "find themselves in dazzling light, as if Our Lord were returning to them from Egypt."[53] According to Suarez, "The conversion of the Jews will take place at the approach of the Last Judgment and at the height of the persecution which Antichrist will inflict on the Church."[54] The Jews will, by all accounts, express hostility to Christ until the moment of conversion. The conversion will be dramatic. In the last times Christians will resemble Jews "because of our sins, in fact they will be worse."[55] Origen supports the contention of Yuri Slezkine that modernity is Jewish. St. John Chrysostom claims "God will recall the Jews a second time,"[56] when Christians have abandoned the faith. Jews will become Christians when Christians have become Jews.

The Antichrist will then appear, and, according to Suarez, he will be a Jew who will find "his chief support among the Jews."[57] He will "restore the city of

their ancestors and its temple in which they have always taken a special pride" because if he did not, he could not "get himself accepted as the Messias by the Jews who dream of earthly glory for Jerusalem and imagine that that city will become the capital of the future Messianic kingdom."[58] If Suarez were catapulted into the future to contemplate the state of Israel in 2008, he might conclude the end times are at hand. If he read Atzmon's website, he might conclude that the conversion of the Jews is at hand too. The unprecedented strength of the Jews coupled with the unprecedented weakness of the Church allows apocalyptic explanations; in fact, it demands them.

At the end of history, the Antichrist will be stronger than ever before, and the Church will be weaker than ever before. Then the messianic kingdom of heaven on earth, the kingdom of maximal wealth and power for the Jews, will be at hand; all the synagogue of Satan has sought for centuries will seem within its grasp. The Jews then will have a choice; according to Christian tradition, many will choose Christ. Why is easy to explain. Rabbi Dresner does so in his book on the plight of the American family which is really a tract on the plight of American Jews, who:

> in their search for passion and pleasure and power, have lost themselves in the kingdom of Caesar. Is it not ironic that the descendants of those who wrote the Psalms and offered prayer to the world became, according to all accountings, the least worshipful. . . . The chosen people seemed to flatten into normality, becoming what the prophets had warned against: "like the nations." . . . Many postmodern Jews have discovered a puzzling truth. No license has replaced the Law; no symphony, the Psalms, no chandelier, the Sabbath candles; no opera, Yom Kippur; no country club, the synagogue; no mansion, the home; no Jaguar, a child; no mistress, a wife; no banquet, the Passover seder; no towering metropolis, Jerusalem; no impulse, the joy of doing a mitzvah; no man, God.[59]

At the heart of Rabbi Dresner's panegyric, we uncover the psychological mechanism that will lead to the Jews' conversion. When they are strong, they are weak. Alan Dershowitz said something similar about Jewish demographics in America in *The Vanishing American Jew*. The more wealth and power the Jews accumulate, the weaker they become because wealth deprives the Jew of his perhaps most perduring illusion, *i.e.,* Tevye would be happy "if I were a rich man." Tevye's grandchildren are far richer than he could have imagined, but as a result, many have become "proud, self-hating Jews," and their number is growing. Money is the least important issue. As Rabbi Dresner indicates darkly, "Jews have tried all things." After having "exhausted modernity," Jews now "seek the recovery of the sacred."

Rabbi Dresner did not understand that the sacred cannot be recovered by performing outmoded rites. The Jews cannot find the sacred among the dead, only among the living. The Church can save the world from a nuclear

Masada only if it reasserts its traditional position, "*Sicut Judaeis non.*" No one may harm Jews or disturb their worship, but Christians also have a duty to prevent Jewish subversion of faith and morals. The Church should condemn anti-Semitism, "hatred of the Jews as a race," but should not allow the Jews to define the term, because the Jews, in Denis Fahey's words, will use "the word to designate any form of opposition to themselves"[60] or the cultural subversion in which they may be engaged. According to the Jewish definition, "anyone who opposes Jewish pretensions is more or less mentally deranged."[61]

The Church has never been anti-Semitic. Traditional Catholic teaching has always involved a delicate balancing:

> On the one hand, the Church has spoken for the Jews to protect their persons and their worship against unjust attacks. . . . On the other hand, the Church has spoken against the Jews, when they wanted to impose their yoke on the faithful and provoke apostasy. She has always striven to protect the faithful from contamination by them. As experience in past centuries showed, if the Jews succeeded in attaining to high offices of State they would abuse their powers to the detriment of Catholics, the church always strove to prevent Catholics from coming under their yoke. They were forbidden to proselytize and were not allowed to have Christians as slaves or servants.[62]

At the darkest hour of Nazi persecution during the '30s, Pope Pius XI defended the Jews, proclaiming "anti-Semitism is inadmissible. We are spiritually Semites."[63] Less well known is the rest of what he said. After affirming it was "impossible for Christians to be Anti-Semites," Pope Pius XI went on to say "we acknowledge that everyone has the right to defend himself, in other words to take the necessary precautions for his protection against everything that threatens his legitimate interests."[64]

In his gloss on Pius XI's speech, Denis Fahey reiterates what the Church has always proclaimed:

> On the one hand, the Sovereign Pontiffs strive to protect the Jews from physical violence and to secure respect for their family life and their worship, as the life and worship of human persons. On the other hand, they aim unceasingly at protecting Christians from the contamination of Jewish Naturalism and try to prevent Jews from obtaining control over Christians. The existence of the second needs to be strongly stressed because to some extent it has been lost sight of in recent times. Catholics need to be made familiar, not only with the repeated Papal condemnations of the Talmud, but with the measures taken by the Sovereign Pontiffs to preserve society from the inroads of Jewish naturalism. Otherwise they will be exposed to the risk of speaking of Pope St. Pius V and Pope Benedict XIV, for example, as Anti-Semites.[65]

Opposition to Jewish ambition is not anti-Semitism, even if Jews portray it that way. The Christian must oppose anti-Semitism, defined as hatred of the Jewish race, but he must also oppose the Jewish agenda of opposition to Logos. The Catholic must oppose the agenda of the revolutionary Jew, not least when he has adopted, however sincerely, the tropes of conservatism to disguise his aims.

St. Pope Pius X felt the end times had arrived in 1903, and in a sense he was right. By the time the dust settled after World War I, Europe's remaining Catholic empire had been toppled and the Jewish communist antichrist was on the throne of Russia's Christian Czar. Perhaps Pius X had a vision of the future when he wrote in October 1903 that:

> Whosoever weighs these things has certainly reason to fear that such perversion of mind may herald the evils announced for the end of time and as it were, the beginning of those calamities and that the son of perdition of whom the Apostle speaks may have already made his appearance here below. So great are the fury and hatred with which religion is everywhere assailed, that it seems to be a determined effort to destroy every vestige of the relation between God and man. On the other hand—and this is, according to the same Apostle, the special characteristic of Antichrist—with frightful presumption man is attempting to usurp the place of his Creator and is lifting himself above all that is called God. . . . is dedicating the visible world to himself as a temple, in which he has the pretension to receive the adoration of his fellow men. 'So that he sitteth in the temple of God showing himself as if he were God.'"[66]

There have been "many Antichrists"[67] throughout history, and the Jews, according to Father Lemann, have welcomed them all: "Down the centuries, the Jews have welcomed all the enemies of Jesus Christ and his Church and have constituted themselves their auxiliaries. In the Great Sanhedrin, held at Paris in 1807, they applied the Biblical titles, exclusively reserved to the Messias, to Napoleon, though Napoleon was not of Jewish blood. They even welcomed the principles of the French Revolution as the Messias: 'The Messias came for us on Feb. 28, 1790, with the Declaration of the Rights of Man.'"[68]

Inspired by Pius X's statement, Msgr. Robert Hugh Benson wrote *Lord of the World*, a novel that appeared in 1907 and was set roughly 100 years in the future, *i.e.*, in 2007. In the novel a weakened English pope confronts an antichrist with the iconic name of Julian Felsenburgh on the plains of Megiddo. In June 2006 Pope Benedict XVI announced he was going to Megiddo in 2007. Megiddo is another word for Armageddon. The apocalyptic aura of his visit was overshadowed by the apocalyptic nature of the age. George Bush, like Julian the Apostate, was locked in an unwinnable war and threatening to extend it eastward by dropping nuclear weapons on Iran. The conversion of the Jews did not seem imminent. The Jews had never been more powerful; the Church, the antagonist of the synagogue of Satan for 2000 years, had

never been weaker. But appearances can deceive. Benedict XVI, the author of *Dominus Iesus*, had said, even before becoming pope, that he looked forward to the conversion of the Jews.[69] Reversal was in the air.